

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
7TH COUNCIL, 47TH SESSION

TABLED DOCUMENT NO. 3-47

TABLED ON JUNE 19, 1972

TD 3-47

Tabled on June 19, 1972

Northwest Territories

and

Greenland

A

Comparison

SPECIAL PROJECTS
COMMISSIONER of the N.W.T.
GOVERNMENT of the N.W.T.
YELLOWKNIFE, N.W.T.

July, 1971

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Preface

This report is actually a study of housing conditions and social problems that may be related to housing as a result of a visit to Greenland during the Spring of 1971 and visits to settlements in the Northwest Territories. This report also shows related personal experiences in housing and human development through 13 years of direct contact with Indian and Eskimo people in the Northwest Territories.

The report is not considered to be a full study at this time. It is rather an initial study and will be completed in stages over several years of field work.

I have received help from many people in Canada and Greenland, who have given me their time and guidance. I should like to thank Governor N.O. Christensen, Paul Jensen, Asger Gytje, Peter Jensen, Eric Ericksen, Per Klitgaard, L. Heilman, H. Schuurman, Angus MacKay, Dave Allen, Richard Abernathy, Margaret Borden, Ester Calford, Barrie Gunn, Jim Haining, Sid Sime, Simonie Michael, Roy McClure, Margaret McGee, Mush Mersereau, Tom Butters, Ivor Stewart, Terry Forth, Sid Hancock, Trudy Usher and Bill Morgan. I should also like to thank Anna Milligan for typing up my report.

It is my hope that this initial report will give administrators, engineers, housing officers, educators and social workers some insight to what is happening in this very interesting field of housing.

Introduction

It is not in my interest nor in the interest for whom I am writing this report to say what is best for any one society or country. I intend to bring forth some of the facts that I have found so that one can draw some conclusion in his own mind. Although I will give recommendations these may or may not be acted upon. It is not my intention to say that by a given period of time we in the Northwest Territories should be in a certain position or we should aim for that horizon that has been set beforehand. I will, however, recommend changes to take place now so that these changes can be measured next year or the year after.

In the study of housing, what does housing really mean? We cannot be concerned with only looking at the need for housing so that all citizens can enjoy better accommodation. There are many facets of living connected with housing. Some of these are social, political, economic and technical in nature. These issues are interrelated with housing and to have a good housing program we must therefore consider some of these issues.

In making a comparison of housing between Greenland and Canada I cannot say that one is better than the other. We have to evaluate the standards set by each country and take a look at the policies in effect. By looking at the standards and policies we can then see if each country is achieving its goal.

The reason for researching in Greenland is quite simple. Greenland, as in Canada's North, lies in the subarctic and arctic regions. It is a country or province of Denmark inhabited by 45,000 people consisting of 37,000 Eskimo or Greenlanders and 8,000 Danes. The problems of dealing with the arctic and similar people are faced by both Greenland and Canada. The study of housing is then of great importance to both countries.

Greenland

Greenland has been connected to Denmark through trading and administratively for about 250 years. The early ties with Denmark started through the missionary work by Hans Egede, in 1721. He set up a trading post and mission house in Godthaab in 1728. This missionary work continued into the early 1900's and the last so-called heathens were baptized in 1922. Denmark's sovereignty was officially recognized on the international level by an exchange of letters with Russia in 1782. The Norwegians, however, would not recognize this sovereignty over East Greenland so the matter was taken to the International Court of Justice in The Hague in 1933, giving the decision to Denmark.

During the second World War, when Denmark was occupied by the Germans, the United States gave assistance to Denmark by setting up air bases in Greenland. This move gave strength to having Greenland officially recognized as a province of Denmark and in 1953 this was done by an amendment to the Danish Constitution. Greenlanders were then given the same rights as Danes.

During the period of 1721 - 1953 very little development took place in Greenland. The Royal Greenland Trade Department (Den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel) now a crown corporation, ran the outpost camps. Trading was done with the Greenlanders in sealing, fishing and whaling. Greenlanders led a nomadic way of life with many camps and small settlements scattered throughout the east and west coast of Greenland. In 1840 there were only 7,900 people in all of Greenland. At the turn of the century there were about 12,000 and 30,000 in 1960.

Actual planned development only took place after 1953 when Greenland was recognized as a province of Denmark. By 1961 the Danish government was spending some 110 million kroner or about 16 million dollars in direct investment. The exports at that time were some 6 million dollars. In 1971 the investment rose to some 700 million kroner or about 95 million dollars per year. Exports rose to 17 million dollars. This will give you some idea of the rise in investment in Greenland during the last 10 years. These figures would indicate that serious development did not take place until the late 1950's. To say that Greenland has been developed for 250 years is a myth. Although Greenland was occupied by the Danes for this period of time, up to 1953 development was static.

II

TRADITIONAL ESKIMO HOUSING

The traditional type of housing that the Eskimo used was the tupik or tent during the warm season which can be considered from early Spring to late Fall or until such time as it was impossible to build snow houses, until the winter season set in at which time snow houses could be built. The tent was used more exclusively in Southern Greenland because conditions were not good to build snow houses. These tupiks were usually made from the skin of the caribou, however, in areas where no caribou existed, seal skins and other animal skins were used. Good skins clear of warble larvae were used. These were fleshed so that no fat or blood remained on the skin. The skins were then sewn together with sinew and made very watertight with the particular cross stitch that was made. Some Eskimo made a skylight near the entrance of the tent by scraping the hair off a section of the skin. This skylight was about 12 inches square and allowed some light into the tent. The hair side of the skins were left to the outside of the tent to withstand the elements.

Similar preparation was made for the seal skin tents, but the preparation of seal skins took more time. These skins were harder to flesh so great care had to be taken in cleaning them. Usually the Jar or Harp seal was used for tent making, as the larger hair seal skins were used for umiaks and kayaks. After the skins were fleshed, they were staked out on the ground with the hair side to the ground to allow the sun and wind to quickly dry them. Once the skin was dry a light filament of fat still

remained on the inner skin so this had to be scraped off leaving an almost white finish. The skins were then washed and all remaining oil was cleaned off. After washing, they were more pliable and therefore easier to sew together. These types of tents are still being used today in North and Eastern Greenland.

The tent was carried from hunting to sealing or fishing grounds and could be put up very quickly. In case of inclement weather it was a matter of minutes and one had shelter from the elements. The front area in the tent is used for a cooking area and for a catch-all. The back area of the tent is used for the sleeping area. Small willow is usually woven to form a platform or the mattress. Skins are then laid on the platform to form the sleeping area. Usually the family sat or squatted on the edge of the bed to eat their meals. The tent was an open living area which allowed the family to be very close to one another. This type of living led to close family bonds, so that children learned the ways of life at a very early age. Nothing was hidden from the children in this type of atmosphere, even the act of intercourse was a natural thing for the young to observe. The call of nature in this habitat was natural in itself and therefore something that should not be hidden or done behind closed doors.

In the winter months the igloo or snow house was used. This dwelling was built from the right type of snow. The snow could not be too hard otherwise it would not allow good insulation or it could not be too granular as it would not hold together. The snow has to be the type that can be cut into blocks about 6-8" x 14" x 24-30" and be of a texture that is allowed to breathe, so to speak. The snow house is built in spirals to make a dome structure. Once the structure is up an entrance is cut between supporting blocks away from the prevailing winds. A tunnel is then built onto the entrance. The sleeping platform is built by using blocks of snow for the supporting wall facing the tunnel and then filled with fine snow. This allows for a warmer platform. The platform is built about 6 inches higher than the top of the tunnel entrance. This allows the draft to hit the platform and go up, and therefore not bring cold air on the sleeping area. A ventilation hole is made above the tunnel entrance, usually in the vicinity where the cooking area is, to allow the steam and smoke from the lamp or carbon monoxide gas from Coleman type stoves to escape. During the night a block of snow is used to close off the tunnel exit and entrance to the igloo. A small hole is pushed through the top of the snow block in the entrance to allow circulation of air so that the people would not suffocate. Another snow block is brought inside the igloo and left in the well to urinate on if you have to during the night. It is thrown out the next morning. This is normally called a piss block.

The well of the igloo or the area below the sleeping platform was used for cooking, storage of food for immediate consumption and a place to put the kamiks or mukluks and outside clothing. The outside clothing is never taken onto the platform area when people retire for sleeping. The outside clothing must remain cold and not be allowed to warm up because the frost would thaw and then make the clothing unsuitable for outside weather. Since heat rises the higher the platform the warmer the bed or the lower the igloo the warmer it will be. Layers of skins are placed on the platform area for a mattress. One layer is laid down with the hair facing the snow. The next layer is laid on top with the hair outwards. The best skins were used for covering. All snow must be removed from the outside clothing in the well area and care must be taken when getting on the platform so that no snow gets on the mattress and sleeping skins. The kamiks or boots are brushed free of snow once the person is seated on the edge of the platform.

The size of the snow house is built according to the size of the family. The larger the family the larger the snow house. A normal size dwelling for two people would be about 9 feet in diameter and increased one foot in diameter for every extra person up to a reasonable size that can be kept warm. A formula might be $7' \pm X'$ in diameter, where X represents the number of people. This measurement will give you some idea of the size of the snow house. The temperature maintained in the snow house is about 32 degrees F or near the melting point. If the temperature increases the snow melts, glazing takes place on the inside walls presenting a cold dwelling as the snow is not allowed to breathe since the vapour barrier is now closed off.

Larger snow houses were built for meeting places and places where traditional dances and games were played. These houses were very large and could be called the community halls of the camp. The snow houses could actually keep the family warmer than the tent as its particular design and structure made a greater barrier to the wind and cold. It was much harder to keep a tent warm in the winter as it required more fuel and therefore a greater struggle to bring in the fuel. If tents are used

in the winter, frost builds up in the tent overnight when the fires are out. This frost must be scraped off in the morning because if allowed to melt, would drip onto the sleeping area and other possessions. Even then, once the tent is heated up again a certain amount of moisture penetrates the sleeping covers and other clothing. Since more food was needed during the winter months to survive because the extreme cold takes up more body heat, it was necessary for the Eskimo to work almost continuously hunting for food.

Other types of dwelling that were used were stone houses and homes made of sod. The Stone houses were small, some of which are still standing to this day. The sod houses were made by using whale bones in some cases for the shell, and turf was placed over the shell to make the walls and roof. The earth was excavated to a depth of 2 to 3 feet where possible, and sod taken from the excavation was used to build up the walls. These homes were built in square or round shapes. Usually small stones were placed on the roof area to hold the sod in place.

In later years stone foundations were used and in the early 1900's, a concrete foundation was made, by using a mixture of stone, gravel, and a little cement. Some of these houses are still being used today in Northern (Umanak) and Eastern Greenland. One family lived in such a house in Godthaab until 1966. The foundation of this home is still intact and can be found in the Islandsdalen area of Godthaab.



Remaining foundation of old sod house in Islandsdalen area of Godthaab.

He has the outlook that he may not be at this place tomorrow or the next year, so why should he stockpile. And then maybe there is a better place yet to hunt or fish, or the hunting and fishing has died out here. The idea is to keep pace with the present, to follow the game and to forever struggle to survive. In this type of atmosphere the Eskimo brought his family up in an environment close to the elements, the land and the food.

Children are not disciplined during their youth. They are allowed to observe, to be curious and to play. Once the children reach about 12 years old, time for play is finished because discipline and apprenticeship takes over. The young man must now learn the ropes from his father, how to make the necessary tools and hunting weapons, kayaks and umiaks. He must learn to hunt and fish and learn how to build igloos and other types of dwellings. In this society the young mature faster because of the harsh way of life. The boy turns into an adult at about 15 years old and may then be a hunter of some renown and may take a wife.

The girl must now learn the skills from her mother. She must be taught how to sew, repair clothing, make tents, skin seals, cook, clean and many other skills needed to keep a home and family in order. She must learn the techniques given to her by her mother, techniques that will make her an appealing partner for some man.

In a nomadic society like the Eskimo lived in, there were no chiefs. Usually the best hunter or a man of some standing in the camp was looked upon as the leader of the camp. Each camp might have a leader or not necessarily so. Some hunting camps

may be made up of several groups of small camps and therefore may have several leaders.

Sharing of food and equipment was not uncommon. If one hunter, even if he was a poor hunter did not bring in any food, he was given food by others. It just may have been his bad luck not to get anything. These people lived in a communistic society although no order of politics prevailed.

III

TRANSITION FROM CAMP TO SETTLEMENT LIFE

When the Danes began trading with the Eskimos (Greenlanders) the people slowly gravitated into small settlements along the coasts and into the fiords. The missionaries maintained churches and trading posts. These churches provided religion as well as the school for the settlements. These mission schools started in the late 1760's. The church directed all education in Greenland until 1952 at which time it was taken over by teachers under the Education Department.

When settlements started to grow, wood frame houses were constructed with emphasis placed on better health standards. These homes were attractive to the people, the incidence of tuberculosis declined and the population grew in leaps and bounds. The rate of growth in the population was tremendous so that more houses were required in each settlement to keep the families together. One significant event that took place because of better housing was the fact that people became healthier. People began to live longer and produced larger families. Because of the increase in population and because the houses were stationary it meant that people were not moving around like before. These settlements became permanent with the end result being a much more difficult time to realize a living off the land.

The permanency of these settlements brought about a distinct change in the way of life of these nomadic people. Where once the family could travel from hunting ground to fishing ground to survive, a reallocation of resources took place. The government in providing housing and other facilities such as the church and trading posts, now had to provide social welfare to those that could not make a living entirely off the land. This step in itself took some independence away from the people making them dependent on the state for a share. The state realizing their predicament then encouraged industry, to realize some revenue to offset the deficit to the people. The primary industry was fishing and still is today.



Settlement of Kapisigdlit about 100 kilometers from Godthaab.



Single family dwelling. Note problem to store equipment.



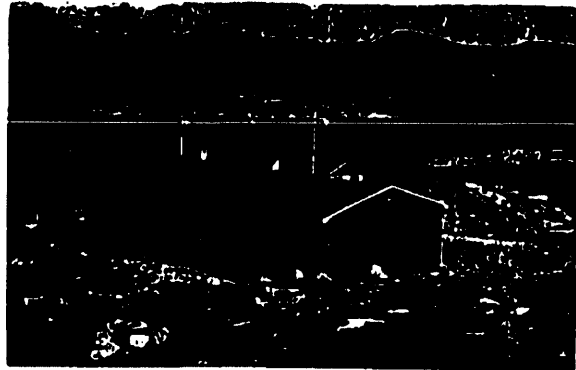
Straw and willow fiber insulation used in houses built prior to 1940 in Neriunak.

The Greenlanders were encouraged to fish in order to live in these new surroundings. If a home was to be maintained and if children were to be educated it was wrong in the policy set to retrogress. So small fishing industries were setup along the coasts of Greenland. Northern settlements were encouraged to seal not only for domestic consumption but for sale of skins to the outside market.

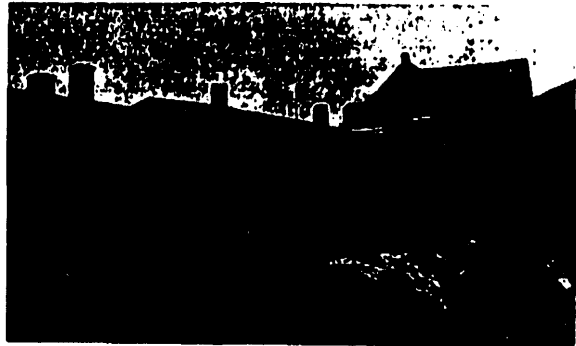
The reallocation of work forces and the start of a new industry placed more authority in government hands. Because Denmark is considered to be a socialist country, socialistic methods were naturally adopted in Greenland. The state controlled the churches, trading posts and the fishing industry. (Now the fishery is in private hands with a little control by state). This move took away responsibilities from the pattern maintenance sector of society, namely the family responsibilities, where values are maintained.

When normal family responsibilities are given up to government a change takes place in the family. A certain amount of independence was given up so people began to lose their pride without realizing it. Moral values declined because once more control is in the hands of government new standards are set, so that values cannot develop along with the new standards because of state control of individual responsibilities. The church in any society is usually in the family sector, however, in Greenland the church is operated by the state, to an extent that priests are civil servants. The church in this case along with the Lutheran religion is accepted by the Greenlanders without question.

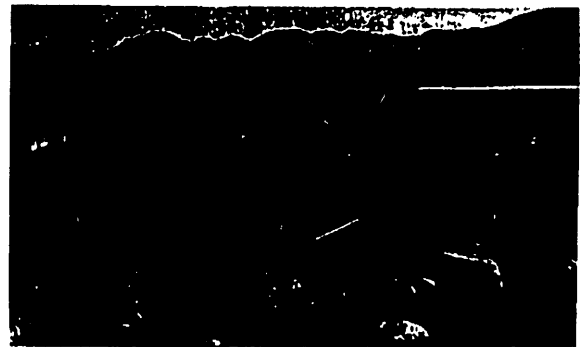
The settlements grew to such an extent that the land could not provide food for them. The fishing dropped off leaving most of the camp settlements (Bygder) without means of livelihood. The government was in the position of providing more homes, facilities and social assistance. Since the government was spending more money with no apparent return, a new policy had to be set to correct the situation. Although some of these settlements could have gone back to the old way of living off the land, hunting, fishing and sealing, new precedents developed over the years. People got used to a new life. They were voluntarily forced to see what it was like in the larger centres.



Settlement school at Kapisigdlit.



Apartment buildings in Sukkertoppen. These are purchased by the tenant. These units use coal for heating.



Empty fish racks in dying settlement of Kapisigdlit.

IV

THE MIGRATION POLICY IN GREENLAND

The new migration policy is called "From Outpost to Town". It is a policy that takes into account the depopulation of small settlements and camps during the period 1969 to 1985. These camps and settlements for economic reasons will be evacuated, with people moving into larger centres, where emphasis is placed on the fishing industry. The government maintains that it is impossible to carry on the small fisheries because

of the drop in catch and because of the inefficient methods and duplication of facilities used in catching and processing fish in the small settlements. Fishing in the small settlements is done by small vessels. The fish is brought into a small plant where the fish are stripped, salted and draped on large drying racks situated outside the fish plant. A visit to a number of these settlements indicates that the fishing has declined. These drying racks were empty and the people were unemployed. These settlements gave the appearance of ghost towns with many of the houses boarded up; the people have left for the larger centres.

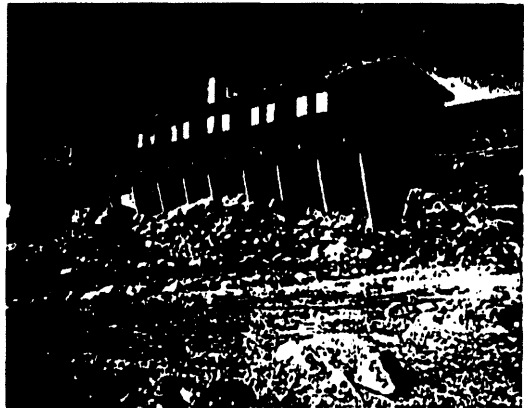
It is quite apparent that these settlements have not enough resources to keep them self-sufficient except artificial resources in money from the state. The state believes that if money is to be invested then the best means to correct the situation is to build new homes in towns and cities. The people will then be put to work in the fishing industry. It is the government's goal that the increase in the fishing industries in the larger centres will naturally bring on new service industries, money will circulate and the people will be prosperous.

The standard of housing in Greenland is then set by economic means as well as an endeavour to upgrade the health of the people. Because of the tremendous influx of people and the shortage of building sites the types of housing built must be apartments. The physical terrain in Greenland is mostly rock with very little open flat areas, so emphasis is placed on building large apartments. This coupled with the fact that in order to house as many people as possible as quickly as possible with limited capital, social or public housing units are built. The apartment units in this case must be smaller, so that more units can be constructed.

Although single family dwellings have been constructed in the past and are still being constructed, these cities and towns that have fishing industries are being planned more for high density dwellings.

Blueprints for these units and floorplans and blueprints of apartment units can be examined in the Public Works Department of the Territorial Government in Yellowknife. The cost of building a home similar to one of the Northern Rental home with about 800 square feet is from \$15 to \$25 per square foot from southwest to northern Greenland. This does not include any electrical or plumbing fixtures except minimum requirements. The only extras is a cook stove, sink and chemical toilet. The cost to build an apartment unit with all facilities, hot and cold runningwater, electrical, plumbing and mechanical installations is only \$22 to \$27 per square foot. For purely economical reasons it is better to build high density apartment blocks.

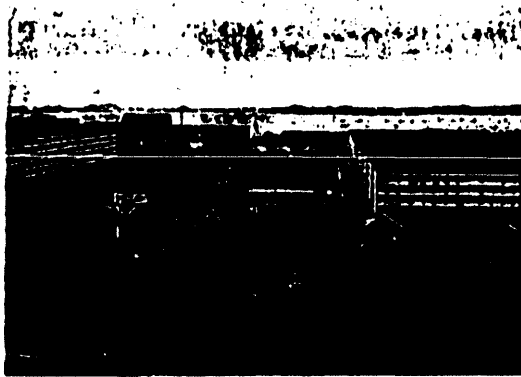
The main reason for the difference in costs is the type of material used and the freight. Single family dwellings are built from lumber brought in from Denmark. The site used is usually rock so blasting is necessary and if blasting is not done then concrete foundations must be built up to meet the right elevation to the contour of the land. The homes are of conventional construction. Only a few homes are prefabricated. Better quality homes are built from conventional construction and allows the hiring of local labour at cheaper rates than in Denmark



Multi-family apartment in Godthaab. Note foundation construction and design



Some of the first apartment buildings built in Greenland. These are at Sukkertoppen. Note the necessity to blast the rock from the facing of the cliff.



High density apartment living in Godthaab. School is located in the centre.



Single family homes. Note stairway for access to house on hill. Also water line from centre house to main road for pumping water up to house.



Typical Eskimo single family 3-bedroom home - about 700 square feet floor space. Note high pitch roof because of heavy snowfall.



The large apartment block in the background is the biggest in Godthaab. New units are not as long.



General layout of streets and homes in Sukkertoppen. This is a problem in rocky areas.

where prefabricating must take place. The freight on material is up to 30% of the capital cost of the building in the southern west coast areas and goes up to 100% of the cost of the home in the northern regions such as Umanak and Ipernavik. See map in Appendix "A".

The materials used for apartment construction is precast concrete. The slabs are poured on site. The only material brought in is the cement, flooring, electrical, plumbing, mechanical, and fixtures prefabricated in Denmark. Their towns and cities have concrete plants so with this type of construction the overall cost decreases over time.

The only real problems present is the necessity to blast out the rock to get a suitable site, the unavailability of skilled workers and the non-existence of good cement gravel. Gravel must be dredged out of the ocean and hauled to the plant. On the big jobs like apartment construction most of the labour is brought in from Denmark. It is the opinion of the Danish administration that time and efficiency is of the essence and unskilled local labour would hold up construction. All apartment housing is built mostly by Danes and then turned over to the Greenlanders to live in.

If there were good supplies of gravel and good sites to build on the per foot cost would be lower than is being realized now.

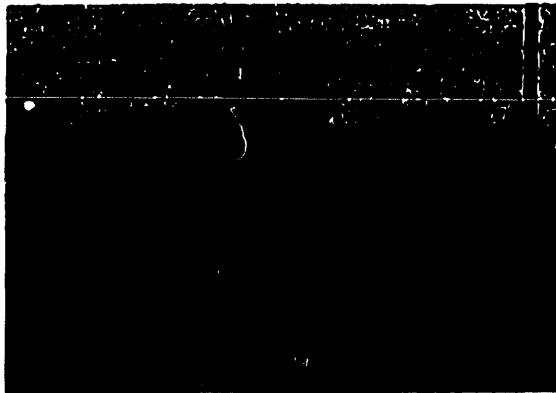
The depopulation policy is being done over a number of years and it is envisaged that the homes will be ready for the people as they move in. A chart outlining the migration in 5 year periods is shown in Appendix "B". Those settlements that are being completely or partially depopulated by 1985 are simply shown as Bygder (camps). These small settlements that are being completely depopulated will not receive any further maintenance money or any other services other than health care.

To give you an example of what is happening, I visited a settlement called Qornoq in the Godthaab fiord. In 1963 this village had 232 people, now only 32 people remain. The village maintained itself primarily on the fishing industry. There is a little caribou hunting in this area, but is limited as the land surrounding the village is mountainous and further back into the fiord the permanent ice cap prevails. The Eskimo here lived on seal, fish and caribou in days gone by. When a serious attempt was made to bring the settlement into a thriving fishing business, the result at first was good. A little rail track was built from the wharf and fish plant to the drying racks where the fish were draped to dry. There are hundreds of these drying racks standing without any fish on them. Although I did not visit the village at the prime fishing season reports indicate that there is not a sustainable yield here for the people to make a living. The fish were caught with not enough investigation placed on how many fish could be taken each year to provide a sustainable yield. It is very difficult to do this here because these fiords run into the main ocean and therefore no realistic figures could be obtained. One season there would be enough fish and the next season there would not be enough to meet expenses.

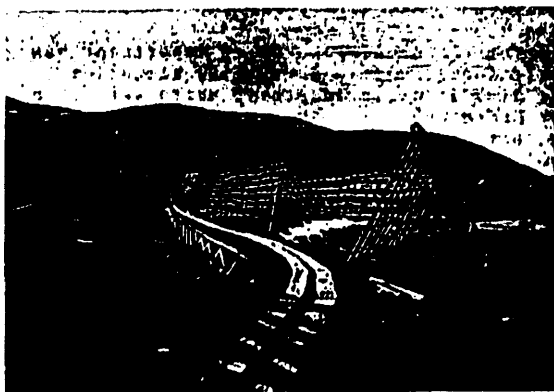
I do believe that a small domestic market could be maintained at these settlements but the costs to the state for other expenditures such as social welfare and municipal services would have been and are now proving to be exorbitant. Qornoq will be depopulated within two years according to the migration policy now in effect. No new construction is taking place and most of the people have already moved to larger centres such as Godthaab. There is one teacher here and this year he had 7 pupils. The school will not be opened this next term. Houses have been boarded up and there is no indication that there will be a reverse in this trend.

As I walked into the village from the ship dock, the atmosphere prevailing was that of walking into a ghost town. Usually many people come out to visit the ship when it arrives, but we were greeted by three youngsters. The Greenlanders remaining stayed indoors. They are accepting without argument the decision by government to evacuate by a certain time. Most of them have already taken the step to get it over with and try out some new horizon. What faces them they are not aware, for the change from a small fishing village of 200 people to a city of 8,000 can be most trying and traumatic.

It is my opinion that this move, without any initial preparation of any kind leads to all sorts of problems. There is the problem of adjusting to a new apartment with all facilities to the change in the style of living. I believe that the new policy together with the new housing with all facilities provides a catalyst to many of the social problems that Greenlanders are facing today. Does one move a person from one locale into another totally different locale without some basic education beforehand? The Danish government seem to be able to do it. However, the administrators know they are having problems and it is a matter of trying to cope with it.



New apartment units built in Godthaab overlooking Godthaab harbour to the west.



Empty fish racks in Qornoq a settlement that will be completely depopulated by 1973. Note rail track to centre of racks.



Summer plastic water line suspended on poles. This relieves traffic over line laid on the ground.



Houses boarded up in Qornoq.



Homes like these in outpost settlements are boarded up and left to the elements, the people having left for the larger centres.

HOUSING POLICY - CIVIL SERVANTS

Danish civil servants are brought in from Denmark. Most of these people are hired on contract to serve in Greenland for two years. They then hope that after this time they can secure a position in the Greenland Ministry in Copenhagen. Those on contract usually work for the administration in such capacities as advisors to the Governor. They may be lawyers, economists, engineers and other administrative specialists. Some of the senior people are public servants hired under the civil service act and others such as nurses are hired in the same way.

Housing is provided free of charge to the Danes coming in from Denmark. Married personnel bring in their own furniture with the government paying for the transportation. In the far northern regions furniture is provided on an interim basis, until the employee's furniture arrives. The employee must also pay a token sum for power and heat, from 125 to 155 kroner per month or \$16 to \$20.

Single personnel are provided bachelor units fully furnished at no cost. They must also pay the same charge levied for power and heat. This system is an incentive for Danes to serve in Greenland plus the fact that there is no income tax paid in Greenland. The tax in Denmark is about 35 - 40% of the gross salary earned.

The housing is reserved by the Department hiring the people, so every department has certain reserves of apartment units and single family units, usually in blocks or sections of apartments. Some civil servants live in whole apartment units set aside for this purpose while others integrate with Greenlanders in the new apartments being built. It is not a total integrated system, but one where 5 or 6 units in a row may be for Danes then 5 or 6 for Greenlanders and so on.

This method of integration seems to work out with no apparent disagreements from either side.

The government is talking about introducing a new system starting January, 1972, whereby all civil servants will pay a subsidized rent.

There is no employee housing office under the personnel department. All enquiries are directed to the local housing office. This office looks after all enquiries from the Government and the general public.

Greenlanders and Private Industry

Greenlanders and private entrepreneurs may apply for housing either on a rental basis or on a mortgage system. However, apartments can only be rented. The same formula is used for both mortgages and rent.

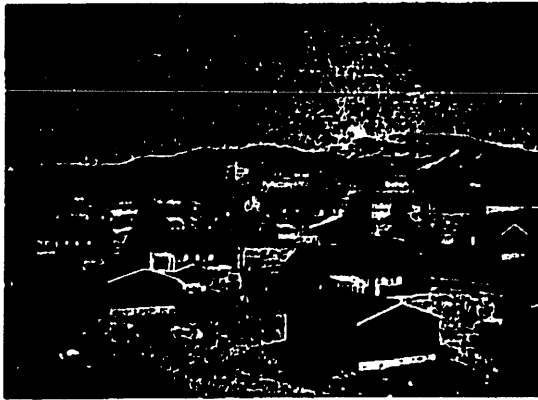
The following formula is used to determine the rent and mortgage payments.

Cost of House to Construct	100%
Less Average cost for engineering, architects, inspection	<u>17%</u>
Total cost to individual	83%

Pay back is 33 years @ 4% interest plus 3% on the Principle plus small fee of about 150 kroner per year for other costs, which equals about 7% cost per year to the person. On top of this there is a 40% grant given to the person to reduce the cost of the home plus another living cost grant for the number of children in the home under 15 years old, beginning at the second child. The grant is 7 1/2% per child from 2 to 6 children, up to a maximum of 37 1/2% on the amount before the 40% grant is taken.

An illustration shows for family with 6 children	
Cost of house	200,000 kroner
Per Year Payment 7% of 83%=5.8%	
of 200,000 kroner	12,000 kroner
Less 40% Grant	7,200 kroner
6 Children Grant 37 1/2% of 12,000	2,700 kroner/year.

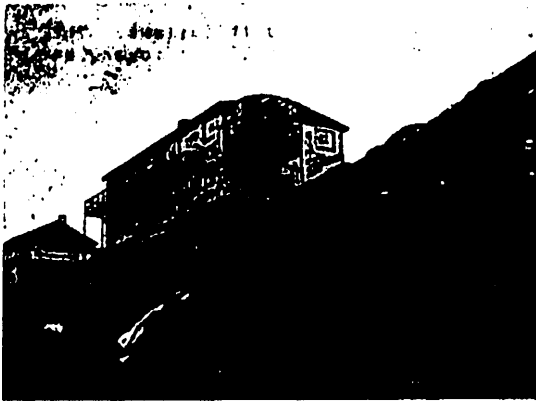
This would be 225 kroner per month or \$30 per month plus power and heat. Water is



Civil service and private dwellings. Note spacious layout and sun porches.



Typical civil service housing for senior staff in Godthaab.



Private businessman home in Sukkertoppen. This home cost in the neighborhood of 350,000 kroner or about \$47,000.



Private dwelling. Note all homes have brick chimneys.



One of the first attempts at building Duplex type apartments.



Duplex type of dwelling. This is a 3-bedroom design with separate entrances.

given free. There is no down payment under this plan.

This system is difficult to set up because the grants are not graduated after the incomes. Since there is no tax system there is the problem of always comparing with Denmark. The cost to build a unit in Greenland is about twice the cost than in Denmark and if they were to charge one-half the rent paid in Denmark it would still be expensive. Danes in Denmark pay up to 40% of their income towards housing. The average Greenland wage is about \$1,400 per year so it is difficult to increase the burden on the family. Those families living outside Godthaab earn still less, about \$2,500 per year.

The subsidy under this plan is not considered in the budget and there is no indication that the budget will be increased to make way for faster construction. As mentioned earlier, private entrepreneurs can get housing under the plan. This depends on the need of trade and employment opportunities for Greenland. Priorities are set on the need for the trade and the same subsidies apply.

Those civil servants that want to build their own homes must pay the full cost of the home. The pay back period is 20 years and a 10% down payment is required. The interest is 10% and usually a second mortgage is needed. This is done through private loan companies or banks. The first mortgage goes up to 175,000 kroner. The monthly payments are in the neighborhood of \$300. The building site or land belongs to the state and land cannot be purchased outright. Permission is given to use the land. This applies to all land use.

A breakdown of rents charged for the number of rooms and size of unit follows. The number of rooms does not indicate number of bedrooms, these may be living rooms, etc.

<u>No. of Rooms</u>	<u>Size in Square Metres</u>	<u>Rent Per Month</u>	<u>Heat Per Month</u>
1	43	290 kroner *	75 kroner
2	57	360 "	100 "
3	70*	420 "	120 "
4	82	490 "	140 "
5	96	550 "	160 "
6	104	660 "	170 "

Water is included in the heating. Electricity is an extra charge billed by the Power Company four times per year.

* The average size 3 room dwelling in Denmark is about 90 square metres. In Greenland it is 70 square metres. One foot = 0.305 metres.

* A kroner is worth 13.42 cents or about 7.45 kroner for \$1 (Canadian).

Procedure

Anyone wanting a house must apply to the local housing office. There are no housing surveys taken to determine how many houses may be required locally, however, the guide is the migration policy now in effect. There are no statistics available on how many homes are substandard or can be repaired or how many private homes exist. In Godthaab for instance, a population of 8,300, 45% of whom are under 15 years old, there are 2,000 families. The government has 693 common units for local Greenlanders and 383 units for Danish civil servants plus 400 single family dwellings. There are 600 names now on the list for new housing involving about 1,500 people. At present building is being done to accommodate these people and will be completed by 1977. People must wait 5 to 7 years for housing. Added to this is the increasing demand for single accommodation. Single accommodation has been constructed for 300 young men and women.

Once the local office knows how many housing units are required the information is passed on to the headquarters in the Governor's office, where a housing department administers for the whole of Greenland. All requests from the various districts are gathered and priorities are set. Once the budget is set by the Minister in Denmark, the number of units allowed to be built will be determined. The head office then tells the local districts how many homes will be built.

The general housing committee is in Denmark made up of civil servants, and the Housing Corporation that deals with social housing. The rules in housing set by the committee are based on the social point of view and economics do not come into the pic-

ture as far as they are concerned. However, the government looks at the costs to the government in Greenland, so units are built upon economical aspects.

The Greenland Council has some input into the decisions taken in Denmark, but it is more of a discussion contribution. Although the council does not make the decisions it is said that the Ministry usually abides by its wishes.

The local housing office calculates the costs for total rent, number of children, children reduction grant, social reduction, i.e., those on welfare do not pay, special old peoples' reduction, i.e., if over 60 years old usually no charge, invalids reduction, total amount that must be paid, cost for heat, heat reduction when needed and grand total to be paid. The form used for this is contained in Appendix "C".

These forms are made out every three months and if corrections are necessary, credit notes made by the same form are used. The form or journal then goes to another housing office in the local Kaemner's office (secretary-manager of the town) for collection action.

A booklet is given to each tenant with slips in it in the form of a payment book. A copy of this is shown in Appendix "D". The tenant can then make his payment at the bank once a month or at the Kaemner's office, daily, weekly, monthly or every 3 months.

The local housing office does not collect any rent, this is strictly handled by the Kaemner. The local office also hires managers to look after each apartment block. The apartment blocks then are maintained as good as the manager is in his administration. Some blocks have a very good appearance, the grounds are neat and well maintained, while others are untidy and not as well maintained.

Once the rent collection forms gets to the local Kaemner he then has to make collection. In 1970, the assessment of rent in Godthaab was \$296,000, in 1971 \$360,000 and 1972 forecast is \$444,000. The arrears at January 1970 was \$42,000 or about 14%. The arrears for all of Greenland is running about 15%. This figure seems rather low but when you consider the methods used to collect rent it is quite high.

If the people are five months behind in rent, they are taken to court. Last November 70 to 80 families were taken to court. The court decides that they must pay. The families cannot pay so they go back to the Kaemner's office to see the social welfare committee. The family then gets social assistance to pay the rent. Some families were evicted to lower standard housing, usually a poorer section of town. A most common excuse for non-payment of rent is that the Greenlanders do not understand the concept of rent.

Maintenance Policy - Civil Service Housing

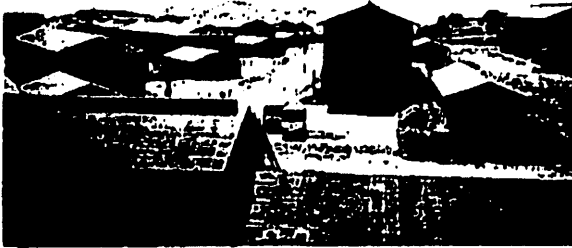
These units are checked every time someone moves out. More money is set aside for this type of housing. They are painted and repaired where necessary. The money for this comes from the money received in the budget. In 1970 the actual budgeted amount was 32 kroner per square metre or about \$0.40 per square foot, but the actual amount received was 22 kroner per square metre. This money is used for exterior and interior painting, laundries, playgrounds and other common areas, garbage disposal, hobby rooms, etc.

Capital funds are set aside for inventories, i.e., replacement of equipment such as stoves, pots and pans in bachelor units. This amount is very small. In 1970 50,000 kroner was set aside for all of Greenland. The 1970 budget for operation and maintenance of inventories was 30,000 kroner. There are special funds for unforeseen expenditures.

Local Houses - Greenlanders

The money allocated for these units is based on the amount of rent collected. One-half percent of the amount collected is used for maintenance. The same type of maintenance is carried out as described in the civil service housing. A chart in Appendix "E" shows the total square metres and units existing in Greenland as of April 1969. This is for single family units, duplex, row housing, town housing and apartments.

The local housing administration makes inspections of the housing units. If the tenant does not keep up with the maintenance, as it is his responsibility, he must pay the difference between the actual amount allocated per unit and the actual amount it takes to repair the house. In 1969, six cases were taken to court, in 1970, two



High density living area in Godthaab. Flat areas are used to maximum use in town planning.



Beautiful design apartment for Greenland Air pilots in Godthaab. Cost per square metre to build is the same as the pre-cast concrete construction. These units have more floor space and superior quality.



Some of the better apartment units in Godthaab built for civil servants.

cases and until June 1971, one case came before the courts. The court gives them a certain time to pay the amount and the Greenlander cannot get a loan to pay this. Most of these cases do not pay in any event, so the local social welfare office gives them the money to pay.

In referring to the budget for a moment, the amount allocated per unit for maintenance in far northern sections of Greenland is greater. For instance, in Umanak, Upernavik and Eastern Greenland, the budgeted amount increases up to 75% more than in Southern Greenland. This increase is for extra freight costs to bring in material.

System for Repairing Homes

The system used to action repairing of a house is quite cumbersome. The local Kaemner can issue work orders for repairs under 5,000 kroner or less than \$1,000 per unit, as 50% of the budgeted amount can be authorized by the Kaemner. In this case the Kaemner issues the work order for work that he wants to do. It then goes to the GTO (Greenland Technical Office) advisors office in the Governor's office, where costs are estimated on necessary work to be performed and for the whole job. It then goes back to the Kaemner for a decision to see if he wants it done for that amount of money. The Kaemner approved and he sends the work order to the local institution affected, i.e., housing, administrator, school inspector if for school repairs, etc. Approval is given there and then it is sent to the local GTO for action.

If the work order issued by the local Kaemner is over 5,000 kroner, he sends it to the Governor's GTO advisors office for estimate. Once the estimate is done, it goes back to the Kaemner for a decision on whether he accepts it or rejects it. If he approves it, then it must go to the Governor for approval. The Governor sends it back to the Kaemner, then to the local leader of the institution concerned, from there to the local GTO for requisition and action. The actual cost is then recorded by the GTO when the job is completed and then the completed work order goes back to the Kaemner for recording. No money is actually transacted unless a contract is let to a private concern. It is a matter of bookkeeping according to the budget made up in Denmark.

For every unit being repaired a separate work order is made out. Strict control is maintained and exact costs are recorded. The procedure followed is in strict adherence of the policy and no one is allowed to deviate from this procedure. It is done according to the budget as laid down. If there are unforeseen circumstances, permission must be granted from the Ministry in Denmark. The administration insists upon efficiency and to the letter of the paragraph when it comes to spending money, mainly because money is hard to get.

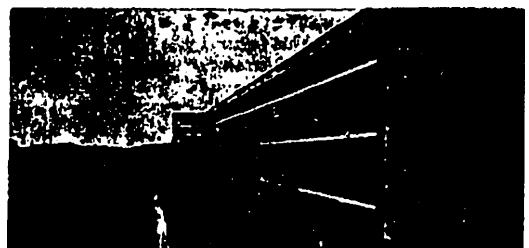
If a Greenlander was buying a house under a mortgage in one of the dying settlements and has to move, he gets nothing for the house when he moves. He is not forced to move under the migration policy.

VI

CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION FUNDS AND TECHNICAL DESIGN

In order to meet the schedules set by the new migration policy it is necessary to put a high priority on construction of housing units. Housing is now priority number one in Greenland. For the next few years the government intends to spend about 19 million dollars per year on housing.

When housing designs are drawn up the GTO technical advisor in the Governor's office works with the Department of Housing for Greenland to get the best technical designs. There is consultation at the local level with the Women's clubs, that have a say on basic layouts, with local councils on town planning and with the Greenland Council. There is consultation with sociologists and designers to try and fit together the experience realized to date, so that the social side of housing is brought into the design. When this information is compiled and decisions reached locally are finalized, the Greenland Technical Organization makes the design and does the actual construction. When the design is completed it is referred back to the local committees for finaliza-



Side view of rear of apartment.

tion. There is no doubt that a serious attempt is being made to involve people in the basic design of the buildings. As explained earlier, because of unavailability of good building sites, the large towns that have fishing industries will receive mostly apartment buildings. In those areas that are being developed as sealing industries, because of smaller populations, unsettled industry and minimum services, single family dwellings will be constructed.

VII FACILITIES AND SERVICES IN LARGER CENTRES

Houses and apartments are not provided with furniture or kitchen utensils. Single dwellings in the larger centres have electricity and use coal and oil for cooking and heating. Water can be purchased from the water delivery truck as and when required but most of these families use the water points similar to those used in some settlements in the Northwest Territories. This water is free.

There is a garbage pick-up service. Each house has garbage containers, however, as in many Canadian northern settlements, garbage piles up around the homes during the winter. I was unfortunate to arrive in Greenland at a time of year when garbage was at its worst. Spring clean-up usually takes place in the third week in June. Local renters and owners are encouraged to clean around their own yard and stockpile the waste, where it will be picked up. Prisoners are used from the local institute to clean out the ditches and clean around government yards. If home owners do not clean their own area, the local council will do it and the individual can be charged for the cost of cleaning up. There are no laundry facilities in the single dwellings. People who do not own washers must do clothes by hand or take them to the local laundry.

In the modern apartments pretty well all facilities and services are provided, except furniture and kitchen utensils. However, these units do not have refrigerators or washers and dryers. These units have hot and cold running water and good garbage disposal systems, i.e., there are chutes on each floor that drop into a common rotating container in the basement. The washing and drying facilities are in the basement area. Depending on the length of the apartment, more areas for washing and drying is added. In the 3 and 4 storey apartments there is no elevator service. Everyone must use stairs.

Each apartment has sheds in the back that can be used to repair bicycles, boats, etc. Each apartment has 2 play rooms in the basement for children and one hobby room for adults.

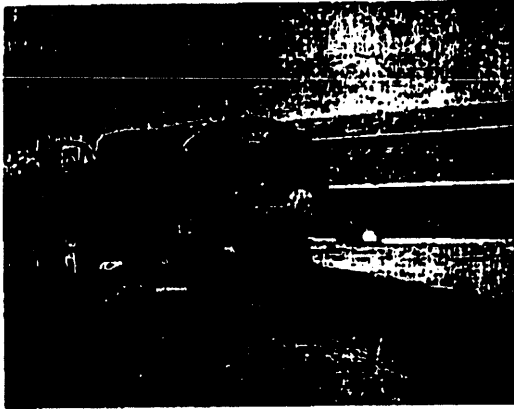
There are good playground areas around the apartments - sandboxes and fenced in areas are built in between the apartments so that mothers can watch out for their children. The apartment buildings are spaced in such a way that between every second apartment facing the back, good playground areas are developed.

I will explain further on the washing and play equipment. Each laundry area has 3 washers - manually operated, (i.e., put their own water in) one dryer, sink and sorting tables. All equipment is of heavy duty quality. The laundry room is made up of 4 rooms - washing room, drying room complete with lines, toilet and room with a steam roller presser for sheets.

The children play rooms have bars and equipment to play with and other rooms with no equipment at all. I somehow got the idea that the empty rooms were used for children to take out their frustrations. These rooms were in a mess, broken bottles were scattered around and the outside windows to the rooms were broken. The rooms are made of concrete.

The basement area of the apartments, (basements built above ground level) contain all of the service facilities, i.e., hot water tanks, electrical meter boxes, laundry facilities, play area, hobby rooms, local caretaker equipment and his housing unit and garbage disposal rooms. Garbage is picked up daily. Added to the basement is a feature attraction. The old people that have a hard time walking up the stairs, and invalids, are housed in suites on the basement level. There is no problem then for older people to use the stairs. This is a good practical approach.

The apartments with all of its facilities make them so attractive that people living in the single dwellings with fewer facilities will want to move.



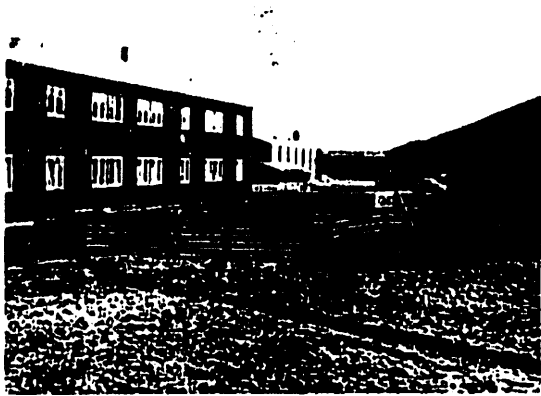
Water delivery truck used in unserved areas.



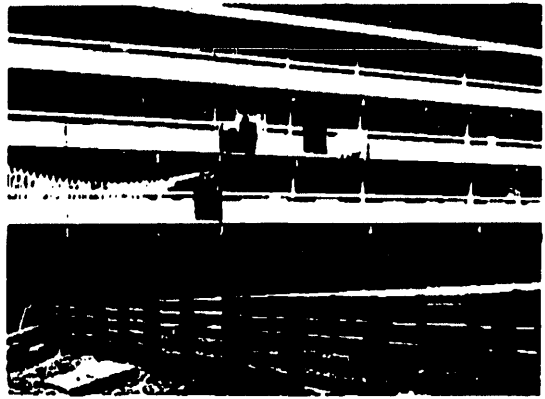
There is a problem in cleanliness of outside environment. This garbage is what has accumulated over the winter.



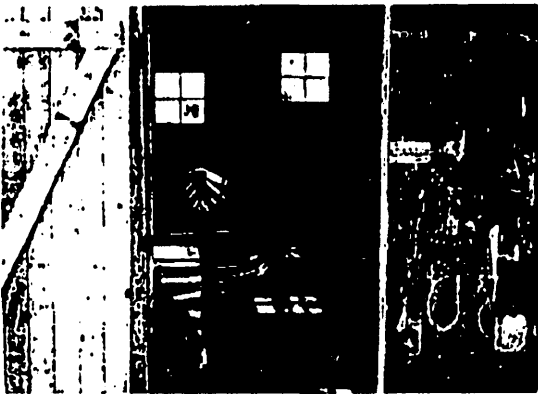
Spring clean-up. Prisoners are used for this type of work.



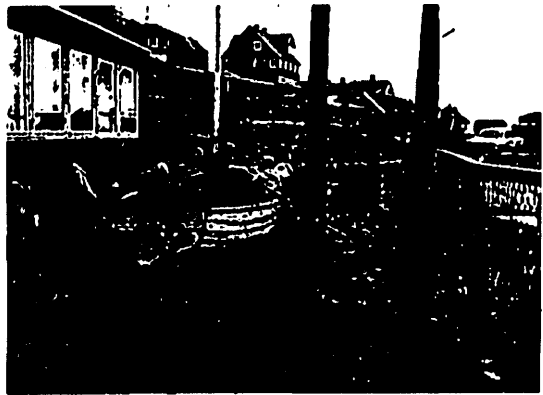
Apartment blocks in Godthaab. Conventional wood construction. Note play areas for children.



Although dryers are available in the basement of these units, clothes are hung out on the balcony for fear of theft while clothes are drying in basement area.



Sheds like this one are built behind each apartment unit and in every settlement to make boats, repair equipment, etc.



Old boats like this one are used for play equipment at Kindergarten in Sukkertoppen.

VIII OBSERVATIONS

During interviews of some 50 families in Godthaab, I was told that the maintenance of dwellings was done on an urgency basis, that is, on a crisis basis. Houses in the Myggedalen area were poorly maintained as a rule, however, the apartments received better maintenance. Some civil servants complained that the local CTO repairmen did not come when called and that several months elapsed before service was forthcoming. A number of these cases was checked out and found to be incorrect, as parts had to be ordered from Denmark and were late in coming, because of shipment by sea. However, it is true from observation that local Greenland homes lacked in preventative maintenance. Many of the homes built in 1961 in the Myggedalen area of Godthaab were at the point of write-off. This is not attributed to poor maintenance in total, but due to a large extent to abuse by householders. An example of this is the destruction of property caused by excessive consumption of alcohol. In early June, six houses were damaged during one night's partying, the repair cost in the neighborhood of 50,000 kroner. This may be cited as one incidence of abuse and may not be the general rule.

Personal inspection of homes in the underdeveloped areas of Godthaab showed that homes were not given the same care as other parts of the city. Some authorities say that this is caused by the people that are evicted out of better homes for non-payment of rent. These people are put into lower standard of housing in the poorer sections of town. If the same type of people congregate in one general area, then that area will become a slum area.

Other underdeveloped areas of the city were observed. These are areas where all facilities that are provided in the apartments in the centre of town, are not normally provided. One such area, Islandsdalen which is the oldest area in Godthaab, is just the opposite of Myggedalen. Although old houses built in the 1930's and earlier, are still standing, these homes are well cared for. The older generation live in this part of town. They take more pride in their homes and inspection of these homes showed that they were well maintained and well kept on the inside. It was in this area that Greenlanders first offered me tea and cigarettes. They were used to Danish customs and were practicing them. I noted that during the visit to a number of settlements in the Godthaab fiord, that upkeep of homes was on par with the underdeveloped areas of the larger towns like Sukkertoppen or the capital city. Most of the small settlements in Greenland do not have electricity delivered to the homes. The homes burn coal or oil and use gas lamps for lights. Water is delivered by summer water lines to water points. It can be said that maintenance will be low on the priority list for these settlements and camps that will be depopulated. There is no use in spending money on a camp that will not exist in a few years time.

In Eastern Greenland there is very little communication with Western Greenland. Most of the small camps and settlements have virtually no municipal services to speak of. Home use coal and oil for heating and gas lamps for lighting. Water is hauled from a water point. Coal is imported from England. Other services such as nursing stations and schools are up to date with Western Greenland. In an interview with a couple (Mr. & Mrs. Motzfeldt) from Kumuit, a village 30 miles out of Angmassilik, I was told that there were 600 people living there. All houses were of the single family type. Electricity was only provided to civil servants. Two power units were installed, one 84 KW and one 90 KW. New generators are to be installed in the near future and it is anticipated that all houses will be hooked up. The biggest house here is a type 25, two-bedroom design. He finds the houses too small.

The main industry is cod fishing. The catch from January to June was 2,000 tons. These fish were caught by netting through the ice. Fourteen hundred seal skins were taken last year. Skins were bringing in \$20 per skin. Polar bear hunting depends on ice conditions. Polar bear skins were bringing 1,500 kroner on local market and 6,000 kroner at the auction in Denmark with 250 kroner paid for freight and auction fees. No figures were available on the number taken. Salmon (Char) and scaled salmon were used for domestic consumption and not exported. There is no caribou in the area.

The drinking problem in the Angmassilik district is pretty well non-existent. At one time it was quite a problem, but a private group called the Blue Cross has made some strides in curbing the problem. The Blue Cross is a teetotaler movement. There are 400 members in Angmassilik and one settlement with 50 inhabitants has 45 members in the movement.

From statistics and personal observance, it is apparent that physical development in Greenland is continuing at a fast pace. The technical side of development is good.



Kitchen water is drained out in front of the home, garbage is a problem during winter. Note the bags hanging out near the front door. Meat is left out to cool.



Main Street in Godthaab, capital of Greenland.



High density living area. Homes are finished nicely and are very attractive blending into the natural landscape.

homes are built of good quality material and construction is of high standard. Although apartment units are generally small, the quality is excellent. Other institutions such as schools, churches, day care centres, senior citizen homes, homes for unwanted children and unwed mothers, hospitals and nursing centres are in operation and new ones being built. These buildings and equipment in them is of high quality and very well maintained.

Although the physical side of development has increased tremendously over the past ten years, the human resource development has not gone hand in hand with physical development. Human resource development is taking a longer time and it is my opinion that there is not enough attention paid to this development while the development of institutions is being carried out. It is not that the government is unaware of this side of development. It is just that physical development is the first priority right now and human development is coming in at a second priority. The government is concerned with human development, but in the attempt to meet certain deadlines the human development must wait. There is the matter of building houses to meet the demand of the settlements being depopulated, the building of new facilities and purchase of new and better equipment for the anticipated increase in the fishing industry, the increase in size of hospitals, new schools for the influx of population, added services in nursing, day centres and many other types of institutions and services that have to be built to meet the demands for increases in population experienced in the towns and city.

IX

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Greenland is a highly institutionalized province. The school system provides education starting at the Nursery School level up to grade 10 level. There are 17 school districts with about 100 schools. Some of these are being phased out because of the migration policy. After the 5th grade settlement children must go to town schools, where they are housed in pupil residences. The best boarding schools are located in Egesminde, Julianehaab and Godthaab. These three schools can board approximately 400 students. At the 5th grade the classes may continue or branch off into a 1st preparatory class. Pupils in the 8, 9, and 10th grade may take options as well as academic training in special trades. A copy of the school structure is in Appendix "F". The lower secondary exam is identical with the Danish exam with the same standards and requirements. The first side deals with trade and industry and the second side deals with continued studies. In school the same subjects are taught as in Denmark plus Greenlandic language.

After the 2nd class lower secondary the student may have an option to take further training in Denmark. However, after the 3rd class lower secondary the student must go to Denmark for further training. This 3rd class is equivalent to grade 10 in most Canadian provinces. He must then study a further 3 years before he can attend university. At university they study for the period given for the particular degree, usually 6 to 7 years. He writes a final exam at the end of his studies. There is a school called the Seminary where students can take special training to become teachers. When they write the final exam in Greenland for this, they must then go to Denmark to finish off the training to realize a teacher's certificate. Greenlanders that have gone to university find it very difficult to get a degree because of language problems and being away from home for a long period of time. They have experienced difficulty in comprehending the superior Danish vocabulary that instructors use in university. When they write their final exam after 6 to 7 years of study in a university and if they fail, they must wait for 6 months before they can try the exam again. No credit is given for the years taken if they fail. This is where the disappointment comes in and the only recourse is to continue studying or go back home and most of them do this before the 6 years are out. Greenland has only produced four professional people. One of these a Roman Catholic priest. I was told that two of these were adopted by Danes at an early age and brought up in Denmark. The country has managed to produce more teachers. The teachers, however, do not have university degrees, but the training they do take could be equivalent to university training.

It is my opinion that the reason why more professional people have not been trained is the connection that Greenlanders place on their native country. Students get homesick and get depressed. There is a long time between the time that Greenlanders leave for school and the time that they return to Greenland. I do not believe that it is just a matter of not coping with language or that they are not qualified to go to university. It is more of a social problem. When the students get to Denmark they receive all of the benefit possible from the Danish government. University degrees can be prolonged because the government will do its best to keep Greenlanders



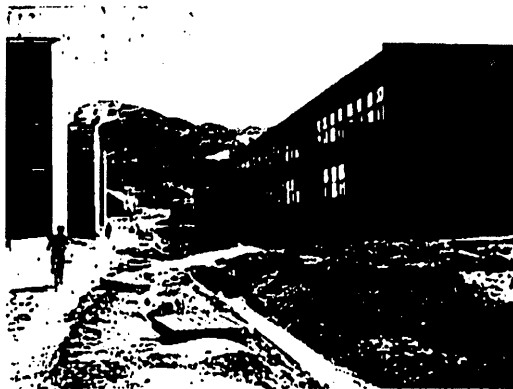
Single family dwelling. The concrete foundation is built up to contour of the land and can be used as a partial basement.



Community centre in Godthaab.



Royal Greenland Trade Co-operative Store in Godthaab.



Secondary school built next to apartment block in Godthaab.

at university and will help out in many other ways regardless of expense. I believe that Greenlanders are taking advantage to a certain extent of the government's good will.

Vocational School in Godthaab

The vocational school in Godthaab is the latest development in trade education. It is a fine structure with the most up to date facilities and equipment. It can take up to 150 students at one time with age groups from 15 to 60 years, although most of the students are in the 20's. From January to December 1970 about 1,000 students were put through. By 1972 the enrollment is expected to jump to 1,500 per year. The students stay anywhere from 3 weeks to 8 weeks depending on the trade. Both male and female go to this school. Anything is taught from homemaking to machinist trades. There are 11 teachers, 2 of which are Danes. The rest are well trained Greenlanders. The cost to run the school last year was 8 million kroner or about 1 million dollars. Young men are brought in from dying settlements to re-train in any trade of their choice. They are asked what they want to do after 4 months training and what town they would like to serve in. They apprentice for 4 years and go back to this technical school every year for instruction.

Day Care Centres

The Danish government operates Day Care Centres, where children are placed during the day so mothers can work. These centres are operated by trained nurses and a small charge is made against the mother for looking after the child. These centres are being developed in all of the major centres destined for fishing industries. These buildings are the latest in design and good sturdy buildings.

Home for Unwed Mothers

A home for unwed mothers is maintained by the state. The mother can remain here until until the child is 3 years old. During this time the mother can receive instructions in homemaking or take some vocational training. She has all of the facilities at her disposal. Out of 250 births in Godthaab last year, 125 births were illegitimate. The mothers after being released from the institution must work to maintain the child. It should be noted that this is a voluntary institution. Those mothers that cannot work are given social assistance.

Home for the Aged

People over 60 years of age are usually looked after by the state in homes for the aged. These are people that cannot fend for themselves. These homes are similar to those in operation in the Northwest Territories.

Home for Unwanted Children

A home for unwanted children is operated by the state as well. This is similar to an orphanage, where apprehended children are placed. These children can be adopted or raised in this environment.

Correctional Institute

Prisoners staying here receive good care. The prisoners are put to work during the day in such jobs as local garbage clean-up, cleaning the streets, repairing and building roads, etc. The correctional system in Greenland is similar to that operated in Yellowknife. Danes that I interviewed felt that the government was too lenient on the treatment of prisoners or on those that have committed crimes.

Social Welfare

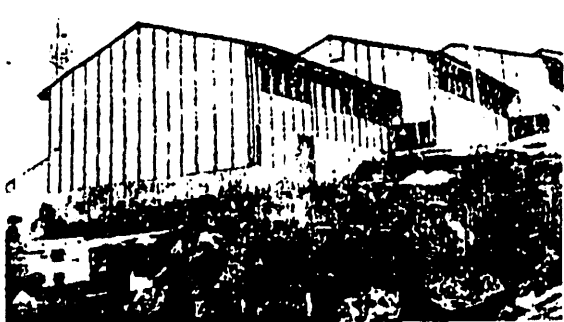
The social assistance and other social work such as child welfare and repatriation is handled by Greenlanders. Trained case-aides do most of the social work. They are not fully trained social workers. A number of fully trained Danish social workers work in Greenland but the overall staff for the whole of Greenland is small. These trained social workers carry out most of the supervisory duties and training and do not get into small settlements or come face to face with social problems. Travel into Eastern Greenland is almost non-existent. The case-aides receive up-grading as required and are trained by the professional worker. The system is similar to a committee system under the local secretary-manager's office. It is said that case-aides can best handle social assistance because they understand the language and know what the problems are. The funds for social welfare are realized through indirect taxes on chocolate, cigarettes, tobacco and liquor. Thirty percent of social assistance cost is reimbursed by the state. The administration is done under the Greenland Council by a Social and Labour Directorate.

Nursing Stations

Registered nurses make inspections to homes where there are new born babies. They make inspections until the baby has reached 3 years old. They report anything out of



Vocational school in Godthaab. Note pre-cast concrete construction with pre-fab facades from Denmark.



Day care centres like this one in Sukkertoppen are being built in all larger centres so mothers can leave their children while they work in fish factories and in other service industry.



Home for unwed mothers in Godthaab.



Old hospital in Godthaab converted into Old Folks Homes. The setting gives a good view of the sea.

the ordinary to the local social welfare office.

Law and Order

The Justices of the Peace are appointed by the Chief Justice in consultation with the Governor. Two others, who are Greenlanders, called Justice Men are appointed by the Community Council. These three sit on all JP courts. In more complex cases, like murder, this court only conducts preliminary hearings.

In the Magistrate's court the Justice is appointed by the King and he must be a King's Council. Two Greenlanders are at his side appointed by the Greenland Council for a four year period.

Local Greenlanders are picked out on basis of background and honor in the community. This is not their main profession.

When the decision is handed down by the JP or Magistrate he must consult with the two Greenlanders at his side, so the sentence can be discussed and settled.

Greenlanders are usually tried under the Greenlandic Criminal Code, which is a more lenient code than the Danish Criminal code. Some Danes are also charged under the local code depending on the circumstances. He may be a Dane that has lived in Greenland for a long time and considers it his home. For more serious crimes like attempted murder and criminal negligence, the accused if found guilty usually receives a lenient sentence. This sentence may be for a given term in the Correctional Institute or a sentence to take a trade. Some are sent out of the town where the crime is committed to a sheep farm in southern Greenland where he must help the sheep farmer for a number of years. Sentences for murder have no minimum or maximum sentences.

Liquor Outlets

All types of beer, wine and hard liquor can be sold over the counter in any of the grocery stores. There are no liquor stores per se. A heavy tax is placed on liquor and malt to discourage people from drinking. This tax revenue goes to the local communities to be spent on social programs. Anyone over 18 years of age can buy liquor during the opening hours of the stores, usually from 9 o'clock in the morning to 5:30 in the afternoon. There is late shopping on Fridays. The local bars are open from 5 o'clock in the afternoon until 11 o'clock at night. Off sales are not allowed at the bars.

General Health Services

Tuberculosis was at one time the most common cause of death in Greenland. A sanitorium was built in Godthaab in 1954 and a special vessel was fitted out to travel around Greenland to X-ray the people. There are very few cases of tuberculosis today and very few people are dying from this disease. The sanitorium is now used as a hospital (200 beds) and has a special TB ward. The administration has now decided to open up a psychiatric ward in this hospital. This is forthcoming in the near future. Greenland has 17 medical districts, each with a District Medical Officer. He also acts as the Medical health Officer and does general practice. All doctors and dentists work for the state under salary. All medical and dental treatment is free.

There is a high incidence of venereal disease and this is probably one of the most serious health problems today.

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PROBLEM AREAS

I should like to point out that I am not a sociologist nor a scientist of any kind. Although I have had experience with Indian and Eskimo people I do not consider myself an authority on Eskimos or Indians. I am looking at problems from a practical point of view and you may say purely from a layman's experience. Although idealism may be a necessity in certain respects I would rather consider practical solutions. I will outline the problems as I see them and from what I have gathered through interviews and inspection of homes.

First of all I admire and respect the way the Danish government has tackled the many problems in Greenland today. On the technical side I can only give them all the credit that is due for the way they have built up communities in the rocky terrain facing them. Most of the area is mountainous with very little open flat areas available. It is necessary to blast out rocks for foundations or to blast out whole hills of rock to make good harbour landings. Good gravel for building must be dredged out of the ocean. Arctic climate plays hazards and impairs construction. The problems on the technical

side are too numerous to mention, but the Danes have persevered and have been successful. The quality of construction is good, so that the money expended on buildings can realize some benefit for many years.

The large expenditures in constructing modern fish plants in the larger centres is a major success from a technical point of view. The fish industry is supposed to upgrade the standard of living and increase the wage for the Greenlander. To do this means an urbanization policy that will get rid of many small communities.

This policy in itself leaves the Greenlander with a new life, new responsibilities in a wage-earning economy and many problems in trying to be accepted into a new pattern of behaviour.

Although the Greenlanders are considered as Danes under the new constitution, they are a people separate from the Danes. They consider themselves as the Kalatdlits and their land as Kalatdlit Nunat, the Land of the Kalatdlits. They have their own identity and are trying to preserve it. There are very few pure blooded Eskimos in Greenland today. Most of the people are of mixed blood.



Note difficulty in town planning and problem with construction and building of service roads.

I got the impression that the Greenlanders are still seeking for an identity. This is being expressed not so much by the older generation but by the young people of Greenland. About 50% of the population is under 19 years of age, over 40% under 15 years of age. With such a young population there is a struggle for identity. Many of the young people are rebelling against established centralization and do not respect the authority of the administration. There is less control of youth by parents and little organized support by government to aid youth in their development.

When the new families migrate to the larger centres, they are put into what accommodation is available. This might be single family homes in a poor serviced area of town or in new apartments with full services. There is no housing education available to them when they move in. There is no preparation given to them beforehand or after they move in. To a great degree they are learning by example from the Danes, but can one maintain his identity and culture by example?

This type of situation with no housing education and no education on the new way of life provides a catalyst to many of the social problems. People that have their own values and morals are expected to adopt new values set by another society. There is very little direct communication between the administration and the Greenlanders so they are expected to accept new values through example and experience. The experiences can be very traumatic.

In order to administer housing programs and policies, one must have some knowledge and understanding of the people he is dealing with. The values of a low income society may be different than the values of a middle or high income group. To impose the values of the higher group on the lower may be wrong. What may be suitable values to the lower group are not considered so by the middle or higher group.

I have found, through interviews with the older generation, those in their 60's and 70's that they were of a different breed than the second generation, those in their 30's and 40's. These older people felt that it was good to work and even those that were retired still held jobs of sorts so they could do something useful, although the state was giving them a liberal pension. These older people seemed to understand the Danes much better and were more knowledgeable about their customs. The homes were generally well kept and clean. Most of them owned their own homes. I found more organization in the homes of the older people. I got the impression that the older people knew what was happening to the young people and were accepting it without question. It was life, so to speak, so what can we do about it. It gave me a feeling of looking at change from a distance, never getting close to it.

The second generation homes were not as clean, very little organization in the home and no hospitality to speak about. The hospitality factor could have been attributed

to me being white but I doubt it. This group had a no give-a-damn attitude. They expressed the fact that Danes were above them and that they could never reach the same platitudes as the Danes. There was animosity towards the wage structure, in that Danes made better salaries on equivalent jobs. However, those Danes in Greenland on a permanent basis, other than civil servants received the same wage scale.

The Wage Structure

It is necessary to explain further about the wage structure in Greenland. The Greenland Labour Union (GAS) sets out the wage structure for Greenland for unskilled and skilled workers. Although a whole study could be made on the Labour Union and wage rates, basically it outlines the wages and conditions of employment. Unskilled labourers get around 8 kroner per hour or about \$1 (Canadian) per hour. This would include dispensation for higher living costs. The skilled worker (all skilled workers no matter what trade are just skilled and receive the same pay) gets about 15 kroner per hour or \$2 per hour. This salary is normally paid to Greenlanders born in Greenland and for those Danes that come to work on construction for the summer months. There is no income tax. However, those Danes staying for two years or longer receive the same pay as they would get in Denmark at no tax, which is considerably higher than the Greenland rate. It should be noted that with the tax structure rates in Denmark being about 50%, that Danes coming to Greenland for 2 years or more actually get double pay. It should also be noted that certain Greenlanders with some standing and honour in the community receive certain dispensation to give them a higher pay. These Greenlanders are the elite group amongst other Greenlanders and are out of communication with most common Greenlanders. They are really Greenlanders without any identity.

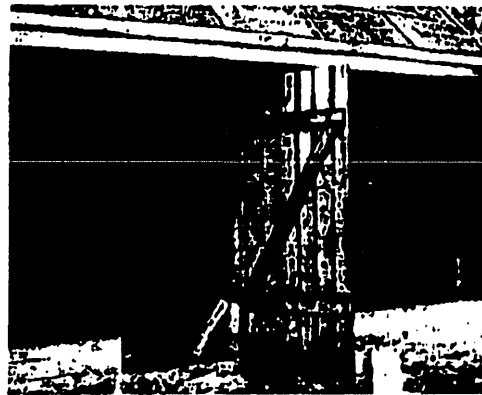
The reason for the lower wage rate for Greenlanders is that it would be impossible to pay them the same wage rates as Danes coming from Denmark because then with the no-tax structure, Greenlanders would in effect be making more money than Danes in Denmark. It would also present a problem for Danes to come to Greenland as the incentive of earning more money would not be there. If the Greenlanders were paid at par rates it would also mean higher production costs on export goods, putting the price of exports up, resulting in fish being exported to the international markets at inflated prices. The industry would then not be competitive on the international market. There is talk now in the administration that a tax system will be forthcoming and it is envisaged that everyone in Greenland will be paying income tax by 1973. This will, in effect, give the Greenlanders a lower take home pay than is realized now and put the civil servants back on par salary with Denmark. There is feeling that the incentive for Danes to come to Greenland will disappear and the government will not be able to properly staff its operation. This move coupled with the fact that the Danish government is already subsidizing consumer goods in Greenland leaves quite a problem to be ironed out.

It is my opinion that the tax system if it ever comes about, will be one of the greatest things that ever happened to Greenland. The salaries for Greenlanders would, therefore, have to increase, so that they as Greenlanders feel there is some equality between Danes and themselves.

As it is now, Greenlanders feel that Danes get more for their money and the people I interviewed stated that education was holding them back. Asked if both were on the same education level, would it make any difference? Consensus was that Danes were still being treated better. My observation was that Danes could economize better than Greenlanders and thus able to get more consumer goods. One household I interviewed had four family members working. They said that if four of them were working steady that they could make ends meet and that if one of them was out of work, then it would be hardship on the family. Even on the lower wage scale this family was earning some 4,500 kroner per month or about \$600. There are 7 members in the family, 4 of them adults. The rent for the house was 151 kroner per month and fuel and lights amounted to 300 kroner per month. This family used quite a bit of country food such as whale meat and fish. These items were not too expensive and the family should have been able to live quite comfortably on this amount. If the family had consumed more staple goods then there may have been a problem. The reason I suspected for not making ends meet would be a high consumption of beer and alcohol. A family of this size in Canada in equivalent jobs would be getting about \$1,600 per month. Two of the workers were fishermen, one a labourer and one a waitress. We must, however, consider that there is no tax in Greenland so the difference in wages makes some allowance for tax.

During my inspections of homes and interviews with families I was able to get some feedback on the problems Greenlanders were encountering concerning housing. Most of these problems dealt directly with technical matters. Almost all of the adults I

Interviewed expressed the fact that the housing units were too small. Most of those in single family dwellings would not hesitate to move into apartments. Others preferred single family dwellings if all services were provided. Some felt that they would like to move back onto the land but it was impossible now because there was nothing there for them. Generally those in single family dwellings were not satisfied because apartments got all of the facilities and services and were attractive to live in. Many of these people, however, have never been inside the apartments. Those in apartments were quite satisfied. Although most of them expressed that units were too small, this was really a minor problem. They liked the washing facilities and liked the idea that every unit was equipped with a modern kitchen and bath. Some women complained that the kitchens were too small and that it was necessary to eat in the living room. The newer apartments, though, have larger kitchens and the family can dine in them. These units are quite comfortable and the only difficulties that were encountered were:



Coal bin built into the duplex. Not used to great extent and more as tenants buy coal on a daily basis in 25-50 lb. bags.

- 1) It was difficult to haul furniture up the stairs, especially to the 3rd and 4th floors.
- 2) The washing facilities were placed on a timetable system, so that women had a problem looking after children when it was their turn to wash.
- 3) That they could not dry their clothes in the basement, because if they left them to dry, the clothes were stolen. So clothes are hung on the balcony to dry.
- 4) Danish women complained that Greenlanders left the washers dirty (i.e., dirty diapers - not prepared properly before placed in washer).
- 5) That because of timetable system, some women had to wash late at night.
- 6) That housecleaning was a problem with large families, because of small living room area. Cleaning had to be done when children were put to bed.
- 7) Children had difficulty making it to the bathroom in time because of the stairs.

There was no problem with the outside corridors as a means of entry and exit to the apartments. Both Danish and Greenlandic women expressed that they were not bothered by peeping toms, sex offenders or the like, by having these corridors. In fact, most of them liked it because they could go out once in a while to see how their children were making out in the play areas.

There was no problem with Danes and Greenlanders integrated in the apartment blocks. Both Danes and Greenlanders said that there was little noise from the apartments next door.

The new apartment blocks being built this year will not have outside corridors. The District Engineer from the GTO said that this was not because people were experiencing difficulty with them, but it was a matter of changing designs and not having all of the apartments built on stereotype designs. These new units will have central stairways leading to a number of units.

In general, the apartments were kept cleaner than the single family units. Health authorities indicate that those living in apartments were in better health and incidence of sickness declined in this type of living conditions. I should mention that during my stay in Godthaab I lived in one of the biggest apartment units and found it quite comfortable. There was very little noise and I was not bothered by anyone.

Even with these new apartments with all of its facilities there are problems built into the make-up of the society. Because people move from one locale to another, the housing does provide a catalyst to social problems. People are placed in a different life



Godthaab harbour. Whole hills of rock is blasted away to make a landing site and area for fish plant.



Corridor used for entry. Note space between top railing and closed in area. Could be hazard for children.



Play areas for children in front of units.



Outside corridor in apartment units used for entry and exit. Balcony exit at rear of apartment used for fire escape.



Whale carcasses are left on the beach. This is waste of good whale bone for carving purposes.

style. The house in effect, is the centre of the family make-up. This is the place where children are conceived, fed and educated. There is always a connection to home in childhood, youth and old age. There is always a direct relationship placed on the behaviour of people and the home they live in or were brought up in. When the relationship changes from a nomadic life to a camp or settlement life, then to a town or city life there are definitely social problems to overcome.

In Greenland the change at first was slow, but in recent years the speed of change has increased tremendously. People are expected to change overnight. There is the anxiety being felt by the heads of the household that they must change their pattern of behaviour. It is not that housing is too small or that all units do not have proper facilities that is bothering the people. It is the psychological problems that bring these people to drink and to lead immoral lives. These anxieties felt in Greenland are the inequalities inherent in the system of governing, the inequalities in wage rates, which then bring on other inequalities such as the feeling that Danes are superior. It is the inequalities in the law and order. Danes feel that they are not being treated fairly because the laws are too lenient for Greenlanders and Greenlanders feel that because the laws are too lenient for them, they are not equal to Danes. There is the inequality in education although the opportunities present themselves. Why should I learn a good trade if I do not get equal pay? There is no diversified industry. There is the inequality of Danes giving and Greenlanders taking with no built-in responsibilities on how to handle money. There is the negative attitude expressed by Danes that Greenlanders cannot cooperate. There is the state run church and the building of institutions to solve problems with no support to bring people along. There is the lack of adult education and housing education. There is the matter of more free time (because of wage employment) now than before when people had to struggle and work longer hours to make a living. What do people do with this time? There is the problem of finding an identity.

Why do people drink more? Why do people shirk their family responsibilities? Why do children receive no discipline? Why is there vandalism by youth and why is the venereal disease rate increasing? It is quite apparent that the drinking problem in Greenland is a major social problem and the same applies to the VD problem. These problems can be attributed to the frustrations and anxieties felt by Greenlanders. The Danes have drinking problems as well and these could also be attributed to the frustrations felt in administering and living in an isolated province, away from their native Denmark. There is no connection to home and the only way out is too expensive to take, that is the high cost of travel. The only other alternative other than recreation is drinking.



New Lutheran Church in Godthaab, made of pre-cast concrete. Large laminated beams are used for interior support.

When we speak about drinking problems, whose problem are we really talking about? Is it the Greenlanders problem or is it a problem tantamount in the minds of the administrators. Because of the difference in culture and mode of life Greenlanders are looked upon as having a tremendous drinking problem. When I interviewed Greenlanders they never did mention drinking as a problem in their lives. When asked what they did in their spare time, they would always mention other things, such as listening to the radio, going to the movies, etc. There was no mention at any household I visited that they ever went to the bar as a form of social inter-relationship with other Greenlanders. Drinking in this sense is a way of getting rid of anxieties and pressure placed upon them by a new society.

There is no grounds to say that Greenlanders drink more than Danes. It would appear so only through the behaviour of Greenlanders when they are drinking. You may see Greenlanders on the street in an intoxicated state, but never see Danes in the same situation. It is because Danes have a different behaviour pattern. They either go directly home from the bar in a taxi or personal car or they stay indoors and will not be seen in public because of social consequences. The Greenlanders on the other hand, are in their own environment, have different behaviour patterns so it is natural to be seen by others in public in a drunken state. In order to tackle the problem of drinking or to stop people from drinking to excess, it is necessary to look at why people drink. The other many small problems that are great ones in the minds of Greenlanders must be solved first. These problems are the catalysts to drinking. Methods such as

having Blue Cross Societies can help to a certain extent. Other methods such as higher prices levied against liquor and short bar hours only add to the problem.

The high incidence of VD can be attributed to immoral practices brought on by drinking and the other psychological problems being felt. Personal hygiene also contributes to the problem to a certain extent. There is feeling in Greenland that Danes are not helping the matter when it comes to venereal disease. There is a big influx of migrant workers during the summer. These men come up without their wives and many single men work during the summer as well.

After a period of time and after a long week's work (these men put in 12 hours per day), the men have to let off steam. They have more money to spend and therefore can afford to give the girls and women a good time at the local bars. This leads to promiscuous behaviour. Another big contributor to the problem, is the fact that stevedores and deckhands off the freighters coming in from Denmark, take the young Greenlanders out of the town. Because there are problems at home with the parents and because there is drinking going on at home, the children are freer to run around. They are living in a freer society and instruction from family or church on moral values is not being done to a degree that will stop this behaviour.

All of these problems in one way or another go back to the home. The man who is working, in any society encounters problems. These may be with his job or his inability to interrelate with others. He brings these problems to the house and to his family. The standard of housing and the way people are brought into the new homes, therefore has an effect on the overall social behaviour of people. The home is where the problem must be met head on. The home is where education is needed to bring the Greenlanders into a new life style.

To conclude the Greenland portion, I should like to say that the Danish government and administration in Godthaab has a great concern for the social problems in Greenland. I am also sure that, as they have overcome the technical difficulties in building, they will also tackle the social problems with as much vigour and enthusiasm. It is in their humane attitude toward life that these problems will be overcome. It will only be through trying out different methods and through perseverance over time. The social problems in any growing society are many, especially in one where people are being brought from a nomadic life into a jet age in such a short time. The government has only really started development in the past 15 years so the problems are tremendous at the present time. It will take many years before progress can be made in human development but I know that the administration is aware of these problems, are concerned about them and intend to do something about them. It takes understanding and communication from both sides and once a basis for communication and understanding is developed, progress will certainly be made. I can only wish them every success on the human develop-



Transient quarters at Sukkertoppen for seasonal Danish workers coming in from Denmark.



Administrative buildings in Godthaab. Note skylight for natural lighting.

ment side. Once the physical side of development is finished and comes to a normal pace, great strides will surely be made on the human resource development side.

As an appendix to this report included are papers dealing with "The Greenland Criminal Code and The Western Greenland Society I, 1962," "Family and Marriage in West Greenland I, 1961," and "The Alcohol Situation in Western Greenland, 1961." These papers are conclusions made by the Committee on Social Research in Greenland. This committee no longer exists but the facts presented in the Criminal Code and Family and Marriage remain as it is today. These papers were obtained from the Governor's office in Godthaab, Greenland.

Northwest Territories

When one considers the age of Canada today just over 100 years old, the Northwest Territories may be considered its infant, because it is the last area that is being developed. The Northwest Territories has a land mass area of 1,304,903 square miles, about 35 percent of the total area of Canada with a population of about 34,500 people, comprised of 6,800 Indians, 12,300 Eskimos and 15,400 others. * These others are considered as mixed blood and of European origin.

The early history of constitutional development dates back to the Temporary Government Act of 1869 when Rupert's Land was purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company and the present Northwest Territories was part of the transaction. The whole area at that time was the Northwest Territories. Over the years the area was split up into provinces, Manitoba (1870), Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905 and in 1912 the remaining Northwest was further reduced when the provincial boundaries of Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba was extended to their present form. During the period 1870 - 1905 very little representative government ruled over the Northwest Territories. After 1905 when Alberta and Saskatchewan were formed no elected representation appeared in the Territorial Council until 1951. In 1905 Federal legislation was passed to allow for the appointment of 4 Councillors, but no appointments took place until 1921. In that year a change was made which allowed for 2 additional members for a total of 6 councillors. For the next 8 years, only 11 ordinances were passed with the Council not meeting for several years in this period. Some of the 11 ordinances dealt with were the Dog Ordinance and ordinances of minor consequence.

In 1946 the first resident was appointed and 1951, 3 elected members from the Mackenzie District was added and one more in 1954. After 1960 federal officials were no longer appointed as members of the Council. The first resident Deputy Commissioner was appointed in 1967 and the first full-time Commissioner appointed in 1963. Previous to this the Commissioner was usually the Deputy Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Until 1967 the Territorial Government operation in the North was administered from Ottawa. In 1967, the Federal Government, intent on bringing government to the people, moved the administrative offices to Yellowknife, the Capital of the Northwest Territories. Under the N.W.T. Act, the Commissioner is appointed by the Federal Government and received his authority through this Act, however, by law he is responsible to the Governor-in-Council through the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. he must seek the approval of Council to expend money and he also seeks Council's approval on all major policy items.

The present Council is made up of 14 members, 10 elected and 4 appointed, the four appointed made up of one resident appointment (the Deputy Commissioner) and 3 appointed members from the southern provinces. The Commissioner presides over Council Sessions and it meets at least twice a year. As the Territorial Council just finished the 45th Session since its inception it can be seen that serious development in the North did not take place until after 1953. Over 30 Sessions took place between that time and 1971.

The population in the Northwest Territories according to the Canadian Census in 1931 was 9,316 and 16,004 in 1951. In 1967 at time of the move of government to the North the population was about 29,000. About 19,000 of the 34,500 people in the Northwest Territories today live in Yellowknife, Inuvik, Hay River, Fort Smith and Frobisher Bay. The remaining population is scattered over the great land mass, in some 70 settlements.

* Population figures taken from Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, Annual Report, 1970.

The Northwest Territories government provides provincial type services such as education, welfare, local government, industrial development and other administrative services. Unlike Greenland it does not have control of full Federal programs. The Federal government continues to control natural resources and has government agencies in the North, separate from the Territorial Government operation. The Territorial Government, however, does administer certain Federal government responsibilities. These are Indian treaty payments and administration of the Northern Rental Housing Programs for Indians and Eskimos.

The government receives about 80 percent of its money from the Federal Government and about 20 percent is raised by the Territorial Government through taxation on liquor, fuel oil, gasoline, sale of land, and other recoverables. The 1971 budget is in the neighbourhood of 91 million dollars. This is direct investment in the North only through the Territorial Government. Other investments by government in the North is handled by other separate Federal Agencies such as the Department of National Health and Welfare, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Resources Division, Water Resources and so on.

The above noted data will give a short history of development and with what responsibilities the government is charged with. In order to give some relationship for the Greenland study I will first outline the traditional type of housing for Indians and Eskimos and then deal with present policies and problems.

XII

TRADITIONAL ESKIMO HOUSING AND PATTERN OF LIVING

Generally the same type of dwellings were used as presented in the Greenland portion of this report. Eskimos in their search for better hunting grounds travelled across the Arctic from West to East. The history of the culture shows that the Eskimo first lived in the Alaskan frontier. Some groups moved east throughout the Canadian Arctic and into Greenland. The Eastern Arctic Eskimos, i.e. those living in the Baffin Region were of the same culture of those people living in Greenland today. Their language is almost the same. People in the Eastern Arctic can communicate with Western Greenlanders after a short time with one another. To this day Northern Greenlanders around Thule travel to Grise Fiord in the Canadian Arctic to visit their cousins. The type of housing used; the caribou and sealskin tents, sod houses and igloos are of the same basic design. Even the stone houses were built along the same lines. One difference here, is that Canadian Eskimos do not use sod houses or stone houses anymore, but this was not uncommon 20 years ago. Some of the foundations of these sod houses can be found in the north Baffin area and throughout the Canadian Arctic. I was fortunate to see a stone house in the Central Arctic in the Bathurst Inlet area. Although these people have not lived in stone houses for hundreds of years, some of them are still standing today. Eskimo still use tents to a large extent in the Canadian Arctic. Most of these tents are made out of heavy canvas duck. Some of the camp people still use caribou skin tents. Igloos are still being used for winter shelter on camping or hunting trips. In camp areas where no permanent settlements exist, the canvas tent is used to a great extent throughout summer and winter. These areas are very few. The most primitive Eskimo found today in the Northwest Territories are those living off the land. They have not lived in large settlements and have no desire to move. The larger congregations may be found in the Bathurst Inlet area, camps on Victoria Island, and on the Boothia Peninsula. These families number about 40 in total. The Bathurst Inlet area has the largest family grouping numbering about 20.

The people in the traditional sense made a living by hunting, sealing and fishing. Their pattern of living was generally the same throughout Canada and Greenland. The only real difference between the pattern of living in Greenland and Canada was the geographical factor. The physical environment, although mountainous in the Eastern and far Western areas, was not as difficult to cope with as in Greenland. There are more open areas in the Canadian Arctic with a greater land mass to travel to search for food. The Eskimo in the Canadian Arctic were therefore dispersed over a greater area and differences in ethnic family groups resulted. These divisions in ethnicity naturally developed by the pattern of immigration because of the receding ice age. People moved from one place to another and those people that lived in a higher area near the ocean hundreds of years ago, now live in lower areas near the same ocean. This has been found through archaeological studies. There are 12 different dialects of Eskimo spoken in Canada as compared to 3 in Greenland. Although the differences in ethnicity may not have posed any problems in the traditional sense, these differences together with the physical environment pose many problems for the administration today.

The pattern of Eskimo living in the Canadian Arctic cannot be tied in to the Greenland pattern in an exact sense. Although these people were the same through habits of living, they were certainly not the same when the physical environment is compared. The Canadian Arctic has more open land area with several large rivers running into the northern oceans. The situation in Greenland with 90 percent of its land area covered by ice is quite different. The open land area comprising 10 percent is of mountainous terrain dropping off into the sea, with very little open flat areas. These differences alone depicts a problem in saying the people were exact in nature.

Only the fact that about 95 percent of the Canadian Eskimo live beyond the tree line, will show some direct relationship with Eskimos from other northern countries. The physical environment then had a direct bearing on the living pattern of the Eskimo.

XIII

TRADITIONAL INDIAN HOUSING AND PATTERN OF LIVING

The Indians in the Northwest Territories come from one tribe called the Athapaskan. This tribe of Indians lived from New Mexico to the Mackenzie Delta and into the Yukon Territory. The tribe although Athapaskan in classification was made up of different sub-tribes each with their own language. These sub-tribes are the DogRib, Yellowknife, Slave, Hare, Nahanni, Chipewyan and the Kutchin. The Kutchin are known as the Loucheux Indians in the Northwest Territories. The Yellowknife, DogRib, Chipewyan and Nahanni Indians live in the southern part of the Northwest Territories from Fort Simpson to Fort Smith. The Hare, Loucheux, Slave, live north of Fort Simpson up to Akluvik and Inuvik. However, there are a number of these Indians living in mixed groups in larger centres such as Hay River, Yellowknife and Fort Smith. Generally, these people remain in their area and do not infringe on each other's hunting grounds. This classification of Indians is really not based on rule or law. The make-up of the tribe is really based on the individual Indian family, the closely knit families form bands and bands form sub-tribes and these sub-tribes into main tribes. In the sense that the classification of Indians could be pinned down to the family unit, they were similar to the Eskimo family in selection of leaders. Each Indian band chose a leader by popular vote. He may have been a greater hunter or had more force on the people than any other man. This band leader was not really a chief and could be replaced by some other Indian from a different family. The overall leader of the sub-tribe was chosen from the various family groups within the band. For a better word the leader of the sub-tribe is called a chief today and the leader of the band group is called a councillor.

These people moved from one hunting ground to the next usually in family groups. They did not move out of their general area, always respecting the other sub-tribe areas. This type of living presented a problem of having close sub-tribe congregations. Only during special occasions did all of the family groups meet at a certain location to have a feast. Since the people lived off the land they had to move from one location to the other following the game. Their mainstay was moose, caribou and fish. Their life was a struggle for survival.

The Indians lived in the forest areas of the Northwest Territories. Some lived on the fringes of the barren lands but still within the tree line. The only time they travelled into the barren lands was when the caribou migration came through. Their weapons were the bow and arrow, knives and spears. Various methods were used to kill caribou, from driving them into pounds and into lakes or rivers where they were killed by bow and arrow or spears from canoes. The Eskimo killed his game in a similar fashion. Since maintaining a family was a matter of continuous struggle to get food, there was very little spare time for leisure.

The dwellings of the Indian were teepees throughout the year. These teepees were made from caribou skins. The Mackenzie River people also used birch bark to cover the teepees. The frame of the teepees was made from lodgepoles, poles of 2-3 inches diameter at the base running up to 15 feet high criss-crossed at the peak of the teepee. The base of the teepee would be about 12-15 feet in diameter depending on the size of the family and availability of skins. Smaller teepees were used as smoke houses to dry fish, meat, and tan hides. These teepees are still used today on hunting trips and during the summer.

Most Indian and Eskimo families use tents during the summer months. They like to get out of the houses after a long winter and move into a tent. During this time the houses are aired out, cleaned, painted and repaired.

The Indians also built lodges of oblong shape with larger poles. These houses were chinked with moss and roofed with spruce bark or spruce boughs.

The social life of the family was limited because of the tremendous amount of time that was taken for travelling and hunting. Feasts were held when bands got together, usually once a year. Some tribes held feasts for the dead and at times of the new moon. Dancing was a favourite pastime at such feasts. Skin drums were used for sound effect. The Indian like the Eskimo, did not have any particular religion, they believed in spirits of the land and water. They called upon these spirits to perform good luck for hunting and evil against their enemies. There was no future planning as such in the lives of the Indian. They lived for the present, being so occupied with living today and not next year or the year after.

The Indian is a type of person that is best in his own element. He adapts himself to present conditions within his physical environment. Taken out of his environment, he cannot easily face problems without some consequence. They are a proud people with independence and pride in their own living area because they know what to do, how to do it and are proficient at doing it. When new situations arise that do not fit into their pattern, they become bewildered and confused. If a wrong is done when faced with a new situation, the expression is not one of really remorse in that they feel bad for doing wrong, but rather a bitterness towards themselves. They then develop hidden bitterness within themselves. If such new situations continue to develop, then the buildup of bitterness erupts.

The Indian is basically a family man. He recognizes long strings of distant relatives as cousins, uncles and aunts. Even if there is some doubt that a person might not be a relative, he is accepted as one. In this sense tribes consider other tribes as their brothers, when they are put into a difficult circumstance. In this respect there is more unity amongst the Indians as compared to the Eskimo.

In the traditional sense the Indian considered small problems of great importance, i.e., organize caribou hunts, getting wood for fires, etc.

To make a general comparison between the Eskimo and Indians I would have to say, that although similar ideas of hunting were used, the other aspects of living and their make-up is completely different. There is the difference between the geographical differences in habitation, difference in culture and language, difference in appearance and a difference in temperament. The Indians are a reserved people while the Eskimo is noted for his open friendly attitude, cheerful and receptive to new ideas.

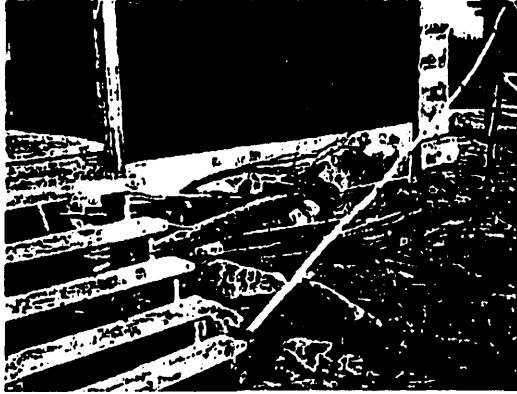


Typical teepee design. This one is being used for drying and smoking fish.

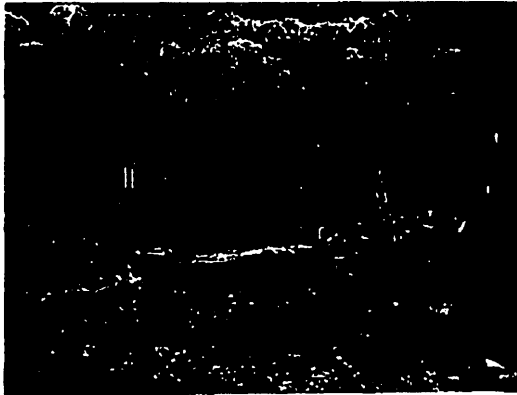
XIV

TRANSITION OF INDIANS AND ESKIMOS

With the advent of the white man, these nomadic people were influenced to a great degree by European domineering attitudes. The Indian people made permanent contact with the Hudson's Bay Company in the late 18th century when the fur trade came into the Mackenzie River district. People were encouraged to trap furs for the trading posts and this became their economic base. The introduction of firearms dwindled the herds of caribou and moose, so that Indians had to rely almost entirely on the fur trade. Since game was scarce before the introduction of firearms, now the game



Indian people still gather wood in some areas, this being a daily chore. Wood is not stockpiled.



There are still many of these make-shift shacks in the Northwest Territories.

was limited and total living could not be realized off the land.

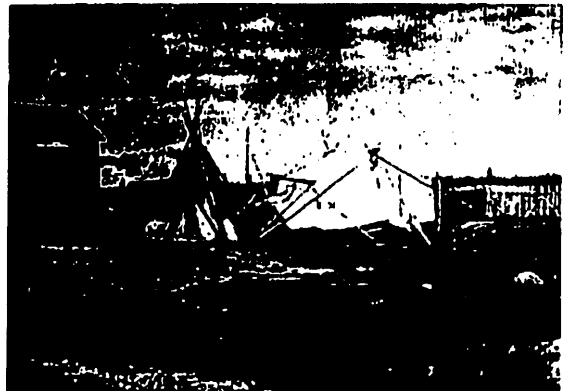
The introduction of fur trading actually was a detriment to the people. The fur-bearing animals were readily trapped out and tribes had to go further out on the land for fur, in order to make a bare living. This infringement on other tribe's territories brought on warfare by certain tribes. Where one time the people lived in peaceful co-existence, this attitude changed. The Chipewyans attacked the Yellowknife tribe and they in turn attacked the DogRibs, Slave and Hares.

The Indian people were in contact with other evils brought in by the white man. Disease spread throughout the North partly from change in diet and from low resistance to new diseases. The population before the coming of the white man is estimated at 25,000 Indians and Eskimos. Even today the total population of these two groups is only 19,100. The most devastating disease was smallpox, other infectious diseases were measles, influenza and tuberculosis. The missions came into the picture around the middle of the 19th century and they did much to provide better health for the people. This first contact with whites left a permanent scar on the people. They were demoralized to the extent that they could no longer go back to making a complete living off the land.

The Eskimo made contact with the Europeans through the exploration of the Canadian Arctic by the British, Norwegians and Danes, then later with the whalers and fur traders. This took place around the early 1800's. This initial contact with explorers did not have the same effect on the Eskimo because the visits were few and far between with no one staying behind. The whalers made a greater impact on their lives. The change from a complete living off the land to whaling and fur trading made a distinct change in the lives of the Eskimo. New methods of hunting was brought in and greater emphasis was placed on the need for other necessities such as sugar, flour, tea and tobacco. The renewable resources could not give the Eskimo family what he really needed. After the whaling industry died out, trading posts were established by the Hudson's Bay Company. Eskimos trapped the white fox and other fur-bearing animals in order to get their staple necessities. Small settlements were established with usually a Bay manager and an R.C.M.P. The people still lived on the land to a great degree and came in to trade as may be necessary to obtain trade goods.

The transition from living entirely off the land to an economy dependent on the fur trade and wage employment has proved in many respects to be harmful to the Indian and Eskimo. The changeover to a new type of economy cannot be done without any ill effects. One of the most disastrous effects the fur trade and building up of defense measures had on the people was the locations picked for permanent settlements. Usually these settlements or trading posts were chosen by the fur trader. He picked a site that had a good harbour or landing area along the river, good level area for building the post and within close proximity to a good water supply. The post did not move and most times was not in the prime hunting or fur area. The people came to the trader wherever he was and not the trader to the people. When the Indian and Eskimo finally moved into the settlement, he picked up old scrap lumber, built a make-shift shack and settled down to a new life. He changed his style of living to a great degree. He began to use white man's clothing and white man's food. His house was too cold in winter. Ill health among the people was now a common thing. Tuberculosis was the biggest killer of the people. When the government stepped in to help the people in the early 1950's it was already too late for many, the populations having declined by great numbers.

The government's first objective was to provide better health for the Indian and Eskimo then education and housing. The newly formed Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources came into being in 1953 and this federal department was charged with development in the North. Until this time people were living in make-shift shacks, education was handled by mission schools and health standards were very low. It must be realized that the people were living off the land to a great extent at that time, so emphasis was not placed that heavily on the economic growth of settlements or areas.



Note the transition of dwelling types. The original Indian teepee, the later white man's tent made of canvas duck and then the log house. The corral in the right background is used for dogs.

Very little development took place until 1956, at which time the DEW Line (Distant Early Warning) was started. The main settlement areas along this line in the high arctic got their first schools. The new townsite of Inuvik was being built. At this site large pupil residences were being constructed to house children coming in from settlements and camps to get an education. Many of the settlements did not have schools, so it was necessary to bring the children into a larger centre.

The first schools in the high arctic were opened in 1956 with education up to grade 6. These schools were usually small, 2-classroom types, because settlements were small and those children still living in camps went to hostel (pupil residence) schools. These hostel schools were located at Inuvik, Fort McPherson, Fort Simpson, Fort Smith, and Yellowknife. Now there are small hostels at nearly every settlement in the North. They are used for camp children and for parents who leave their children, when they go trapping and hunting. Most settlement schools now teach up to grade 8, however, to get a better education it is necessary to go to larger centres in the Northwest Territories.

Since the health standard of the Eskimo and Indian was low, a major plan to develop better standards was initiated. X-ray teams travelled throughout the Territories, by airplane in the west and by ship in the east. Patients were hospitalized in the south, either at Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg or Edmonton, depending on the transportation links to the south. Western people were sent to Edmonton, the central or Keewatin to Winnipeg, and the Eastern to Toronto and Montreal. There was no TB sanatorium in the Northwest Territories that had all of the facilities and to this day there are none. The hospital at Fort Smith and Fort Rae operated by the Roman Catholic Church had TB wards, so those with TB in the early stages were treated here. Although the incidence of TB has declined considerably, patients still have to go to southern hospitals.

After a profound improvement was made in the health standards by introducing social welfare and welfare housing, priority was placed on education, so that the residents of the North could have the same opportunity of employment as others.

XV THE ECONOMY

The Crown in right of Canada has control of all mineral rights in the North. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is responsible for the management of the oil, gas, mineral, water, forests and land resources and for the development of primary industry. Its objectives are to find new ways and to expand industry at a fast pace so that all Canadians can benefit. It makes policies and in many cases carries out the policies.

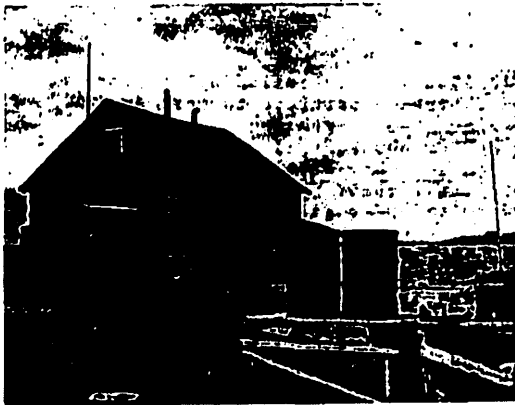
Mineral production in the Northwest Territories for 1969 was approximately \$115,446,563. The gross revenue for 1969 derived from royalties, fees, etc., on oil and gas was \$4,624,454. During 1969 over 60 million dollars was spent on oil and gas exploration in the Northwest Territories.

Exploration provides seasonal work for many Indians and Eskimos, however, once mines and oil refining stations are in operation, mechanism takes over, with very few people working in these types of industries. The service industries that are set up because of the primary mining industry provides more jobs for Northerners.

The Department of Industry and Development of the Government of the Northwest Territories is charged with encouraging the establishment and expansion of primary and secondary industries, expansion of arts and crafts industries, develop and supervise co-operatives, planning and implementation to utilize renewable resources. This department is also responsible for promoting and developing Tourism, expansion of the industry, development of public and private facilities and services, promote growth of tourist facilities in remote indigenous areas and to promote the Northwest Territories through advertising, publicity and research. It also has a Game Management section that encourages trapping and assists trappers to maximize utilization of game resources, assists indigenous peoples who depend on renewable resources for a livelihood. In Industrial Development the government will be spending some 2 million dollars in 1971.

In the Tourism Division about \$440,000 will be spent in 1971 and about \$700,000 will be spent in the Game Management Division.

The fur production figures for 1969-70 is contained in Appendix "C". In this chart, of the 435 licenses issued to white only a few are really trappers. Most of these people use their license for hunting purposes. It should be noted that about 1,366



Log construction Indian housing built under the Indian Affairs program prior to 1965. Note outside toilet and garbage stands.



Photo by T. Butters. A typical log house design built under the Indian Affairs program in Inuvik.



Older Indian Affairs housing built in 1958 at Yellowknife, N.W.T.

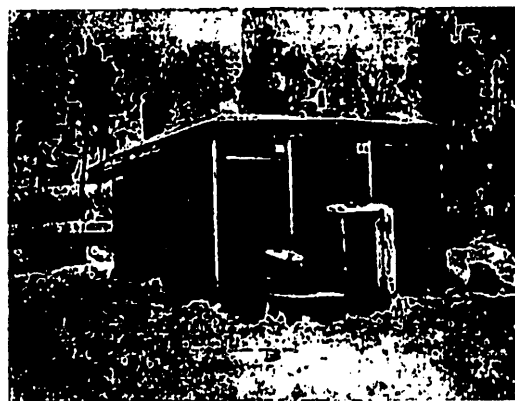


Photo by T. Butters. 12 x 24 foot house built under welfare program.

Indian households and 1,768 Eskimo households participated in trapping to some extent. The gross revenue realized from trapping in 1969-70 was \$995,534. This is an average of \$125 per family. Trappers usually supplement their income by hunting, fishing and some seasonal wage employment.

The younger people do not trap any more. There may be a few trappers but the number is so small for all intents and purposes we could say that the young people want to look for other opportunities.

XVI HOUSING PROGRAMS AND POLICIES

Indian Affairs Housing

The housing and other development in the North did not really get started until 1958.

The Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources built 3-bedroom type houses throughout the Indian settlements. These houses were built with an input from the Indians. In places where logs could be taken out of the timbered area, log houses were built. The Indian had a share in these houses because he usually cut his own logs and hauled them onto the site. The government provided skilled labour to install the windows, doors, flooring, etc. Materials for finishing were purchased by the government from southern Canada. In those areas where good logs could not be supplied by the Indian, conventional frame homes were built. The Indian usually put in about \$500 worth of labour towards the house. No rent was collected and although the government had a good share in the houses, the Indians considered these homes to be their own. The Indian paid for his own services and provided his own fuel, which was in most cases, wood. There was no housing education provided to show these people basic points in organization and sanitation. These homes deteriorated quickly because maintenance was not kept up by the owner and abuse through plain negligence lowered the standard of accommodation.

Welfare Housing

Since the Indian people came under a special treaty, the government had to provide them with some basic housing. Other people, the Metis, Eskimo and underprivileged whites, did not have any such housing program as was provided for the Indian. Welfare homes were built for the indigenous Eskimo, Metis and whites. The homes were very small 12' x 24' and usually referred to as matchboxes. In areas where the people wanted to buy homes, the government built houses referred to as 512's. They had 512 square feet floor space and were of a two-bedroom design. These homes were sold to Eskimos at total cost repayable over a period of up to 20 years at 4% interest.

There was no charge made under the Welfare units and both the tenants of the Welfare houses and home-owners had to pay for all services.

Both of these programs were a complete failure. Costs of services were high, so government had to pay for heating the Welfare units. The home-owners could not afford to pay both the payments and costs of services, so payments went into arrears.

Northern Rental Program

In 1965 the Federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development came through with a new plan to provide better housing at a faster pace. It was their argument that progress had been slow in the provision of these welfare type of housing (200 were being built per year). It would take about 8 years to provide homes to those Eskimos who could not afford to purchase housing. There was a need for 1,600 homes in 1965. It was envisaged that at the rate of new family formations at 80 per year, it would take about 13 years before all families could be placed in housing. The older type of housing, 1 room, 1-bedroom

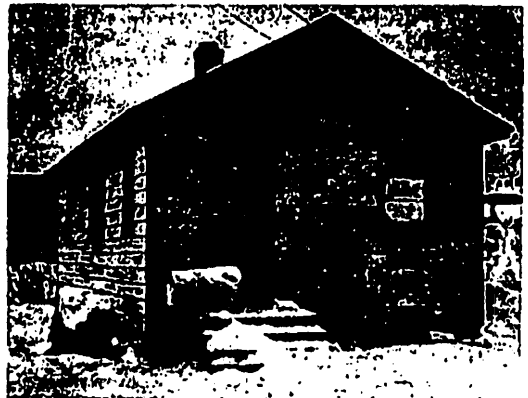


Photo by T. Butters. 512 design. Many of these homes are still being used in the Northwest Territories.

and 2-bedroom were inadequate as it was, so a holder program was set up. This new Northern Rental Housing Program would supply larger 3-bedroom homes (700+ square footage floor space) thereby giving better conditions for living, upgrading health, better study areas for children going to school and some living comfort. The plan would be completed within 5 years if 400 units per year were constructed.

The explanation of this program and the other housing programs in effect today are outlined in Appendix "H". This was prepared by the Chief of Housing, Department of Local Government, Government of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife.

Administration of Northern Rental Program

The administration of the program remained in the Federal Government's hands until November, 1968. At that time the Federal Government turned over the administration of the program to the Territorial Government. Since treaty Indians were still a Federal responsibility, The Federal Government still maintains control of the program and sets policy.

The program administration policy of the program is contained in Appendix "J".

Housing Standard

It is quite apparent that homes being built for indigenous people in the Northwest Territories is set upon social standards and not upon economic standards as in Greenland. It is the Canadian Government's policy that the human resource development must go hand in hand with economic development, with emphasis placed on economic development to enhance the progressive development of human resources. In this respect settlements are continuing to grow without phasing out camps or settlements. In order to maintain communication and to better understand the people, government intends to develop communities so that effective government can develop from the grass-roots.

It is therefore government policy to get as many Indians and Eskimos involved in the programs offered.

Housing Education

In every settlement where rental housing is being built, an intensive housing education program is carried out. This housing education program is broken down into four major phases to gradually bring the people in direct participation in the program.

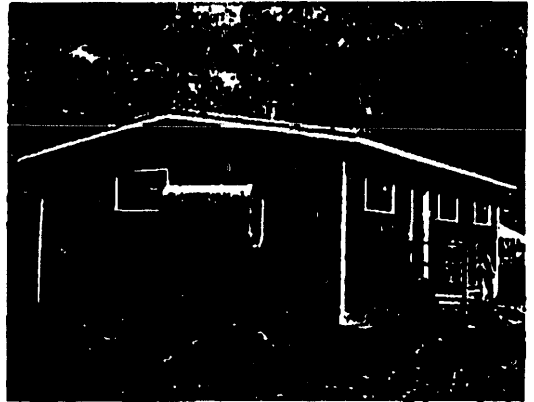
Phase I explains all aspects of the program so that Indians and Eskimos would understand the advantages of renting a house.

Phase II involves the Indians and Eskimos in all aspects of homemaking in order to promote better nutrition, cleanliness and sanitation standards. This phase is under the leadership of southern educators, however, native leaders are encouraged to take over.

Phase III introduces the total concept of the program so that Housing Associations are formed in every settlement. Directors are elected from tenants or prospective tenants. This phase develops the directors so they can collect rent, keep accounts, allocate housing, conduct meetings, keep records of meetings, make surveys for housing needs.

Phase IV selects local leaders among Indians and Eskimos, provides them with intensive training in home management so that they can in turn train their own people in the skills necessary to make the best use of the houses. Local leaders are picked out by the people themselves so that effective liaison can be realized between government administration and the people.

The money allotted to carry out the housing education program is limited. The financi-



A typical 3-bedroom home in Inuvik, Northwest Territories. These homes are brought in prefabricated and built on site using local labour. Homes are placed on fir blocks on gravel pads. There are no outside porches.

an agreement between the Federal Government and the Territorial Government on the transfer of administration in the Northern Rental Program stated that: "In order to enable Indian and Eskimo people living in Mackenzie settlements to adapt to the cultural change implicit in rental housing, an education program will be necessary for a period of up to one year in many locations, two years in others. This will include the provision of educational workers in each settlement, preferably local people, to work closely with the individuals and families concerned. This program will be an extension of the work at present being financed by a grant from CNRC under Part V of the National Housing Act. Costs will include 35 man years at \$7,200 over the four year period; \$35,000 travel and other expenses; \$10,000 for materials; \$25,000 for annual conferences and training sessions."

The agreement further states that as Eskimos and Indians occupied public housing the funds would necessarily be decreased. However, the agreement further stated that financial support would be given by the Department to those in public housing if required. The agreement is binding for four years from 1968. During 1970-71 estimate year money was voted in by Territorial Appropriation for housing education. The same course of action was taken in 1971 and so it goes in the years ahead. Since housing education money is needed for both the Eastern Arctic and the Western Mackenzie there is a definite shortage of funds to operate a realistic program for all of the Northwest Territories.

The agreement is very loose in that the Federal Government can stop giving funds after two years even though the agreement states four years. Since the Territorial Government has voted money for housing education for the past two years it appears that the money that was supposed to have been given by the Federal Government for the four years has not materialized. It is further suggested that no money was allotted for the Eastern Arctic. It is impossible to hire competent staff, train Indian and Eskimo educators and expect to carry out a meaningful program with \$15,000 for each region. Housing education is needed for many years in such a program. The Government cannot expect people to learn overnight. It cannot expect to train people, then give a one-shot program over 2 to 4 years. This type of program should be a continuous one, so that there is indication that people are grasping the concepts of the program and are being responsible tenants. At the present time there is an indication that the original program was some success. However, one cannot base success in human development over a 4 year period. It is pointless to drop the program when some measure of success is realized. Women of the household are beginning to take active participation in local affairs and have managed to some degree to maintain their homes better than before. This can be realized through out the Mackenzie River settlements, but not so easily in the high arctic settlements mainly because there is no guide to compare it to. People may have been good housekeepers and good organizers in igloos so what is to stop them when they move into a new home for the first time. However, some aspects of the program that must continue are: sanitation, housekeeping, budgeting and responsibility as tenants and as officers of associations. The housing education program not only dwells on the house and home making. It has to dwell more on the social side of life. In this respect there must be more input from Education and Social Development. In order to educate, whether it is in-school education or housing education it takes money. The goal cannot be achieved by only getting people involved. If money is needed to get things done then money has to be allocated.

Further study is needed in the area of housing education to see what has been accomplished and what must be done. It serves no purpose to say we need so many dollars if we do not have a plan. Special consideration should be given to evaluate the program, set up a plan of action, then carry it out. As it stands today there is no real plan and I do believe that government does not know where it stands in housing education.

Housing Associations

The Housing Associations gives the people some responsibility in the program. It involved them in town planning, selection of designs, a voice in local affairs and a strong media to government. Housing Associations are given contracts to build their own houses in their respective settlements. The contracts are let by public tender and housing associations that tendered usually gets the contract because their price is lower. One of the reasons for this, of course, is the supply of local labour, no need for construction crew expenses, and local knowledge. The people are gaining not only a measure of responsibility and education in democratic principle, but they are also gaining the skills necessary to build houses. Although the costs to government may be more in the long run, government feels that in order to develop people, it must get them directly involved.

Public Service Housing

Public servants recruited to serve in the Northwest Territories are provided with accommodation. The houses provided by the government along the Mackenzie Highway system, i.e., those locations which are accessible by road to Southern Canada, are unfurnished. The tenant must supply his own furniture and pay for his own services. Other isolated locations not connected to the highway system have houses fully furnished plus services. The apartments in all locations are provided with furnishing. However, the cost of electricity is borne by the tenant along the Mackenzie Highway System. The rent structure is based on the size of the unit, its geographical location and cost of servicing. For example, in Yellowknife, a 3-bedroom home with basement would rent at \$100 per month. The tenant pays for all services which usually runs in the neighbourhood of \$60 per month. The same type of dwelling in Inuvik without basement, but with a crawl space with all services and furniture included would rent at \$160 per month. There is actually an equalization in renting throughout the Northwest Territories.

Most of the units belong to the government but contracts have also been let to lease accommodation from private enterprise. These leases are usually for a period of 20 years.

The quality of staff housing is much superior to the houses that Indians and Eskimos are renting. The average cost to build a 3-bedroom staff house with all facilities is \$23,000 without price of land. Land costs vary depending on the development of the land, location, market value, and landscaping. Land costs vary from zero dollars in the high arctic for one lot to \$10,000 in Yellowknife.

Personnel are recruited from southern Canada and from within the Northwest Territories. One of the government's objectives is to have by 1977 at least 75% of its staff made up of Northerners. These would be Indians, Eskimos and other permanent residents. In some areas government has almost reached this goal. In the Inuvik region for example, approximately 60% of its administrative and support staff are Indians and Eskimos. This does not include teachers. The total Government staff for the whole of the Northwest Territories is in excess of 1,500; 800 of these are teachers. The Territorial Government recruits its own staff. Personnel are encouraged to stay in the North. No one, except for some professional short-term contract employees, is hired on a temporary basis or for periods of up to 2 years. The staff of the government is of a more permanent nature, even though there is a turnover.

People are encouraged to serve by giving incentives such as isolated allowances in areas not connected to the highway system, built-in allowances in the salaries to offset higher costs of food, subsidized housing, good pension plans, holidays once per year with government paying about 90% of the travel costs to a southern city and education benefits to those who want to take further education and for employee's children going to university.

Maintenance and Allocation of Staff Housing

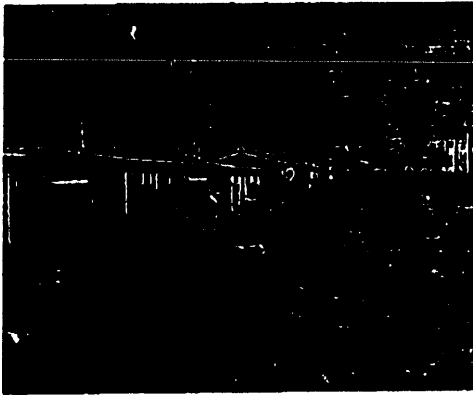
Administration of all staff housing comes under the Personnel Department. They estimate costs for operation and maintenance, equipment replacement and additional housing. The money for this is then transferred to the Public Works Department for action. Although the Department of Public Works carries out the maintenance as they see fit, the actual responsibility lies with the Personnel Department. All housing is pooled with the Personnel Department making the allocation upon requests from the recruiting officer, indirectly through staff requisitions from the departments.

The amount of money used for maintenance is determined by a formula based on Dominion Bureau of Statistics costs for housing maintenance all over Canada. A special formula is used for Northern Canada, whereby a percentage of the capital cost of the building is used for maintenance. A different figure applies to Northern Rental units.

The actual amount received in the budget however, is less. The formula used for the Northern Rental units is 3.4% of the capital cost of the buildings.

Maintenance and Allocation of Northern Rental Houses

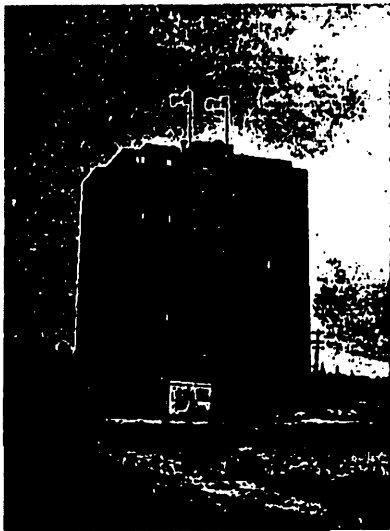
The amount of money provided for maintaining these houses is based on the formula used for other buildings as noted above. The responsibility for budgeting lies with the



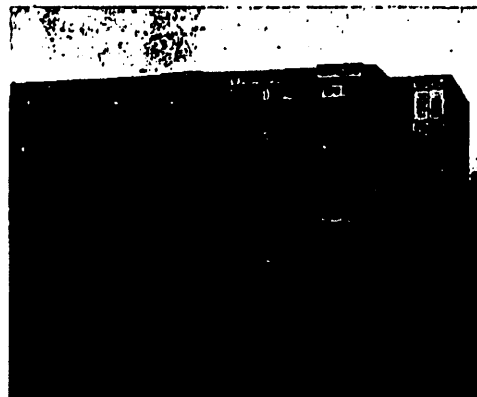
General layout of homes in Northwest Territories settlements. 45 gallon barrels placed on stands are used for garbage collection. Electricity is provided to each home.



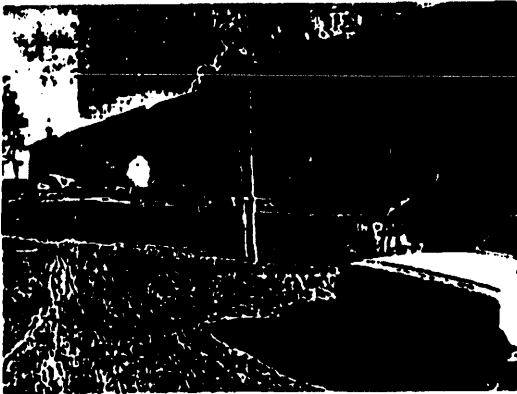
Suspended basement design, 3-bedroom staff housing in Frobisher Bay. The utility room, storage area and ramp-up room is in the basement area above ground level. The house is poorly designed from a northern living standpoint. The bedrooms are small, living and dining area together and a very small kitchen. These units cost \$40,000 each, the material is low quality and workmanship is poor.



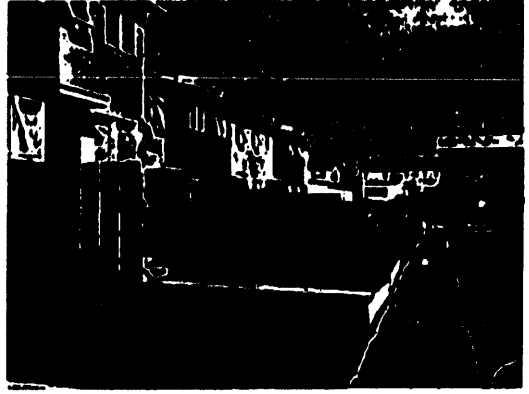
13 storey highrise apartment in Yellowknife. Construction is superior with swimming pool on lower level. These units are leased for Territorial public servants and for the private sector.



A conventional design 16-unit apartment block in Yellowknife.



Garden apartments in Yellowknife. This is a 16 unit - 3-bedroom type apartment built back to back. Each unit is offset according to the lay of the land.



Garden homes in Yellowknife. Grass can be put in making an attractive home. These units have 3 bedrooms and a storage room upstairs, a kitchen, laundry room complete with washer and dryer and 1 1/2 baths. Ventilation is poor in summer because of no up draft.



Civil service apartment block in Yellowknife.



Kindergarten in the shape of an Indian teepee attached to the school in Yellowknife.

Department of Local Government. This department turns the money over to the Department of Public Works for carrying out the work. Through direction from the Department of Local Government a small amount of this money is given to the local housing associations to do minor repairs.

The Housing Division of the Department of Local Government administers and co-ordinates services under housing programs designed within the framework of the National Housing Act. This includes Public Housing, homes for Senior Citizens, Single Persons' Accommodation and Special Projects. It also handles the 1st and 2nd mortgages of the Low Cost Housing Ordinance, Territorial Rental Housing, same as Northern Housing for all persons other than Indians and Eskimos and the Northern Rental Program.

The cost for operation and maintenance for 2,362 houses under the Northern Rental Program and the Territorial Rental Program for 1971-72 is \$2,301,000. Out of this money \$1,940,000 is used for fuel, power, repair of building and equipment for the Northern Rental Program. The capital costs for 1971-72 is \$1,210,000 for 115 houses at \$14,000 per unit.

The average cost to operate and maintain one unit of over 700 square foot floor space is \$984 per year. The average assessed rent per unit is 533 but the amount collected is about \$25 per unit or 76% collection. There is no action taken to take people to court or in most cases to evict to lower standard of housing because of the shortage of units. At this time, in order to house every family in the Northwest Territories in good standard accommodation, 800 units are required.

Floor plans for the types of units built can be obtained by writing to the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories.

Before I deal specifically with problem areas related to housing in the Northwest Territories, I will outline the social services and the economy, so some comparison can be made with Greenland.

School System

XVII SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The school system provides education from grades 1 to 12 in the Northwest Territories. Most schools in the smaller settlements teach up to grade 8, at which time the students must go to larger centres like Inuvik in the Western Arctic, Frobisher Bay in the Eastern Arctic and several locations in the Southern Mackenzie. After grade 12 the student goes directly into university or takes technical or other training as the case may be. During 1970-71 a total of 145 students received aid to go to southern universities. The student may go to the university of his choice in southern Canada. Of this amount of students 135 were given financial assistance to pay for tuition fees, textbooks, transportation costs and the cost of board and lodging. The other 10 were given bursaries of \$1,500 each. These did not qualify for outright grants.

In September of 1970 a total of 10,311 pupils were enrolled in the Northwest Territories schools. This was an increase of about 8% over the previous year. The ethnic breakdown for enrollment was:

Eskimo	4,264
Indian	1,731
Others	<u>4,316</u>
TOTAL	<u>10,311</u>

The curriculum is based to a certain degree on the culture and heritage of the Northern peoples, as well as tests on southern or the white society. Technical texts, of course, are based on national and international developments. The texts and films on Eskimo and Indian culture is used in elementary level readers, social studies and listening materials. Increased attention is being paid to the native languages for instructional purposes and to enrich the child's first language.

In many of the schools in the Northwest Territories, Indians and Eskimos are employed to aid the teachers in classroom instruction. These people are trained and usually work in their own settlement. This aids the teachers not only in teaching but to have closer communication with the people.

In addition to government operated schools there are 2 separate school districts, one

in Yellowknife and one in Hay River, plus one private school for the retarded in Yellowknife. These school districts are financed through a per pupil grant from the Territorial Government and through municipal taxes. The private school is operated by an association which gets a per student grant of \$100 per month per student from the Territorial Government. The remaining money is obtained through donations from private citizens.

Vocational Schools

The government operates vocational training schools at Fort Smith, Yellowknife and a new one being built at Frobisher Bay, Northwest Territories. It also operates one at Churchill, Manitoba to serve the Keewatin Region. During 1970 over 1,200 students were enrolled in these schools that teach telecommunications, Clerk-Typists, Pre-employment Carpentry, Welding, Mechanics, Heavy Duty Operations, Nursing Assistants, Academic Upgrading, Oil Burner Mechanics and Basic Training for Skill Developments.

There are 6 government owned student residences operated under contract that can accommodate up to 800 students and 2 government owned student residences operated by government that can accommodate up to 500 students. Of the 1,208 students living in school residences in 1970, 450 were Eskimo, 426 were Indians and 332 were others.

The estimated cost to operate the schools which deals with in-school programs for 1971 is \$10,500,000. The Vocational Education estimated annual cost is 2 million dollars. The student residence operating costs are \$2,400,000 and adult education costs \$1,314,000. The estimated construction costs for new schools during 1971-72 is 7 million dollars.

Adult Education

The adult education division of the Department of Education deals with the upgrading of adults in the Northwest Territories, in programs of a grass-roots nature to natives. These programs consist of basic literacy, health, hygiene, and housing education, Indian and Eskimo community leadership, basic training and skill development plus evening programs in interests such as typing, photography, sewing, welding, woodwork and so on.

The expenditures allocated per region are as follows:

Headquarters	\$ 148,000
Fort Smith Region	200,400
Yellowknife, proper	193,300
Inuvik Region	116,600
Baffin Region	204,800
Keewatin Region	<u>451,100</u>
TOTAL	\$1,314,200

Of this amount \$586,000 is spent on salaries and wages. The budget allocated for housing education under this program is \$90,000.

Recreation

The recreation division of the Department of Local Government stresses leadership training in physical, social and creative activities, services to organizations in training of officials, coaches, directors and participants. Assistance is given in conducting sports championships, technical and advisory service in development of community recreation programs and facilities and the administering of Community Centre and Outdoor Facilities Grants. The government spends about \$250,000 per year in the recreation field. Emphasis, of course, is placed on private citizen development and participation with trained recreation co-ordinators hired by government or incorporated municipalities to co-ordinate recreation in the larger centres and small settlements.

LIQUOR OUTLETS

Liquor is sold through Territorial Liquor Stores in all larger centres. The liquor system also has special arrangements to sell liquor through 3 outlets at Pine Point.

Fort Simpson and Tungsten. It also has an arrangement to sell beer through the Hudson's Bay stores at Cambridge Bay and Rankin Inlet. There is no direct over-the-counter sales of spirits, wine or beer in any of the grocery stores. Off sales can be made by hotel lounges and beer parlours. Liquor stores are usually opened from 1 o'clock in the afternoon to 10 o'clock in the evening at Yellowknife, with different closing hours for other centres depending on local circumstances. The Hudson's Bay Company sells beer only on certain days. For example, in Cambridge Bay the store sells beer from 4 - 5 in the afternoon on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and from 10 - 12 noon on Saturdays. Purchases are limited to one case per person.

The administration of the liquor ordinance is handled by a Liquor Control Board. It handles all applications, grants, refuse, suspend or cancel licenses. In addition to this, the Board drafts new regulations and supervises operation of all licensed premises.

People have an option to vote for or against a liquor outlet being established in their settlement. Some settlements might want a dining lounge or liquor store but might reject all other types of outlets.

The drinking age is nineteen.

The expected profits from sale of liquor for 1971-72 is in the neighbourhood of 3 million dollars.

The Drinking Problem

There are many reasons why people indulge in the use of alcohol.

It is impossible to say at this time whether the native people of the North drink more than the whites. The biggest sales of liquor is at Yellowknife which is a predominantly white society.

During my interviews Eskimos and Indians said they liked to drink because it was a form of entertainment. The native youth were trying it out because it was the "in thing". However, there are people drinking because of frustration, anxiety and because of many small problems inherent in the daily lives of many Northerners. It is virtually impossible to pinpoint these people unless an alcohol education worker or social worker studies the home environment. There is in every town, a group of hard core drinkers and these are the ones that continuously appear in the courts. These people drink for various reasons, from nothing better to do, to raise hell or because of serious family problems.

There is no doubt that people in the Northwest Territories are drinking more now than say, 10 years ago. One of the factors that must be taken into consideration, however, is the lack of recreation. House parties and cocktail parties use a lot of liquor.

In 1961-62 the Indians and Eskimos were allowed to drink because of changes in the Indian Act. I have therefore taken statistics at the end of the 1962 fiscal year and compared it to the 1970 statistics to show the increase in alcohol consumption. The following table will outline some interesting facts.

LIQUOR SALES, NET PROFIT AND PER CAPITA PURCHASING

<u>1962</u>			<u>Net Profit Percentage of</u>		<u>Per Capita</u>
<u>Sales</u>	<u>Total Net Profit</u>	<u>of Sales</u>	<u>Total Sale</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Purchases</u>
Spirits \$ 791,871	\$ 808,098	45.8%	44.9%	23,000	\$ 77
Wine 84,462			4.8%		
Beer <u>889,033</u>			50.3%		
TOTAL \$1,765,366					

1970

<u>Sales</u>			<u>Net Profit Percentage of</u>		<u>Per Capita</u>
	<u>Total Net Profit</u>	<u>of Sales</u>	<u>Total Sale</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Purchases</u>
Spirits \$2,397,859	\$2,148,524	44.9%	50.1%	34,000	\$141
Wine 392,323			8.3%		
Beer <u>1,993,028</u>			41.6%		
TOTAL \$4,783,210					

NOTE: Price increase in 1968 of 9%. If this is taken into consideration for per capita purchases in 1970, it would drop per capita purchases to \$128, therefore real increase over 1962, is \$51 per capita.

During this span of 8 years the alcohol consumption by every man, woman and child in the Northwest Territories has gone up from \$77 to \$141. We must, however, take into consideration the increase in the price of liquor in 1968. This price increase of 9 percent has some bearing on the final per capita consumption cost. When this increase is taken into consideration the final per capita consumption cost drops to \$128, an over-all increase of \$51 from 1962 to 1970.

If we further break down these figures to daily consumptions per person (every man, woman and child) it would be: 1.3 bottles of beer per day or 1.4 ozs of hard liquor per day or 7.5 ozs. of wine per day.

However, since children are not allowed to drink and about 50% of the population are children under 19 years old, the above figures could be doubled for every adult. If you then take into consideration the fact that about one-third of the adults do not drink to any appreciable amount, the consumption is still higher.

There are many problems in the home that make people drink. Some of these are:

- 1) poor housing
- 2) small quarters with large families
- 3) unemployment (living off welfare)
- 4) the rental housing geared to income
- 5) anxieties by women trying to raise a family in poor housing, with no outlets for releasing tension other than booze.
- 6) more free time on Indians and Eskimos hands because of introduction of housing with all services. No need to get daily wood, water and food.

I believe if less emphasis was placed on drinking and more placed on the reasons why people drink, consumption would decrease. We must solve the small problems by introducing a new housing concept, by introducing good recreation facilities with recreation workers in every settlement, and by introducing a better alcohol education program.

If the profits from liquor were used in social development for its programs in youth and cultural development many of the drinking problems would fade away over time. There is not enough support given to the alcohol education program now for it to be effective. It is virtually impossible to set up a meaningful program on \$60,000 per year.

HOSPITALS

Hospitals are operated by the Federal Department of National Health and Welfare in Inuvik, Fort Simpson and Frobisher Bay. Other hospitals in Fort Smith, Hay River, Rae and Yellowknife are operated by other organizations, and they get grants from the Federal Government, Territorial Government and in Yellowknife, from the City.

During 1970-71 the infant mortality rate of 53.7 per thousand live births was the lowest ever recorded in the Northwest Territories. The Indian rate was 24 per thousand - 2 points above the national rate, and was the lowest ever recorded for any Indian group in Canada. The Eskimo rate is still very high at 90.5 per thousand, however, during the past six years it has reduced from 250 per thousand - an indication of increasing good health. One of the reasons for such a high rate for Eskimos is still inadequate housing, poor accessibility to health centres in many areas and the harsh climate in which they live.

There were 211 deaths in the Northwest Territories during 1970 with injuries and accidents taking 26.1% of these deaths. Pneumonia was the next biggest killer at 17.5%. According to statistics, 10.5% of deaths were caused by excess use of alcohol.

Tuberculosis has decreased by 23% over 1969 figures and venereal diseases decreased by 8.7%.

Almost all settlements have nursing stations with 2 or 3 registered nurses at each station. At each larger settlement of populations of 200 and more, local native Community Health Workers are hired to work with the people on health care. These people stress sanitation, home care, budgeting and buying good nutritious foods, organize clean-ups and other maintenance jobs around the health centre.

HOME FOR THE AGED

Homes for old people who cannot fend for themselves are in operation and being built in larger centres. The homes are similar to those in Greenland.

CHILDRENS RECEIVING HOMES

Childrens receiving homes are operated throughout the Northwest Territories. These homes are used for caring of children that are apprehended from negligent parents. The children may stay at these homes as wards of the government or may be placed with foster parents or placed for adoption.

Juvenile Training Centre

A juvenile training centre located in Fort Smith provides guidance to wayward juveniles. The therapy is based on the family group concept. A community cooperative effort is made through the use of schools, churches and recreation facilities. During 1970, 20 boys and girls were admitted to this centre.

Correctional Institutes and Correctional Camp

The Territorial Government operates a modern correctional institute in Yellowknife. This institute acts as a rehabilitation centre for people in the Northwest Territories that cannot live within the law. Rehabilitation is done through academic, vocational and social education. During 1970, 195 men and 45 women were admitted to serve terms averaging 94 and 31 days respectively. The centre is also used to hold prisoners awaiting trial or other disposition.

The correctional camp is located along the Yellowknife River about 6 miles north-east of Yellowknife. Selected inmates from the correctional institute are sent here to engage in further training and education not offered at the institute. Special projects such as wood clearing, building of camp furniture, development of camp grounds and

other work for non-profit organizations.

Alcohol Education

The alcohol education division of the Department of Social Development gives assistance in the prevention, alleviation and control of alcohol problems. It gives professional help to community committees concerned with local solutions to abuse of alcohol. It also attempts to develop activities that provides an alternative to drinking.

There are a few local committees throughout the Territories that are concerned about abuse of alcohol. These committees operate on similar lines to Alcohol Anonymous.

Other Social Services

Social assistance is handled in most cases by professional social workers. They handle all types of social problems. During 1970 the first attempt was made to train native case workers. A training course was established and a number of Indians and Eskimos were trained and sent into their respective settlements to handle social assistance. These workers refer specific social problems to social workers who come into the settlement to do case work. There are no professional native social workers in the Northwest Territories.

The expenditures on social assistance is broken down by region, with the Superintendent of Welfare for each region being responsible for the budget. The forecast of expenditures for 1971-72 for the regions are as follows:

Fort Smith Region	\$ 913,200
Inuvik Region	313,700
Baffin Region	249,200
Keewatin Region	220,600

The estimated population for these regions are:

Fort Smith Region	18,500
Inuvik Region	6,700
Baffin Region	6,400
Keewatin Region	<u>3,000</u>
TOTAL	34,600

Social Services

An effort is being made to allow local people to take active part in the handling of social assistance. Case-aides have been hired and are doing some good. Actual social work is done by social workers but the government is spreading itself thin over such a great area. In the Baffin region there are now two social workers to take care of the whole region. It is not possible to give support to social programs with a small staff. It is necessary to give support and not preparation to programs. Workers in the field expressed that policy must start from the field and work itself up because policies are needed to suit local or regional conditions. For example, there is no input by the Social Development Department in the rental program. The only area where this department comes into the picture is by giving financial aid to those people outside the program, that is, people that own their own homes.

The home is the place where children are conceived and raised. The home is where the social worker should go when there is a social problem. Therefore, the Department of Social Development should have more of an input into the housing program than any other department. The other departments might design homes, build them and make policy on rent, maintenance and administration but the social problems cannot be solved by present housing policies.

The rationale for good living accommodation is that it is easier to live in it not that it alters one's environment, which gives you more space, which alter motivation. Motivation then affects the capacity to participate in education and training programs which in turn affects the ability to get and hold a job. Social services then extends the quality of living, and thereby my argument that a direct involvement needed by social development in the education and maintenance of homes. When looking at homes we cannot be too concerned about the condition of them. We must however, be concerned with the condition of people living in these homes. Poor housing does not only

create slums, it also creates alienation and isolation, not to mention segregation, racial disparity and inequalities in education.

Social services then must play an ancillary role to other programs so that they can help these other programs to achieve its goals.

At the present time the rental program operated by Local Government provides a disincentive for people to work. Rent geared to income provides this disincentive. Social services does play a part here now, but only separate from the program, because those out of work must seek financial aid. In this respect the social policy is a substitute for the poor man's economic policy. This is one area now where there is really no other alternative because there is no coordination between Social Development and Local Government. Either the rent structure must be abolished or other economic policies set that promotes social objectives and not social policies to promote economic objectives.



Photo by T. Butters. Shacks like these are still common in Inuvik and other areas in the North.

LAW AND ORDER

The policing of law and order is handled by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police under the direction of the Federal Department of Justice. In 1971 the Territorial Government's Department of Legal Affairs took over all administrative responsibility for the Magistrates Courts and support staff of the Territorial Court. The Department is also responsible for Justices of the Peace and Coroners, and legal aid throughout the Northwest Territories.

The Commissioner has the power to appoint Justices of The Peace and Magistrates. Judges are appointed by the Governor-in-Council. The appeal court for the Northwest Territories is made up of Alberta Supreme Court Judges and the Judges for the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Justices of the Peace are appointed for 3-year terms. They get a yearly stipend of \$100 plus \$3 for every case heard. The person appointed is a man of some standing in the community and one that can demonstrate some responsibility as a citizen. He may be Indian, Eskimo or White.

Magistrates are appointed for life. They are lawyers and this is a full-time salaried job.

Justices of the Peace do not have to be lawyers but Magistrates must have a law degree.

There are no so-called Justice Men appointed as the case is in Greenland.

Certain indictable offenses are heard by the Magistrate after preliminary hearing by the Magistrate's court. The same magistrate may hear the preliminary hearing and hear the trial. Indictable offenses such as rape, murder, sedition and manslaughter are heard by the Judge and jury. There are certain offenses where the accused may elect to have a Judge only or a Judge and Jury.

Justices of the Peace cannot take indictable offenses or conduct preliminary hearings for indictable offenses.

All indictable offenses are tried under the Criminal Code of Canada. There is no special criminal code for the Northwest Territories.

It has been noted, however, in Judges' decisions, that more lenient sentences have been given to Eskimos because of their cultural background, life expectancy and other circumstances.

XVIII OBSERVATION

In general terms from my observation of communities in the Northwest Territories, the general tone of the individual is one of apathy. Amongst the Indians and Eskimos there is a gulf between the old culture and the new way of life. When this happens there is good reason for apathy. The Indians especially are trying to find a way to express their identity. They are trying through the new Indian Brotherhood, to say that they were a free people, a people that had *their* land until the white man came. The first contact with the traders and whalers started the gulf between the old way of life and the new, without realization by the Indians or whites. These are the problems the present government must burden and try to solve.

When people are settled in a new life, strive for material goods and want opportunity for a better living standard, there is no turning back. The Indians today want some of both but they do not fully understand the consequence of going ahead. One of the major issues today with the Indian people is the question of land rights and the ratification of the treaties. Until these questions are settled there will never be harmony between whites and Indians in the North. The Indian is a reserved person to begin with, he must be understood and there must be communication with him continuously. The feeling inherent in the Indian community is that there never was communication and understanding on behalf of the whites and that the white society is not communicating or understanding even today. Many of the Indian people I interviewed feel that the government policies are directed for the benefit of the white society and that care is not taken in the development of the native society. The Indians do not consider themselves as part of the over-all society. In my opinion there is a two-way misunderstanding. From interviews I was able to determine that the Indian people do not have time to understand the over-all society and what is happening in the progressive development of industry and the social development taking place in the Northwest Territories. They are a people that are effected by all development. They are in the middle of development and especially so when it comes to human resource development. The small problems of trying to make an every day living is not in the minds of the people. They are concerned about the treaty and land rights. Somehow it is felt that the settlement of land rights would bring a complete solution to all of the Indian's problems. He does not realize the many other problems he is facing in this new changing society. These problems plus the major problem of identity and land rights creates other social problems like drinking and venereal disease.

The Eskimo people are altogether different from the Indian. The Eskimo knows that he must progress along with the rest of the society. He is a person that is very receptive to change and wants to grab as much of the good going his way. The difference between the Eskimo and Indian, is that with the Eskimo the small problems of living in a new society are great ones in his mind. The Eskimo is experiencing new patterns of living by moving from the camp life to the settlement life. He knows that in order to get ahead he must have education. The new facilities and services offered to these people definitely changes their life style. Many psycholocial problems build up within the Eskimo so that frustration and anxiety is taken out in many different ways. Two of the major social problems prevalent in the North is drinking and venereal disease. The Eskimo people also feel that there is not enough contact between whites and Eskimos even though every settlement has whites in them. It is a matter of communication, understanding and mutual participation in local affairs.

Eskimos expressed a feeling of discomfort when in the company of whites because they could not talk to one another. There is definitely a feeling by both Indians and Eskimos that white culture is forced upon them, that Indians and Eskimos must conform to the white man's way of life, that the white society is the best one.

There was no feeling of being discriminated against in wages paid or in the carrying out of law and order.

Some of the problems felt in housing were more of a technical nature. Most expressed the opinion that homes were too cold and poorly constructed. They were quite satisfied with the services provided and are happy to be involved in the housing associations. There is a good response to housing education. There is very little response in active participation in community organizations. Most of the organizations are run by white and if the odd Indian or Eskimo gets involved, he drops out for feeling of alienation by others in the group. In some cases when a decision was going to be made by the organization that had an effect on the Indian or Eskimo, the chairman asked the Indian or Eskimo member of the organization to step out of the room while the issue was being discussed. These organizations I am speaking about are not community councils or housing associations but recreation groups, etc.

Some of the larger settlements in the Northwest Territories are made up of Eskimos or Indians from many different settlements. People from as many as 10 to 20 settlements may gravitate into a larger centre to take the opportunity of getting a better education for their children. There is the problem of lack of communication between Eskimo groups in large centres. When Eskimos will not talk to one another because one lived in a different settlement or area of the North, the problem of communicating between these groups and whites is much more difficult.

Another area for concern is that when enticement is given to Eskimos or Indians to move to larger centres because of oil exploration work or construction work, the best men from the settlements are chosen. He leaves his grass-roots domicile, goes to the new centre, gets a job for how long, he doesn't know, and when the job is finished or the seasonal exploration work is finished, where does he go? Under the rental housing program, if he goes back to his settlement will the house or any house be available so that he can get some livelihood off the land? Does he stay in the centre because he cannot go back for lack of housing? If so, what happens to him in this larger centre? He must go on welfare if there is no work. He must become dependent on government. He has nothing to do so he feels the pressure of living in a foreign environment, he loses independence and pride. He must alleviate his anxieties by drinking. This sounds harsh but it is happening.

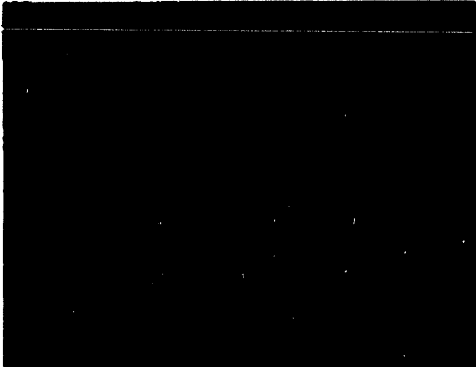


Photo by T. Buttars. A plywood shack in Inuvik. These types go up fast in booming oil towns, don't meet building code specifications and in a fire trap.

The oil boom is a great thing for the economy of the North. Everyone wants a piece of the action. Government wants to get natives involved and working, but should the cream of the crop be taken out of the settlements?

There is not enough co-ordination between government departments, private industry and the people involved to set down a good policy. Should the government or private industry hire natives for the sake of training them and saying that we have so many Indians and Eskimos working? It is a good statistic, but should there not be more support given to training? It is not good enough to hire someone for the sake of giving him a job. It is no use training him if he does not understand the reason for training and how he has to live with this training, and the responsibility of the individual after he is trained. At the present time, government is training people to move out in the open market. After training is completed there is no support to that person to enable him to make the best use of his training, to make him a responsible citizen, so he can gain independence and power.

Although there are many dedicated white civil servants and heads of private enterprise in the North, there is still a feeling that Indians and Eskimos should not progress beyond them in positions of responsibility and authority. It is not a matter of distrust or a feeling of being superior, but rather a matter of saying that Indians or Eskimos cannot take on greater responsibilities. It is a negative attitude toward human development.

There is no doubt that the Government of the Northwest Territories is attempting and achieving to a great degree to bring the Indians and Eskimos into a better standard of living. This is being done by providing good education, providing social services, providing more self-government at local levels and involving the people in decisions at local levels. It is also giving the people more responsibilities in government administration, such as involvement in housing associations and housing education. It is also providing some diversified industry through co-operatives. However, at the same time in locations where there is little industry and no economy to speak about, the people are living on hand-outs by the government. Social Assistance is increasing in these areas, to the extent that some settlements are living almost entirely off social assistance. The rents for housing is low (\$2 per month) if one is on social assistance, all services are provided in the rent, food and clothing is available so that when some work is forthcoming it is difficult to get people to work. The Eskimo is a person who does not like welfare, he wants to work if he can, but when he is given assistance to the degree that it is being handed out, why should he work?

XIX PROBLEMS IN HOUSING

As mentioned earlier most of the problems encountered with the housing program were technical in nature. The single family dwellings were either too small or too cold during the winter. Many of the women, (in homes where chemical toilets were being used), did not like the practice of local garbage men coming into the house, walking into the bathroom, picking up the honey bucket and carrying it, dripping across the floor. The lady of the house has to clean up after him. A new system that will be carried out in Cambridge Bay this year is to provide each house with 50 gallon holding tanks, install a toilet with a straight drop-through pipe to the tank. This gets rid of honey buckets, provides better sanitation and makes for healthy community living. It costs about \$250 per unit to supply and install. In other areas where there is no piped water and sewer, the septic tank pump-out system is being used to a great degree of success. However, most serviced settlements with summer water lines, garbage pick-up and electricity are still using the chemical toilet approach. I believe that pump-out systems could be used in all settlements. This would provide better sanitation and health and give some local co-operative or housing association a contract.

One of the glaring mistakes that was made in the North and is still being made, is that most of the houses do not have outside porches. Outside porches in Eskimo country is a must. The high winds, extreme cold, and need for storage of outside clothing are reasons for having an outside porch, plus the fact that the government would be saving money in the long run. Every time an outside door is opened during the winter there is terrific heat loss in the house, it takes more fuel and creates drafts. Some Eskimos build ice porches to cut out the wind. A good outside porch built onto each house would be considered as an asset to the building. These porches could be built out of the community development program. At the present time in Rae-Edzo, new 3-bedroom houses are being constructed without any outside porches. Some of the houses I examined showed that the outside door were already warped from exposure to the elements.

The quality of the material going into the homes are of the best quality, but the standard of construction is poor. The government, in my opinion, is building to minimum standards when it comes to housing. In this respect I would have to say that the Federal Government does not seem to realize or care about the standard of housing it is building. The requirements according to the specifications for apartment units are minimum requirements. The walls are thin, the decibal factor being minimum, the workmanship is very poor, creating leaky roofs, cupboards falling down after several months time, poor care taken in painting, with different colors of paint splashed on the finish of the cupboards, vanity, toilet, lamps, etc. The row housing type of units built in Frobisher Bay have the appearance of a construction camp, aesthetically the siting is poor and the outside finish does not blend with the rest of the development taking place. It stands out like a sore thumb. It does not present an atmosphere for happy family living. Most of the people in them want to move, but do not have anywhere to go. The tunnel connecting the row housing to the hotel, office and apartment complex is causing many problems with unwanted visitors coming into the row housing. This tunnel serves no purpose other than to protect people from the wind. People have been living in an open environment for so long that there is no reason to change it. The tunnel should be torn down and a handrail built along the steps instead.

One of the complaints that cropped up with interviews was the fact that very little playground area was available for children. There is no playground equipment to speak about in many of the settlements. For example in Rae-Edzo, a new modern school and school residence has just been completed, but there was no money allocated to develop a good playground. With over 300 children going to this school, there is going to be a problem with keeping the children occupied and in some order without a good playground area.

In homes that were built prior to 1970, furnaces were not provided in many of them so a change in design was necessary. However, an appeal to have oil fired furnaces installed was acknowledged and furnaces were installed. There was no planning put into the change so that the furnace could be placed in an area away from the living room. The furnace is therefore installed in the entrance-way between the kitchen, living area and the bedrooms. This not only clutters up the living area, giving it a poor impression of living, cuts down on living space and creates a fire hazard. The general feeling of the Indians I interviewed said "that it was only for Indians anyway".

The insulation in the homes is 4 inch fiberglass butt insulation throughout the walls, floors and ceiling. One of the main reasons why houses were cold in the winter was because a single floor was built into the homes prior to 1970. The 1970 and subsequent models have the same amount of insulation but a double floor is built into the



Summer water line to low cost house in N.W.T. Water delivery by truck in winter twice a week.



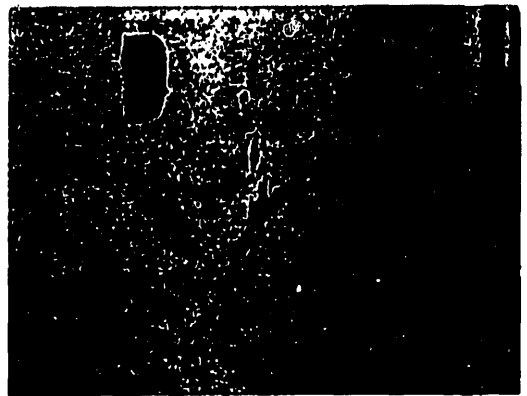
Duplex type homes built for Federal civil servants in Yellowknife.



Photo by T. Butters. There is problem with disposal of sewage bags from chemical toilet. Dogs get into it spreading excreta which becomes a health problem in the Spring.



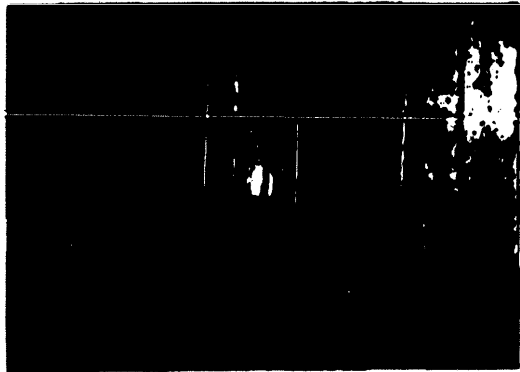
Row-housing at Frobisher Bay take on the appearance of construction camps, built to minimum standards.



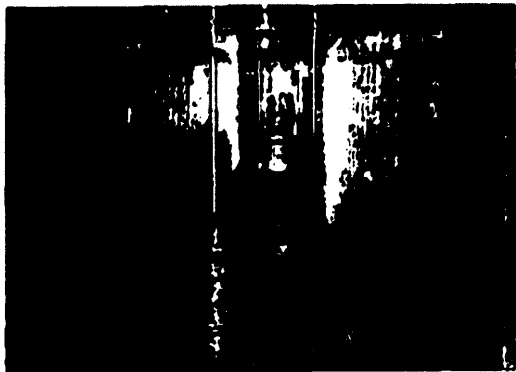
Inside corridor in row-housing at Frobisher Bay. Note writing on walls by children. All of the walls get the same treatment.



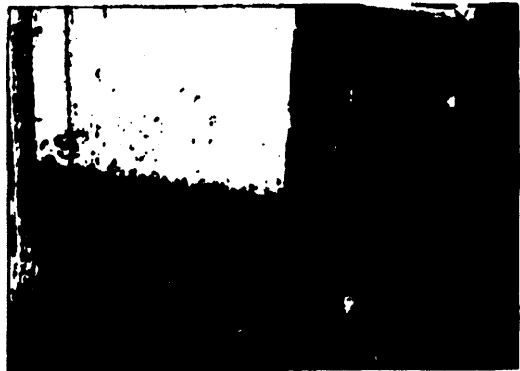
Tunnel connected to row-housing at Frobisher Bay causing many problems with drunks coming into the apartments from the beer parlour in the complex connected to the tunnel.



Inside tunnel at Frobisher Bay. Tunnel has poor lighting.



Tunnel at Frobisher. Note spring run-off going down tunnel creating icy hazardous condition.



Problem with spring run-off in tunnel area connected to row-housing. The water in front of this entry is about 3 inches deep.



Low cost northern rental home kitchen are decreased in size because of installation of furnace in living area.



New apartment buildings being built in Yellowknife summer of 1971. A concrete foundation is used and building is of conventional method.

home. This floor consists of a stressed skin panel, a false floor built by putting 2 x 6 inch joists on the first floor and running the heat ducts through this small false floor area. The floors are warm which should give added comfort to the home. One of the main reasons why people have been experiencing cold houses is that the quality of construction is poor, when putting up the outside walls, with not enough care taken to make a tight fit. This should be overcome to a great extent this year and in the coming years because housing associations are getting contracts to build their own homes. They will make sure that the quality of construction improves.

The quality of workmanship in the highrise apartment at Frohisher Bay leaves much to be desired. Tenants complained of cupboards falling down, poor finishing and noise. In some instances when the wind was strong it shook the building to such an extent that it loosed the cupboards away from the wall in the kitchen. This happened on the 7th and 8th floors.

In the Northern Rental Program the houses are expected to last for 25 years. This is the general amortization period. From inspection of homes built in 1966 it would appear that these homes only have a little time of 10 years. Some of the homes mentioned are almost at the point of write-off. Maintenance has not been carried out and in fact, a lot of these homes were never completely finished. The exteriors have not been painted and the finish work has not been done on the inside. This was another big complaint by tenants, that government never finished the homes.

PUBLIC HOUSING

In the public housing program the intent of the program to provide houses or apartments for needy families is not being realized to the extent that it should be. Before a housing project is done a survey is taken to determine need and demand. These projects are carried out in incorporated municipalities where there is some tax base on real property. In this respect a tri-partnership agreement is signed between the municipality, Territorial Government and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The usual contribution on operating losses and Capital Amortization is based on a percentage system whereby the town will contribute 10 percent, the Territorial Government 15 percent and CMHC 75 percent. This type of agreement is set up on initial projects, however; it is government's objective to have municipalities deal directly with CMHC on subsequent projects.

One of the major problem areas in trying to make the best use of the program from an economic standpoint and endeavouring to maximize tenancy so that needy families occupy the units is the administration organization itself. A housing authority is appointed from the municipality, made up of responsible individuals that have time to devote to such projects. The housing authority has the responsibility of choosing tenants, collecting rent, maintaining and managing the project. There is no direct interjection by town council or the other partners. What happens in such an arrangement is that the homes are occupied by the demand proviso and not by the needy. Responsible citizens working hard to make a dollar do not have the time to devote to collecting rent from low-income families; they instead take the easy way out, and that is by making sure that tenants can afford to pay the rent. Projects like this do not necessarily have to make a profit, but it is possible through the present organization structure. Another conflicting aspect of the program is that there are housing associations in these towns that deal with northern rental homes. Although the Federal government has directed that no new northern rental homes be built in places where there are public housing programs, the administration of both public housing and northern rental housing is not tied into one another. For example, Eskimos who associated themselves with the housing association now have to deal with a new housing authority. They do not understand that there are two programs. They still go to the housing association on matters that should be taken up by the housing authority.

The manager of the public housing authority is paid a small wage to collect rents and any complaints he receives are directed to the housing directors. This results in delays in carrying out maintenance. If both associations were tied together by election of officers from the tenants and if one manager could be hired at a good salary to look after both programs this would solve the problem. The manager should then be given full authority to hire maintenance men when the need arises. He would also see that the needy are housed instead of those people in high income brackets.

I do not believe that municipalities can carry out further projects without financial input by the Territorial Government. The creation of debentures every time a new project is undertaken only adds to the financial burden of the town. The only way out then is to build very expensive units so some alleviation can be realized through

higher taxes. The fact that expensive units increases property taxes may be the answer for the interim but in the long run the over-all debt is a lasting one. These units are not built to high standard although high standard material is used. The workmanship is poor and the houses will not last the amortization period.

One major problem inherent in the whole housing program is that people are becoming more dependent on government.

The rental system of providing housing is one of the biggest factors in this respect. There is no incentive to work if housing is geared to rents depending on family income. Is such a housing policy geared to make people more resourceful or to give them more participation in the program? Participation and power is not a form of social therapy but rather a democratic right. Common rent geared to income is a disincentive. It creates a 'what's the use' attitude. This form of housing is not a solution to social and economic problems but produces new, social and psychological problems. It is a home where there is no room to grow and a home that creates poverty amongst people.

There are other alternatives for renting and home ownership programs that should be examined.



High rise apartment with elevator service at Frobisher Bay. Construction is of minimum standard in a high wind area.



Public housing units in Yellowknife. Quality of material is good but workmanship is poor. Limited play area for children.

XX
SUMMARY

In Greenland the quality of housing construction is high whereas in the Northwest Territories the quality leaves much to be desired.

In Greenland there is a housing manager for every apartment or block of houses whereas in the Northwest Territories there is only a manager in the Public Housing Program.

In Greenland emphasis is placed on preventative maintenance although not enough funds are allotted, while in the Northwest Territories there is no preventative maintenance.

In Greenland the rents are based on the size of family while in the Northwest Territories it is based on family income.

In Greenland there is equalization of power and services while in the Northwest Territories there is no equalization.

There is consultation between the people and government in housing programs in both countries.

In Greenland the standard of housing is based on economics while in the Northwest Territories it is based more on social standards.

In Greenland the trend is towards urbanization with small settlements being depopulated whereas in the Northwest Territories small settlements are still being maintained.

In Greenland the government administration is centralized to a great degree while in the Northwest Territories there is more decentralization of authority.

In the Northwest Territories there are housing associations while in Greenland they do not exist.

In the Northwest Territories emphasis is placed on housing education while in Greenland there is none.

In the Northwest Territories there is diversified industry while in Greenland the economy is based primarily on the fishing industry.

In Greenland Eskimo Justice Men are appointed to sit with the JP in JP courts whereas in the Northwest Territories one JP sits.

In Greenland very little support by social workers is given to social services while in the Northwest Territories social workers are directly involved in social services.

In Greenland the school system teaches up to grade 10 while in the Northwest Territories it teaches up to grade 12 or university entrance.

In Greenland emphasis is placed on the Eskimo language in schools while in the Northwest Territories experiments are now being carried out.

In Greenland there is only one Eskimo written orthography for 3 dialects while in the Northwest Territories there are two written orthographies for 12 dialects.

In Greenland drinking and venereal disease is a major social problem as is the case in the Northwest Territories. There are no true statistics on venereal disease to make a comparison, however, it is considered to be on the increase in both countries.

In the Northwest Territories more emphasis is placed on social development while in Greenland emphasis is now placed on physical development with social development coming in later.

In both countries development on a large scale started in the early 1950's.

XXI RECOMMENDATIONS

Northwest Territories

It is impossible to correct all of the social problems related to every day living and to housing in particular by coming up with any one type of housing policy and program. Some of the small problems faced by people of the North must be challenged head on by other social and economic policies or even by internal directives from management. For example, a directive to transfer a staff member from the regional office to a hamlet council may be all that is needed to get recreation programs on the right footing.

However, many of the new complex and psychological problems need not crop up at all if there was more incentive in the present housing program. People should have a right to adequate housing even if it is a long time in coming. They should be able to gain some independence and responsibility regardless of the economic standing of any community. It is not good enough to introduce a housing program that will not develop the human element. Consideration must be given to the effect that a housing program will have on the development of human resources for the present and for the future.

There will always be a need for rental housing because some people do not have the economic means to buy a house and give the proper services to it. On the other hand, there is better advantages to buying one's house, especially in the period of time when the indigenous people of the North do not fully understand the concept of rental policies. It is okay for whites to rent, because the majority of them in isolated communities see the advantage of saving money by renting and they can afford to lose some pride, if they consider losing any at all. The indigenous person on the other hand, dwells more on keeping and maintaining pride and some degree of independence. He is not at the stage where he has developed as fully as the southern Canadian and should not have to abide by southern standards.

It is therefore necessary to come up with a homeownership scheme in housing for Indians, Metis, Eskimos and private entrepreneurs, rental scheme for low income groups and a homeownership scheme for public servants along the Mackenzie highway system.

1. HOME OWNERSHIP FOR ESKIMOS, INDIANS AND PRIVATE SECTOR

At the present time it may be argued that there is a home-ownership program through CMHC and through the Low Cost Territorial Mortgage Fund.

Mortgages to build through CMHC is possible in incorporated municipalities and in some cases in fully serviced settlements. The down payment, however, is high and very few Indians and Eskimos can afford it. The private sector may be able to make the payments but the services are too high. It is impossible to construct adequate housing through the Low Cost Mortgage plan because first of all you must get refusal of a loan from CMHC and secondly the most one can get out of the program is \$12,000. A second mortgage is needed to build adequate housing and the second mortgage must be in the neighbourhood of \$5,000. It is a matter then of having two mortgages at high monthly payments. There is limited capital in this program, a budget of \$90,000 does not build many homes, so for all intents and purposes there is no low cost mortgage plan.

The first step that must be taken to realize a home-ownership program throughout the Northwest Territories is to have equalization of power services and fuel. Northern Canada Power Commission is working on this now and this can be realized. Most of the bulk fuel agencies in the far North are operated by the Territorial Government so subsidies can be given on freight to make fuel prices realistic.

The power rates can be lowered to 4 or 5 cents per kilowatt hour if the present fuel tax is waived to NCPC. NCPC pays in the neighbourhood of \$100,000 per year in form of fuel taxes. This could be considered as an unnecessary tax in light of providing

cheaper rates to domestic consumers. Equalization could be realized in this way and not be considered as a subsidy. It is not necessary, therefore, to have a change in the Act, to outline equalization terms. If the Act is changed and NCPG is expected to equalize power, it will only come after many more years of operation. I do not believe it is necessary to wait that long.

Another basic factor that I consider to be a detriment to home-ownership is the down payment on homes. In my proposal I will show that there is no need for any down payments, that the monthly payment can be reasonable, that the interest rate be minimal and that owners can provide their own services and maintenance.

Scheme for Home Ownership

At the end of this construction year there will be 2,200 Northern Rental units plus 162 Territorial rental units for a total of 2,362 units. These homes were built on a sliding cost scale from \$9,000 to \$14,000 per unit. Taking an average of \$10,000 per unit there is $2,362 \times \$10,000$ or \$23,620,000 of funds tied up in housing. At a prime lending rate of $7 \frac{3}{4}$ percent for 25 years which is just $\frac{1}{8}$ percent lower than the Territorial Government's borrowing rate, the yearly principal and interest cost to the government is \$2,115,971. The cost of operation of the program for this year not counting administrative costs is \$1,940,000. The administrative costs would be considered in any program, so I will leave this out. Therefore, the total annual cost to the government at the present time is \$4,055,971. The revenue realized through the rental system at maximum rents of \$67 per month is \$1,875,168 per year. However, the rent assessed for 1970 for example, was \$472,954 and the amount collected was \$392,522.

Even if maximum rent was collected the government contributes in excess of this amount \$2,280,803 which can be called a direct subsidy. This is a direct subsidy of \$966 per unit per year.

A new home built under the Northern Rental plan costs \$14,000. The Principal and Interest payment per year @ $7 \frac{3}{4}\%$ for 25 years is 104.63×12 or \$1,255.56. The average cost to maintain a unit is \$82 per month or \$984 per year. The total cost then is \$2,239.56. If we subtract the direct subsidy of \$966 by government, the cost to the individual would be \$1,273.56 or \$106.13 per month.

Since present services cost \$62 per month the government can afford to sell housing to people at \$106.13 - \$62 or \$24.13, say \$25 per month with no down payment. If fuel costs decrease and if there is equalization of power the \$82 per month service cost would decrease.

This type of plan could give homes to individuals on a home-ownership basis, at no extra cost to the government. The government would then get out of the maintenance business and be able to give some incentive to the people.

2. RENTAL SCHEME

For those that cannot afford to buy, the same type of system would apply on a rental basis. Houses rented out at \$25 per month straight across the board and the government provides minimum services. Under this system social development would have a direct input on education and maintenance. The social development department would pick up the difference between the actual economic rent and the amount the person can pay. However, social development could then control the operation and maintenance money to offset costs.

3. HOME OWNERSHIP FOR PUBLIC SERVANTS

Home ownership of homes off the Mackenzie highway system cannot be realized now because of the isolation factor, employees not wanting to spend any length of time in the far North and the market for homes. However, along the Mackenzie highway system serious consideration should be given to having employees own their own homes. This would provide more continuity in service, give more responsibility to staff as well as having a better community spirit and eliminating operation and maintenance and administrative costs to government.

Please note the following chart on capital costs of houses along the Mackenzie Highway System.

HOUSES AND APARTMENT ON MACKENZIE
HIGHWAY SYSTEM, NUMBER AND
CAPITAL COSTS

<u>Location</u>	<u>houses</u>	<u>Apartments</u>	<u>Capital Cost</u>
Bay River	14		\$ 441,000
Bay River		1	200,000
Enterprise (Highways)	2		40,000
Providence & Mile 90	8		220,000
Big Buffalo (Highway)	1		35,000
Resolution	7		191,000
Fort Simpson	19		726,000
Fort Simpson		1	165,000
Fort Smith	91		3,106,000
Fort Smith		2	400,000
Yellowknife	95		3,515,000
Rae	12		242,000
Stagg River (Highway)	1		20,000
	<u>250</u>	<u>4</u>	

Capital Investment in homes \$8,538,000

Capital Investment in Apartments 765,000

* Capital cost is the estimated construction cost not including the purchase price of land or other improvements.

* Maintenance is based on 1.385% of value below the tree line and 2.078% above the tree line.

At the present time according to the following figures obtained from the Department of Public Works, the government owns houses to the value of \$8,538,000 along the highway system. These homes amortized over 25 years @ 7 3/4% costs \$776,600 per year. The maintenance costs are \$118,251 per year and the revenue is \$330,000 per year, leaving a loss of \$564,851 per year.

This is a loss of \$189 per month per unit.

The average cost of each unit is \$34,000. The amortization cost is \$258 per month. Therefore, the government could afford, without any further losses sell these homes at a very reasonable monthly payment without any down payment.

For those that own their own home now, the Territorial Government provides a subsidy of \$120 per month for married personnel

It would be to government's advantage to get out of the housing business for personnel along the Mackenzie Highway System.

The mortgage to employees would stipulate that if the employee transfers or resigns within 5 years, the new owner need only pay the principal plus improvements at cost, which would be the equity in the home. The new owner then takes over the mortgage. If the employee stays longer than 5 years he then could sell his house on the open market.

This plan would give government more continuity in service plus the fact that it would engage a more responsible individual. There would be a permanency to towns, develop better housing conditions, make a more presentable community and start up new service industry.

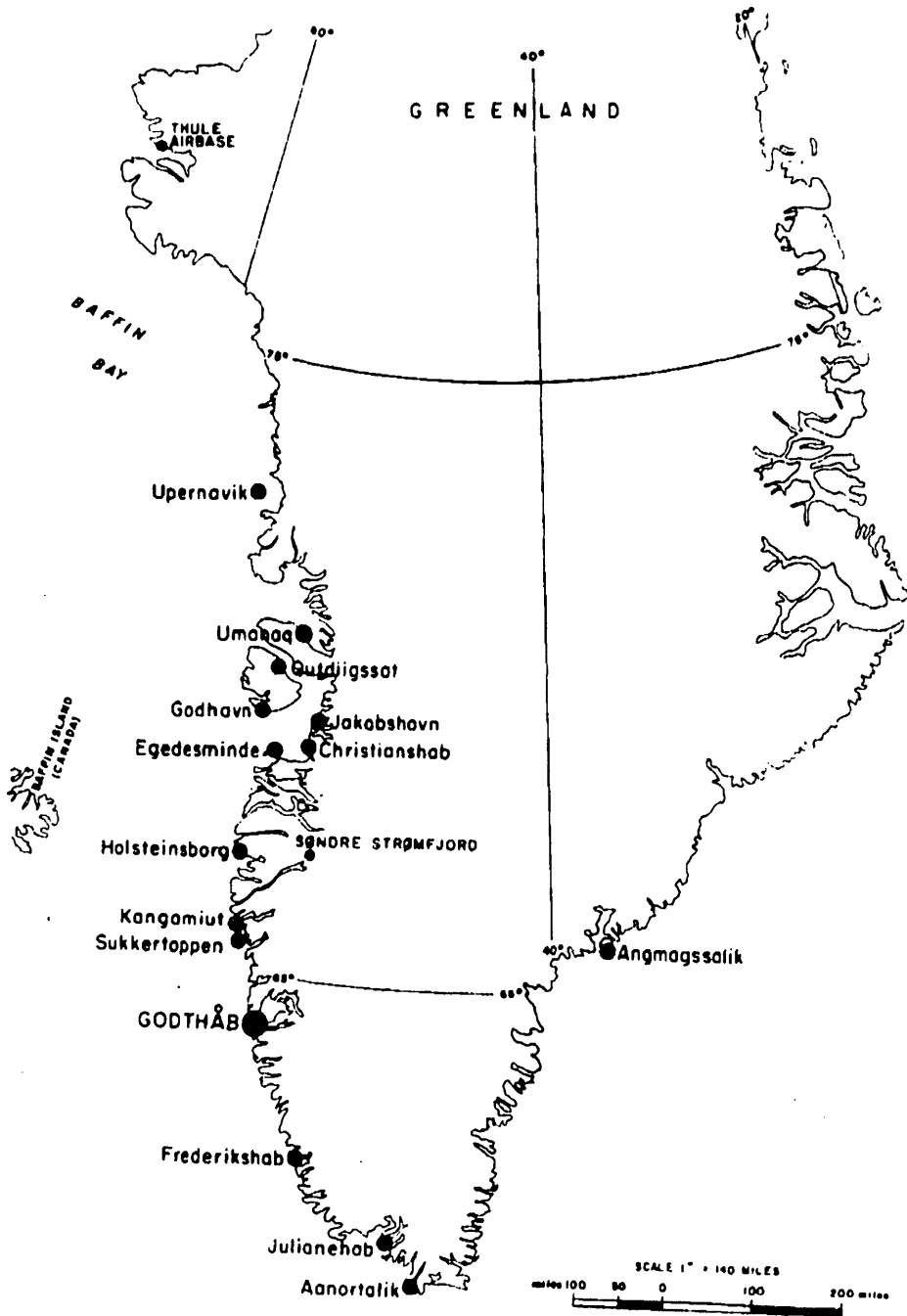
4. OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Definite guidelines should be drawn up with regard to development of housing associations dealing with rental systems. Associations should be able to see how they are progressing and where they are going.

2. More input should be given by housing officers to housing associations in helping them outline their budget and in requisitioning supplies.
3. Housing education should continue, but a definite plan of action should be drawn up whether it is a short range or long range plan.
4. Recreation directors should be appointed to every hamlet, town and city. Other regional directors must coordinate settlement activities.
5. More money should be allocated to the alcohol education program to allow for workers in all large centres. Some definite plan should be made so that workers get into the homes and start a preventative program. There should be liaison with the Recreation Director.
6. Further study should be given to methods used in Greenland on the sale of alcohol through various outlets.
7. A clerk of works should be assigned to every housing project to see that good workmanship is carried out.
8. Pitches and storage sheds should be made a part and parcel of the housing program.

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SOURCE: H. Schuurman, A Preliminary Survey of Greenland's Social History, Dept. I.A. & N.D. 1970.

APPENDIX "B"

Pattern of population growth or reduction in populations according to migration policy
1969 to 1985

Place	1969		1975		1980		1985	
	Pers. born in Grnid.	Pers. not born in Grnid.	Pers. born in Grnid.	Pers. not born in Grnid.	Pers. born in Grnid.	Pers. not born in Grnid.	Pers. born in Grnid.	Pers. not born in Grnid.
Nanortalik	1,101	180	1,200	200	1,300	200	1,400	200
* Julianehaab	2,171	532	2,600	550	2,800	500	3,000	400
Narsaq	1,502	268	1,850	350	2,000	300	2,150	250
* Frederikshaab	1,575	377	2,100	500	3,300	500	4,500	500
* Godthaab	4,806	2,360	6,500	2,500	8,700	2,300	11,300	1,700
* Sukkertoppen	2,184	416	2,500	500	2,700	400	2,850	350
* Holsteinsborg	2,728	504	3,600	600	4,100	500	4,500	500
* Egedesminde	2,813	402	3,250	500	3,350	450	3,400	400
* Christianshab	1,375	213	1,700	300	1,850	250	2,000	200
* Jakobshavn	2,249	295	2,900	400	3,300	400	3,800	400
Godhavn	780	83	900	100	900	100	900	100
Umanak	899	107	900	150	800	100	600	100
Spernavik	633	97	700	100	700	100	600	100
Thule	260	28	250	50	250	50	200	50
Angmagssalik	736	149	750	150	700	100	600	100
Scorebysund	301	38	300	50	250	50	200	50
Bygder (Camps)	11,753	230	10,700	300	8,900	300	7,300	300
Total Greenland+	37,866	6,279	42,700	7,300	45,900	6,600	49,300	5,700

+ Excluded in the above are radio stations and weather stations, also Qutdligssat, a coal mining town that will be closed by 1972, so no maintenance is carried out here and the people will move, most of the Danes probably back to Denmark, Sdr. Strømfjord, the airbase and US installations, and Ivigtut, the cryolite mine where there are 74 persons that are cleaning up on the operation and putting the second grade cryolite through another process, this will take a few years and then close. These people will be going back to Denmark. All small settlements and camps are simply listed as Bygder or camps and no designation is given to particular settlements under this category in the estimates or budget, these are some of the camps that are being depopulated. Sources of information the GTO advisor office out of the Governor of Greenland Administration Office.

* Growth Centres.

APPENDIX "C"

HOUSE RENT AND HEAT JOURNAL, APARTMENT ----- YEAR ----- MONTH -----

No. of Unit	Name	Total Rent	Children Children	Children Reduction	Social Reduction	Over 60 yrs. Special Old People Red.	Invalids	Amt. to be Paid	Heat	Heat Red. when needed	Total to be Paid
	<p>Made out once every 3 months. If correction to be made, credit note made by this form.</p> <p>Form goes to Kaemner for collection.</p> <p>Can pay to Kaemner daily, weekly or monthly to local banks once a month.</p> <p>Made out in 4 copies.</p>										

Year 19

APPENDIX "D"
Apt. Block _____

Unit No. _____

HOUSE RENT/HEAT - DEBT OWING
to Savings Bank/Greenland Bank

Tenant _____

Address _____

* Note: This page remains with the payment book. This is top page.

After 10th of month payment must be made to Kaemners office.

Date	19	.	19
Monthly House Rent.....	kr.	_____	Adjustments made here
A/C Heat.....	kr.	_____	in case of re-assessment.
	kr.	_____	
	kr.	_____	
Less Children Reduction	kr.	_____	
Total Amount	kr.	_____	

	Amount	Date	Signatures for Receipt of Payment
January			
February			
March			This page is overleaf of cover (top page).
April			
May			
June			
July			
August			
September			
October			
November			
December			

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT
to Savings Bank/Greenland Bank

Apartment Block Unit No. Year 19 Month

House Rent kr. _____
A/C Rent kr. _____
Total Amount kr. _____

Note: This page is removed when a payment is made and handed to the bank or local Kaemner's office as the case may be.

Payments made to Kaemners Office

Date	Registration	Payment made	Month
			Prepays registered 1
			here as well. 2
			3
			4
			5
			6
			7
			8
			9
			10
			11
			12

This is back page and remains in the book as tenants record of payments.

Stamp by office sufficient on this page and not necessary to sign.

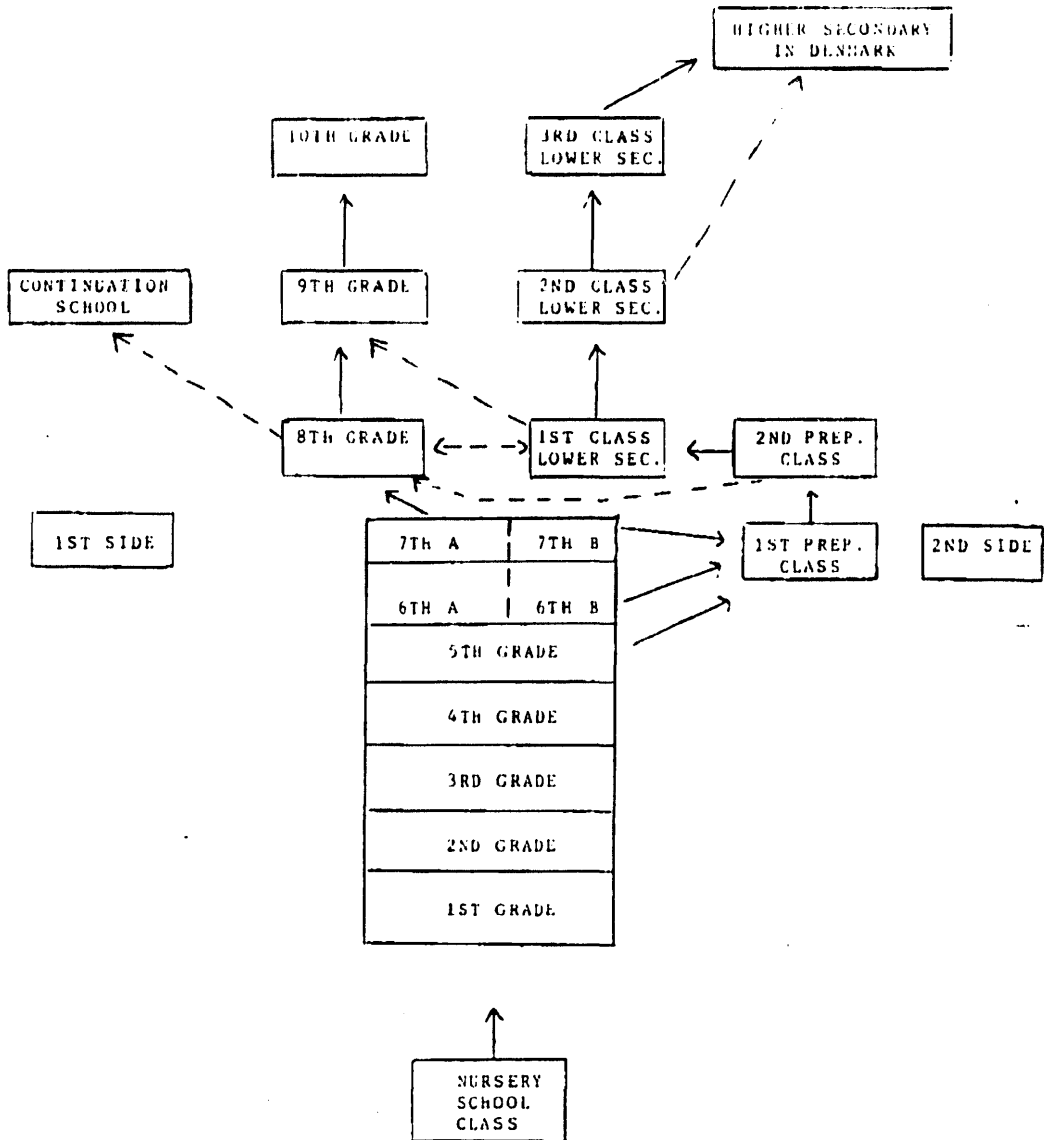
APPENDIX "E"

TOTAL EXISTING HOUSE UNITS AND SQUARE
METRE AREA AS OF APRIL 1969

Place	Single Family, Duplex, Row housing and Town houses		Apartments	
	Units	Sq. Metres	Units	Sq. Metres
Nanortalik	47	3,491.07	50	2,539.24
Julianehaab	80	6,097.75	143	10,652.86
Narsaaq	40	2,373.40	42	3,111.60
Frederikshaab	26	2,703.25	182	11,639.96
Godthaab	131	11,491.60	705	45,987.00
Sukkertoppen	83	5,042.30	127	8,215.20
holsteinsborg	40	3,938.70	85	5,979.10
Kangatsiaq	10	633.34	--	----
Egedeslde	62	4,717.90	91	7,444.77
Christianshaab	25	2,008.70	61	4,074.20
Jakobshavn	43	4,436.60	49	3,564.38
Qutdligssat	24	1,891.40	--	----
Godhavn	26	2,820.00	--	----
Umanak	42	3,029.50	--	----
Upernavik	41	2,845.60	--	----
Thule	20	1,372.60	--	----
Angmagssalik	54	3,822.30	12	775.30
Scoresbysund	11	1,066.00	--	----
Total	805	63,794.01	1,537	103,983.61

* Maintenance budget for 1971 is for 111,000 sq. metres for apartments. No up to date figures available on number of units and floor space as of 1971. Camps and small settlements not listed and not recorded.

The School Structure



APPENDIX "G"

FUR PRODUCTION
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
1969 - 70

*	<u>White</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u> Eskimo</u>	<u>Total</u>
	435	1,366	1,768	3,569

<u>Species</u>	** <u>No. of Pelts</u>	*** <u>Average Value</u>	<u>Total Value</u>
Bear, Polar	313	\$ 222.11	\$ 6,920.43
Bear, Other	148	16.02	2,370.96
Beaver	8,157	12.92	105,388.44
Coyote	16	11.57	185.12
Fisher	27	12.61	340.47
Fox, Black	6	15.00	90.00
Fox, Blue	25	11.00	275.00
Fox, Cross	303	14.05	4,257.15
Fox, Red	455	12.43	5,655.65
Fox, Silver	57	18.57	1,058.49
Fox, White	6,688	14.03	93,832.64
Lynx	4,893	22.50	110,092.50
Marten	11,803	10.27	121,216.81
Mink	9,429	14.99	141,340.71
Muskrat	114,108	.98	111,825.84
Otter	202	20.09	4,058.18
Squirrel	9,875	.28	2,765.00
Weasel	3,603	.45	1,621.35
Wolf	291	35.03	10,193.73
Wolverine	58	45.89	2,661.62
Seal	31,185	8.64	269,384.34
			<u>\$995,534.43</u>

* Number of General Hunting Licences issued

** Taken from Fur Export Ledger

*** Taken from Traders Fur Record Book

Information Source: Department of Industry & Development,
Game Management Division,
Yellowknife, N.W.T.

1. NORTHERN RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAM - GENERAL

This program was instituted in October, 1965, as the "Eskimo Rental Housing Program" to replace numerous programs then in effect supplying small houses both for sale and as welfare to Eskimos in Arctic Quebec and in the Northwest Territories. At the time it was felt that the existing programs could not adequately meet the needs of those for whom they were originally designed and consequently this all inclusive, accelerated program was developed. The desire was to provide at least the minimum acceptable accommodation for those peoples under Federal responsibility. The largest house to be built under this program consisted of three bedrooms and not more than 700 sq. ft. and the heating, water, sewage, and electrical services provided were to be kept to a bare minimum. The program, which is completely voluntary, applies only in settlements where adequate services can be supplied. It was further amended in February, 1968, to include Treaty Indians and at that time changed its name to the "Northern Rental Housing Program." The Government of the Northwest Territories took over operative control of the program on January 1, 1969, for the Mackenzie District and for the Districts of Keewatin and Franklin on April 1, 1970. Because this program was designed for, and applies exclusively to, Treaty Indians and Eskimos, final responsibility for determining policy has remained in the hands of the Federal Government.

The average cost per unit in this program has changed at various times from an original of \$8,000 to the present of \$14,500 including furniture.

1. a) NORTHERN RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAM

- i) This housing is available to Treaty Indians and Eskimos of the Northwest Territories.
- ii) Rental charges are based on 20% of the total family income with a \$2 minimum for those on welfare or pensions and a \$67 maximum per house.
- iii) Fuel and municipal services may be provided in amounts according to minimum quotas and are included as part of the rental package. The services provided vary according to individual community circumstances.
- iv) Furniture up to a maximum of \$500 per family can be supplied. Part of this quota is used for the purchase of standard furniture but up to 50% may be available for local purchase by the family. This furniture allowance is available only when a family enters this program. Replacement of this furniture is an individual responsibility and the family takes its furniture with it when it moves.
- v) Credits of 33% of actual rent paid as well as an allowance of up to \$100 per year can be used as part payment towards the purchase of a house under the "Northern Purchase Housing Program".
- vi) Houses previously purchased from the Federal Government can be purchased back by the Government if the owner wishes to be included in the rental program. Purchase-back is carried out under an established formula. Taken into consideration are payments made to the Government, normal subsidy, depreciation, and rental charges for the entire period of occupancy.
- vii) The actual construction phase of this program was accompanied by a Housing Education Program which consisted of four phases. The first phase was to explain all aspects of the housing program so that the Indians and Eskimos would understand the advantages of renting a house. The second phase consisted of involving the people in all aspects of homemaking in order to ensure healthy living conditions and well maintained homes. Phase three was to organize those interested in the rental program into Housing Associations so that they could carry on the day-to-day administration of these homes.

when they were provided. At this stage of the operation, the houses were, at least theoretically, under construction. Phase four was to select local native women and to provide them with intensive training in home management so that they in turn could provide this training to women moving into these new houses.

viii) When an older house is placed on the program due to newer housing not being yet available, only emergency maintenance is provided. The services normally provided under this program are available to these older homes, within limits dictated by their state of repair.

1. b) NORTHERN PURCHASE HOUSING PROGRAM

- i) It is necessary that the Indian and Eskimo have sufficient income to meet the payments on the house and to pay for at least minimum services.
- ii) Repayable first mortgage loans are available at current National Housing Act rates of interest amortized over 25 years. The maximum amount available is \$7,000.
- iii) A second mortgage loan of up to \$6,000 interest free is provided. It is forgivable under certain conditions.

1. c) INDIAN OFF-RESERVE AND ESKIMO RE-ESTABLISHMENT PROGRAM

- i) Financial assistance is provided to Indians and Eskimos relocating in areas of economic development. At the present time, this includes Yellowknife, Hay River, Fort Smith, Inuvik, and Pine Point. This assistance enables them to purchase or construct a home.
- ii) A first mortgage loan must be obtained from an approved lender or from Central Mortgage & Housing Corporation.
- iii) A second mortgage loan amortized over ten years, interest free and forgivable under certain conditions is also available.
- iv) The Program is administered by the Department of Veterans' Affairs on behalf of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
- v) The amounts of down payment required, and first and second mortgages available is shown in the schedule below.

<u>INCOME</u>	<u>DOWN PAYMENT</u>	<u>FIRST MORTGAGE</u>	<u>SECOND MORTGAGE</u>
Less than \$ 3,000	\$ 135 up to	\$ 7,865 up to	\$ 10,000
3,001 - 3,600	235	7,765	10,000
3,601 - 4,200	335	7,665	10,000
4,201 - 4,800	435	7,565	10,000
4,801 - 5,700	535	7,465	10,000
5,701 - 6,600	635	8,365	9,000
6,601 - 7,500	735	9,265	8,000
7,501 - 8,400	835	10,165	7,000
8,401 - 9,000	935	11,065	6,000
9,001 - 10,000	1,085	11,815	5,000
10,001 - 11,000	1,435	12,565	4,000
11,001 - 12,000	1,685	13,315	3,000
12,001 - 13,000	1,935	14,965	2,000
over 13,000	2,185	14,815	1,000

1. d) ESKIMO HOUSING LOAN PROGRAM

There are no new loans being issued under this program. The 33 existing loans will be administered until they expire.

NORTHERN RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAM

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>1968 & Prior</u>	<u>Construction 1969-70</u>	<u>Year 1970-71</u>
Arctic Bay	29	15	5
Baker Lake	132		
Belcher Islands	11		15
Broughton Island	56		
Cape Dorset	91		6
Chesterfield Inlet	34		
Clyde River	25	5	15
Coral Harbour	48		
Eskimo Point	111		9
Frobisher Bay	233	40	
Grise Fiord	18		
Hall Beach	33		
Igloolik	70	10	6
Lake Harbour	35		
Pangnirtung	68	10	5
Pond Inlet	55		10
Port Burwell	33		5
Rankin Inlet	92		15
Repulse Bay	43		
Resolute	21		
Whale Cove	46		
Cambridge Bay	65	19	
Coppermine	95	35	
Gjoa Haven	27	10	
Hay River	11		
Holman Island	23	18	
Fort Providence	4	6	
Pelly Bay	35		
Rae	37		10
Fort Resolution	8		
Fort Simpson	3		
Fort Smith	9		
Snowdrift	4		
Spence Bay	23	18	
Yellowknife	9		
Aklavik	29	5	15
Fort Franklin		5	12
Fort Good Hope		5	5
Inuvik	73		
Fort McPherson		5	15
Fort Norman		8	
Paulatuk	11		
Sachs Harbour	1		
Tuktoyaktuk	33	27	20
Arctic Red River			7
TOTAL	1,794	201*	175

NOTE* Plus 40 row housing (leased)

11. TERRITORIAL RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAM - GENERAL

During the first session of Council in 1969, this program was approved to make housing available to those residents of the Northwest Territories who were neither Indians nor Eskimos, under the Northern Rental Housing Program. This program is similar in all respects to the Northern Rental sections of the Federal Program with the exceptions that:

- one must have been a resident of the Northwest Territories for at least three years.
- this program is not available in municipalities capable of providing Public Housing.

b) Territorial Purchase Housing Program

Similar in all respects to the Northern Purchase housing Program with the above noted exceptions.

TERRITORIAL RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAM

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Construction Year</u>	
	<u>1969-70</u>	<u>1970-71</u>
Fort Providence	8	5
Fort Simpson	8	6
Fort Resolution	8	6
Rae	5	
Fort Norman	6	
Fort McPherson	5	6
Fort Good hope	2	3
Fort Franklin	1	
Tuktoyaktuk	3	4
Aklavik	7	2 (rnd)
Arctic Red River		3
Norman Wells		4
Hay River		20
<u>TOTALS</u>	53	59

111. PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAMS

a) Public Housing

Under Section 35 of the National Housing Act there are currently low rental Public housing Projects underway in Yellowknife, Fort Smith, Inuvik, and Hay River. The one hundred and twenty units in various stages of planning, construction, and occupancy, are being sponsored under a tri-governmental, cost sharing program. The senior partner, Central Mortgage & Housing Corporation, pays for 75% of both capital costs and operating losses. The Territorial Government's 25% share of the above expenses has been to date shared with the municipalities, who have agreed to carry 10% of the total burden. Housing Authorities are appointed in the communities by the Commissioner. Their function is to see to the occupancy and proper management of these projects. At the moment, based on the experience gained from existing Public Housing developments, an entirely new rent structure and approach to this type of housing is under study. The near future should see a more active role for Public Housing in our communities.

b) Senior Citizens Housing

At the moment there is a project in Yellowknife with projects in Fort Smith and Fort Simpson in the Planning stages under Section 35A of the National Housing Act. While the municipal Housing Authorities manage these projects also, the capital cost is shared between Central Mortgage & Housing Corporation, 75% and the Territorial Government, 25%. The Municipality does, however, cover 10% of the operating loss incurred by residents who lived in the community prior to entering the project.

c) Single Persons Accommodation

Under Section 10 of the National Housing Act, the Territorial Government is permitted to borrow up to 95% of the capital cost of building residences for single people. A stipulation of this type of loan is that the project must be self-supporting, including amortization of the loan over fifty years. There are currently projects in Yellowknife and Inuvik.

IV. LOW COST HOUSING PROGRAM

This program, instituted by Council in 1962, is to provide mortgage money for the construction of low cost housing.

a) First Mortgage Loans

A person is eligible for a first mortgage loan if:

- he owns the land that is to become security for the loan or
- has a crown lease whose terms exceed those of the mortgage by at least five years
- he does not already have a mortgage with the Territorial Government
- he is unable to obtain a loan under the provisions of the National Housing Act.

The maximum amount available at the moment for the first mortgages is \$8,000 at an interest rate set by the Commissioner, for a term not exceeding 25 years.

The borrower's contribution to the total cost of the project must be at least five percent but can be either cash, land, or labour.

b) Second Mortgage Loans

The Commissioner may give a second mortgage loan of a sum not to exceed \$1,000 bearing no interest, over a period of ten years if the individual has received a loan under the first section of this program and if the total cost of construction of the house is less than ten thousand dollars. The equal annual payments due on the second mortgage may be forgiven if the borrower continues to live in the house.

Under this program there have been 68 first mortgages issued for a total of \$397,700 and 66 second mortgages issued for a total of \$65,928.

PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION

1. Purchase Back of Present Housing

Because the Eskimo will be required to demonstrate that he can keep up the repayments necessary on the resale home plus provide minimum services, it is expected that the demand for such houses will be limited and most Eskimos will move into rental homes. This raises the question of the disposal of the existing resale houses. In most cases they are too small for family needs and many of them are in bad state of disrepair.

It was submitted to Treasury Board that we would purchase back existing resale homes under certain conditions. All property purchased back and welfare houses will be regarded as part of the available housing pool, which will include use by the Eskimo administration and use for storage.

Privately constructed houses which have been purchased by Eskimos cannot be considered under the purchase back arrangements. The 512 house must also be classed in the same category as it has never really been a part of the Eskimo low-cost housing program but rather has been a catch-all used for staff housing, rental to Eskimo or others, schools, garages and many other purposes.

(a) Purchase Back Formula

Where a part of the purchase price has been paid, a formula has been devised to aid Area Administrators to arrive at a purchase back price:

- (i) Where an Eskimo occupying a resale house wishes to purchase a larger home more suitable for his family, all money paid on the existing house will be transferred as equity on the new house except that an amount of up to 2% of the cost of the house to the Eskimo for each year of occupancy should be charged as rental for depreciation. See sub-paragraphs (iv) and (v) below.
- (ii) For all other cases an assessed rent will be worked out and deducted from the total paid by the Eskimo. The assessed rent will be 25% of what the Eskimo would have normally been expected to pay each year of occupancy unless the cost of the house has been fully paid up, in which case it will be charged for the time taken to pay back the loan (after that time we should assume that the house belonged to the Eskimo and it would not be justifiable to charge a rent).
- (iii) An example of an assessed rent and total deductions payable is as follows:

Actual Cost of House (type 370) say	\$2,700	(occupied in Oct. 1963)
Freight	<u>600</u>	
Total Cost	\$3,300	
Less Subsidy	<u>1,000</u>	
Cost to Eskimo	\$2,300	

The loan from the Eskimo Loan Fund therefore would have been \$2,300 over 10 years at 5%; approximately \$24 per month or \$288 per annum. Therefore assessed rent is 25% of \$288 (\$72.00) for each year of occupancy. As the occupancy has been since October 1963 to, say, April 31, 1966, 2 7/12 years, therefore, total rent chargeable will be $2 \frac{7}{12} \times \$72$ or \$186. If the Eskimo had paid less than this during the entire period he would get nothing, if he had paid more he would get the difference, i.e., if he had paid, say, \$280 he would get back \$94.

(iv) However the full rebate as outlined in (ii) and (iii) above would only be paid where the house is in reasonably good condition. A further deduction should be made for depreciation of the house of up to 2% of the cost of the house to the Eskimo for each year of occupancy. In the case outlined in (iii) above therefore a further deduction would be made of 2% of \$2,300 for 2 years and seven months of \$119. Therefore, the Eskimo would not have received any rebate for the house. It should be noted that the 2% of cost is approximately the percentage used for maintenance of government property in the north.

(v) Notwithstanding the requirements of (iv) above, we suggest that a certain flexibility be used in the assessment of deduction for maintenance. In most cases we would not expect the full 2% to be deducted. However, in some cases perhaps 2% would not be enough, therefore it should be possible and in order to charge more. The Area Administrator may determine the condition of the house but if there are any disagreements the final decision will be with the Regional Engineer.

(b) Purchase Back Arrangements

Each year, an amount will be placed in the Estimates to cover the estimated cost of purchasing back present resale housing. This money will be paid back either in cash, or as a credit on the purchase of another home, whichever the Eskimo prefers. A purchase back form (Appendix A) should be filled out in triplicate by the applicant, signed by him in the presence of the Area Administrator, certified by the latter and forwarded in two copies to the Regional Housing Co-ordinator. One copy should be then forwarded to the District office.

The Area Administrator should recommend whether depreciation should be greater than 2%. This is the rate for a house in good condition - one that does not require any major repairs or maintenance in order to become habitable.

Any payments made that are not listed on the District summary should be entered on the purchase back form and supported by the receipt number for the payment. When the completed form is received in the District, the list of payments verified and the purchase back price determined, a cheque will be forwarded to the Area Administrator with the Bill of Sale.

This Bill of Sale should be completed and signed by the applicant when he gets the cheque. The Area Administrator should have this signature witnessed by a Notary Public, Commissioner for Oaths or Justice of the Peace in his community and then return it to the Regional Housing Officer.

(c) Housing Purchased Back

Housing purchased back in the above manner should be placed in the Community housing pool, from which better units may be used as rental housing. The remaining units may be disposed of in a manner acceptable to the community, the Local Housing Association and the Area Administration, with the exception that a small number of units should be retained in the settlement for

- (i) families who have not lived up to the rental conditions and have to be evicted;
- (ii) new family formations or recent immigration into the community;
- (iii) transient families in need of temporary housing; and for
- (iv) offices or warehouses for the housing association.

2. Type of Houses

Because one of the main purposes of the Eskimo Rental Housing Policy is to avoid having families live in houses too small for their needs, houses will be ordered according to the size of the family, and number of families in each settlement requiring houses. These will include one and three bedroom houses. Because of the advantages of bulk ordering and the lack of local materials in the eastern Arctic, the houses provided will be generally of the pre-fabricated type, but the Engineering Division

is ensuring that various designs will be available. We also hope to institute row housing or combined units in places like Frobisher Bay since the combination of capital repayment plus servicing costs can be made cheaper.

These houses are built on gravel pads by construction crews shipped in from the south with an equal number of people hired locally. In the Mackenzie lumber is available and an attempt is being made to use local materials wherever possible. For this reason, houses in this District may be of the standard, precut or prefabricated types. Mills at Aklavik, Fort Simpson, Fort Smith and Fort Resolution are capable of manufacturing the material for precut houses.

In providing different methods of housing construction under the new rental and resale programs, we are attempting not only to ensure that northern towns will have some variety of house construction, but also, especially insofar as the resale program is concerned, to give the Eskimo a choice in the type of house he wishes to buy. Our aim, therefore, is to employ local labour and to develop the local economy as much as possible. We should for these reasons encourage the use of precut houses; then lumber mills in the north can be given housing contracts. This is an aim only; it is dependent on such other factors as time, number of houses needed in any settlement, the capacity of the lumber mills to provide precut houses, length of shipping season and wishes of the Eskimos.

3. Allocation of houses

The allocation of houses may vary slightly from settlement to settlement depending on the wishes of the people in the community. Generally, however, as houses arrive and are erected in the settlement, they should be given to a family with the greatest need for a house, either for economical or health reasons, or because of their present living conditions. Those already living in the community should generally have preference over those who come in from camps for a house.

Size of family is an important factor in determining house allocation. Childless married couples or single persons will obtain a one-room house of approximately 290 sq. ft. in area. Two adults or a father and a mother with a child under twelve can be allocated to a one-bedroom house of 390 sq. ft. A married couple with one other adult, or two childless married couples will be able to obtain a two-bedroom house of approximately 620 sq. ft. in area. So too will a family of two children provided that both are of one sex, or if of different sexes that one is under twelve. If two-bedroom houses are not available in the community, then these people can be eligible for three-bedroom houses. All larger families should be provided with three-bedroom houses of approximately 700 sq. ft. in area.

For the purpose of determining family size, a family unit is considered to be any person over twenty-one with or without dependents. A girl over sixteen with child is also considered as a single family unit. In no case, however, should a son or daughter over twenty-one, or a grandmother or grandfather be allocated to a single one room house without both their own and their family's approval.

Our policy should be to avoid placing non-related family units in the same house wherever possible. Where this is unavoidable the Area Administrator can recommend special consideration for the nomination of two tenants to represent the two families at all annual meetings of the local housing association. In most cases, however, the two family units should select a head to vote for them at all pertinent meetings of the local housing association and to sign the annual rental agreement or lease. Credits should accumulate under his name and he should be responsible for collecting rent for that house. This rent would be assessed on the combined income of both families.

If an Eskimo woman is married to a non-Eskimo, then the family is eligible to apply for an Eskimo rental house but the rental agreement must be made out in the wife's name and she, for all administrative purposes, should be regarded as the tenant of the house, paying rent, obtaining credits, etc. She could delegate responsibility to her husband to attend meetings of the local housing association but she alone has the actual voting rights.

4. Determination of Rents

Our aim in determining the rents to be charged is to arrive at a monthly payment within the capacity of the family to pay. Depending on the type of house, a maximum rent has been determined and the formula used is the same as that established by CMHC for

own-owned housing in the north. The maximum rent for a one room plan 370 house is \$37.00 per month; for an Angitraq or one bedroom house the maximum rent is \$42.00 per month. Rental for 512 units has been determined at \$50.00 per month. A two-bedroom house has a maximum rent of \$62.00 per month and a three-bedroom of \$67.00 per month. However, you should note that should the level of civil service staff housing rents be raised to the economic level, Eskimo housing maximum rents will probably also be raised. The intent is using the same formula at this time is to avoid discrimination between tenants of staff housing and Eskimo rental housing.

At the beginning of each fiscal year the Area Administrator in conjunction with the local housing association should divide the Eskimo family units within his settlement into three categories. Each Eskimo should be told his rental assessment and the reasons for this assessment. Although the Area Administrator should consult with the local housing association and local leaders in the community on income and rental assessment, in case of disagreement he should refer the final decision to the Regional Housing Officer. The three groups are as follows:

- (a) Those Eskimos permanently employed - this group is defined as those Eskimos receiving a steady income.
- (b) Those Eskimos in need of Special Assistance - included in this group are widows, Eskimos on Social Assistance for health reasons at the recommendation of the local medical representative and able-bodied men genuinely unemployed because of the economic conditions in the area, or who are prevented from utilizing existing employment opportunities because of lack of equipment or operating capital, and those receiving old age and disability pensions. Family allowances are not included in determining annual income.
- (c) Those Eskimos non-permanently employed - this category is defined as those able-bodied men whose employment is seasonal such as hunters, together with part time employment with the government, the Hudson's Bay Company, or a mission, etc. This group will also include men who are unemployed because of lack of initiative or lack of desire to work.

Eskimos in category "A" will pay 20% of their income towards rental regardless of their family size. In the south, people pay 25% to 27% of their income toward rent, but we are limiting it to 20% because of northern conditions. This 20% will only be up to the maximum monthly rental for that type of house. For example, if a man was making \$2,400 a year, or a monthly income of \$200, then the monthly rent would be 20% of \$200 or \$40. However, as the maximum rent that can be charged for a one room house is \$37.000, that is what he would pay. If, however, the man earning \$200 per month was living in a three-bedroom house, with a maximum rent of \$67.00, then the Eskimo would pay \$40.00.

So that everyone is introduced to the concepts of paying rent and ideas of being a tenant, all people in category "B" will be required to pay at least \$2.00 rent per month. This amount may have to be paid out of a very small cash income but we do not think that it is an excessive sum to raise in view of the accommodation and services they are getting. It can be regarded as the "widow's mite" and means as much sacrifice to her as a much larger payment from a fully employed person.

In category "C", composed of such people as hunters, trappers, part-time employees and occasionally loafers, an average income should be computed by the Area Administrator. This income can be computed on the previous year's income for casual employment, handicrafts, furs, resource harvesting projects, etc., and then increased or decreased based on a review of the prospects for the year ahead in fur, casual labour, construction projects, etc. The income computed will then be divided by the number of families in category "C" and 20% of this average income will be the yearly rent for such people. In this way, people who are ambitious and earn over this average will benefit by their initiative while loafers will have to pay the set rent or be evicted into a smaller home. In forecasting the annual income the Area Administrator may ask the advice of whomever he chooses but he should consult with the Eskimo concerned. In category "C" if an Eskimo made \$2,400 a year but earned it in four months, he would have to pay the rent for the months when nothing was earned. For example, if the average income determined for this category was set at \$2,000 then 20% of this is \$400 and this would be the yearly rent set. An Eskimo in this category could therefore pay either a monthly rental over the twelve months of \$33.00 or \$100 in each of the four months he works as long as he pays \$400 that year. The \$400 he makes over and above the average income set of \$2,000 does not effect his rental.

because during the space of the year an Eskimo might change from one category to another and because, especially for category "C", economic prospects may change, the Area Administrator should review the assessed rent periodically. He must also be flexible and judge each case on its own merit. If he estimates that the Eskimo will earn nothing that year, then he will only be expected to pay at least the \$2.00 rent. When rentals are set, however, the Area Administrator should insist on payment and if arrears occur without adequate reasons, the Area Administrator should evict a man to a smaller one-room house. Several of the one-room houses from the present resale program should be left in each settlement for this purpose. At the end of each year, all cases of arrears will be reviewed and if sufficient reasons exist for those arrears, the Area Administrator should recommend that we go to Treasury Board to write-off the debt. If insufficient reasons for non-rental payment occur, then the debt will be carried forward on the Eskimo's housing account. The rental determination scheme will be reviewed each year by the Branch housing officer and welfare officers in consultation with the Area and Regional and District Administrators, and if necessary new arrangements will be made.

At the beginning of each fiscal year (in April) the Area Administrator will have the tenant sign a Rental Agreement (Appendix B) which specifies the occupant's annual rent, his house number, his responsibilities and the Department's obligation to him.

(4) Implementation of the Administrative Procedures on Rental Determination

The administrative procedures for rent should begin when tenancy occurs i.e. when the person receives a purchase-back cheque for the house he is at present residing in and that house becomes a rental house, or the moment a person commences occupancy of a new rental house. The rental agreement form should be signed setting forth the conditions of tenancy, and rent should be due the first day of the month following the commencement of his tenancy, for the portion of the month completed and the following month in advance.

If for example the tenant moves into his rental house on April 21, rent would become due on May 1st, for the period from April 21st to May 1st, and from May 1st to May 31st. In filling out the monthly collection form, the rent set for the period April 21st to May 1st would be in the Arrears forward column, for the period May 1st to May 31st in the Rental Assessment column, and the total of both would be entered in the Amount Paid column (if in fact the tenant paid the total rent due). Any additional payment or any arrears would be placed in the column headed - Arrears/Prepaid.

5. Management - Local housing Association

One of the reasons Treasury Board agreed to the new rental housing program was that management would, wherever possible, be carried out by a local Eskimo housing association, and that real authority and responsibility would be transferred to this group as quickly as they could demonstrate the ability to handle it. Certainly, it is imperative that the Eskimos should be fully informed on what is planned for their community and how they might help to implement these proposals. We also must ensure that full acceptance of the rental program be obtained from the Eskimos concerned. This does not mean only an acceptance of the house, but also means at least an understanding and a partial acceptance of the responsibilities that go along with the house.

The Area Administrator should spend as much time as possible in getting over to the Eskimo tenants and our own staff that the program is designed to encourage the maximum of personal and community involvement. All that can be given to the tenants to do should be given. Furthermore, we should avoid taking any action that could be taken by the tenants, particularly through the local housing association; for example, on house design and possible improvements. The tenants should make their points to the housing association and the association can then write to the Regional Administrator with their points of view and suggestions. Our role will be to show them that we do take notice and they can get things done in this way. Mistakes will be made but these mistakes should be discussed with the association carefully and the Area Administrator could suggest possible solutions. Initially, this method of operation may be slower and more cumbersome but the long term effect will be to develop the right approach to housing management on the part of the Eskimo.

(a) Terms of Reference

Generally, we regard the local housing association as an organization representative of the tenants of Departmental rental housing in a community.

which would undertake, on behalf of the Department to carry out all necessary maintenance to departmental rental housing in that community. The association will act as representative of the tenants in all negotiations with the Department, and will assume other responsibilities as negotiated.

More specifically, the housing association should have a voice in the location of the rental houses within the framework of the departmental site plans for the community. The rental houses will be available to everyone in the settlement, of course, even to those presently occupying houses supplied by their employers, but the siting of the houses must be established in co-operation with engineering division on a good community plan basis. Within this site plan the housing association will be responsible for the allocation of available housing to the individual tenants and for providing the Department with a list of future housing requirements for the community.

Above all, in the initial stages, the Association will be responsible for planning and carrying out all maintenance required on rental houses erected in their community, and in this regard may:

- (i) enter into an annual service contract with the Department for the maintenance of rental housing in their community, and receive an accountable advance for the amount of that service contract; and
- (ii) disburse funds for the purchase and/or shipment of material necessary to a maintenance program, hiring or contracting of labour necessary to a maintenance program, and payment of legitimate administration costs up to the amount provided to them in the annual service contract entered into with the Department. (See Appendix C for sample contracts).

(b) Incorporation of the Associations

To perform the duties listed above, the Department will provide the associations with an annual allotment based on a percentage of the capital replacement of each house under its jurisdiction, but the actual allotment would depend upon the amount included for maintenance in the approved estimates of the Department. Before we can let such service contracts, however, the Association must be incorporated under the Societies Ordinance in order that it has a legal entity. The first people elected to the association are required to make and sign an application and to sign By-laws agreed upon by them for the government of the Society. At least five people must sign. The application and the By-laws together with the registration fee of \$5.00 are then to be forwarded to the Regional Housing Co-ordinator.

The By-laws form a written record of the principles and methods under which the authority has decided to operate; these may be revised at any later date. A copy of the By-laws approved by the Registrar for use by local housing associations is outlined in Appendix D. In the By-laws and in the application, the name of the association should be as short and as meaningful as possible. The association may wish to limit the number of years any officer may serve in any position but this is flexible and it depends upon the wishes of the local housing association concerned. Such things should be spelled out in the by-laws, however.

(c) Maintenance

Although the actual arrangements for maintenance are a matter of local choice or availability, we suggest that the following methods may be suitable. The maintenance may be done by tradesmen employed by the local housing association, either by hiring the services of local people or by engaging the permanent maintenance force of the Department on a repayment basis. Materials for such maintenance work may be obtained from local outlets such as the Hudson's Bay Company or through the Department on a repayment basis, if no other suitable source is available. We would expect, however, that they will plan maintenance so that many supplies can be ordered in advance and stock-piled. Certain tools could be obtained on a loan basis from the Department.

Whatever method of maintenance is used and whatever arrangements are made

should be the subject of negotiation and approval by the Regional Engineer. Notwithstanding this, legitimate maintenance expenditures may be made for the purchase of material, the shipment of this material, hiring of labour, contracting of labour or services, and administration of the maintenance program. The payment of the honorarium to the members of the association should be regarded as an administrative charge against the service contract and can be paid from the accountable advance. All expenditures over \$25.00, however, must be supported by a majority decision of the housing association and recorded in the minutes of a legal meeting.

For the start, we advise that only the following maintenance tasks be delegated to tenants:

- (1) General good housekeeping within the house and the immediate vicinity outside the house;
- (2) Adjustment and minor repairs of sash, doors, locks and hinges, drain boards, thresholds, steps, faucets and toilet seats;
- (3) Clearing of stopped or sluggish drains;
- (4) Minor patching of roof, walls, ceilings and floors;
- (5) Minor painting jobs requested or required by the tenant, but not approved by the local housing authority;
- (6) Chimney cleaning;
- (7) Interior decoration, including initial interior painting when the house is first erected (paint will be provided for this purpose by either the Department or the local housing association) and
- (8) Any other maintenance work which the association thinks can be handled by the tenant.

Other maintenance tasks which will require the use of skilled tradesmen engaged by the local housing association will be as follows:

- (1) Repair or replacement of plumbing fixtures;
- (2) Repair or replacement of electric fixtures;
- (3) Repair or replacement of cooking and heating equipment;
- (4) Complete replacement of a floor or floor covering;
- (5) Complete replacement or application of entire roof coating;
- (6) Major repainting of the house; and
- (7) Work which would be included in a planned renovation program.

Every attempt should be made to have the members of the association determine what maintenance is required and whether the tenants should perform the task or whether the association will hire someone to do it.

(d) Organization of the Housing Association

At present, we intend that the development of the local housing association will consist of three phases:

(i) Phase (1):

The Area Administrator or someone nominated by him will act as the appointed chairman of the association.

(ii) Phase (2):

The Area Administrator or someone nominated by him will act as secretary to the association.

(iii) Phase (J):

All officers will be elected from the membership of the association and no appointed members will serve. At this stage the association may need to hire a full time administrator, especially in the larger settlements. We do not expect the same need in the smaller settlements. Where this is required, we will enter into a separate contract with the association to pay for this administration.

the phase in which each association may be considered will be decided at the annual general meeting of the tenants by a two-thirds majority of the tenants present at the meeting, provided the Area Administrator is in agreement. If not, the matter should be referred to the Regional Administrator for his decision. Wherever possible, settlements sophisticated enough to take over most of the housing management responsibilities immediately without direct guidance from the Area Administrator should be encouraged to take over such responsibilities as soon as possible. We must be careful, however, not to give the associations more than they can handle or we will destroy their confidence in their ability to administer the program. It will be the responsibility of the Regional Housing Administrator and the Area Administrator to assist the associations in eventually taking over most of the management of the rental housing in the settlement.

At the annual meeting the tenants should also determine the election of members to the association for the coming year. In other words the officers and directors of the association will be elected for a one year term and such membership will consist of one director for every group of ten rental houses in the community, with a minimum complement of three members and a maximum complement of nine. In cases where the Area Administrator is required to serve on the housing association, he will serve in addition to the elected members and will not be remunerated for his services.

At the annual meeting the tenants should also examine the financial statement for the year immediately past, decide in which phase the association is to be considered, raise any points of tenant concern for the action of the incoming housing council and examine the audited yearly report prepared by the Secretary-Treasurer and present it to the housing association for their approval. For the purpose of this annual meeting all individuals who have made a formal request for rental housing will be considered a tenant and, therefore, eligible to vote. A quorum shall consist of 33% of the tenants eligible to vote at this annual meeting.

(e) Special Power

In the case of evidence of extreme personal neglect on the part of any individual tenant in the maintenance of his house, the housing council may assess that tenant the total or a portion of the cost of repairing that house.

In the case of evidence of extreme and continued neglect of maintenance, a continued failure to pay the assessed rent, the Housing Association may recommend the transfer of a tenant to a one-room house or outright eviction, although this latter responsibility should be exercised with much care.

The local housing association may by mutual agreement with the Department extend their responsibility to include the servicing of rental houses in their community through a service contract with the Department. The Association could then contract out to individual Eskimos or to a co-operative to provide water to the rental houses, to dispose of the garbage and sewage, and to service the oil tanks.

The Housing Association will also have priority on the use of surplus one-room houses, owned by the Crown, for storage, office space or emergency purposes where required.

(f) Association Contracts

As stated in section (a), the Department will enter into contracts with the local Housing Associations so that they may assist in the management of the Eskimo Rental Program. The amount of money actually paid out to each association will depend on the amount of money set aside for maintenance, services and administration for each rental unit in Departmental Estimates, and on the number of Eskimo rental houses the Association has under its supervision.

Payment will be made by accountable advances up to 20% of the total contract in any year but such advances shall not exceed \$2,000. Thereafter, payment will only be made against detailed invoices. In making these contracts, however, Treasury Board has stipulated that certain conditions must be followed.

- (a) Proper and detailed books of account must be kept by the Associations.
- (b) The books of the Associations are to be audited annually by the Comptroller of the Treasury or at the option of the Association by a private professional auditor.
- (c) Consideration should be given to bonding officers of the association responsible for handling of funds.
- (d) Contracts with associations should contain at least for the first few years, a clause providing for unilateral cancellation by the Minister and assumption of all assets - this to give the Department the right to step in, in the event of evidence of malfeasance.

In accordance with these conditions, we are requesting the Comptroller of the Treasury to carry out an audit during the winter on our rental collection operations. If at some time in the future, rental collection is given to the housing Associations, they may opt to have an audit by a private professional auditor. However we will assume that in most instances, for the first few years anyway, Treasury Office will carry this out for them.

Rental collection must be the subject of a separate contract. At this time we would advise that each particular responsibility handed over i.e. maintenance, oil delivery, water delivery, sewage collection and garbage collection and garbage collection should all have separate contracts. No contracts will be given to a housing Association for the collection of rents, however, until the District Administrator is convinced that the accounts system is being handled correctly by the Area Officer. When so convinced, the District Administrator may then instruct the Regional in writing that such a contract may be made. Except for rental collections, contracts for maintenance, provision of services, etc., should be arranged whenever possible and as soon as possible. The Housing Association Officers will then be getting actual administration and operation experience. Although training programs on accounting, and housing management will be arranged in the near future, our field staff should be able to offer the Association Officers all kinds of practical experience.

Regarding the contracts themselves and the funds involved, all Federal Government procedures and regulations will be followed. Signing authorities will be as they are now and will be strictly adhered to. Federal funds not spent at the end of the fiscal year will lapse and Federal monies held by the Housing Associations that have not been committed and will not be spent during the year will be returned to the Federal Government.

Funds for maintenance and services will be provided out of the operation and maintenance Vote for the Northern Housing Program. The Engineering Division will arrange each year for each District and Region to be informed as to what funds are available for those purposes.

Funds for administrative work such as rental collection to be charged to Professional and Special services have not been included in the Estimates. Before the Region can contemplate such contracts, therefore, the District or Regional Administrator will have to make funds available for this purpose in the Estimates.

It is essential that when a contract is made that all the conditions shall be included in the wording and that the members fully understand what is involved. (See Appendix C for Sample Contracts). The conditions relating to funds will mean that the Authorities will have to keep their own accounts and that these shall be maintained properly, kept up to date, and properly audited at the end of the fiscal year. Regarding the collection of rents, we suggest that the contract should include instructions to the effect that all rental monies should be paid into a bank (to the Receiver General of Canada), or handed over to the Area Administrator within 24 hours of being collected.

The amount of the contract for each work should cover the cost of the labour required plus all or a portion of the money to be paid annually to housing Association officers. If only a portion of this latter amount is included **the remainder** should be charged to other contracts with the housing Association.

Costs included should, eventually, also cover cost of heating and lighting offices, buying paper and office supplies, postage, etc. It is definitely the intention that all the costs of operation should be paid by the Housing Associations. Eventually they should also charge enough for expenses against each contract to enable them to pay rent for the offices or storage space they are occupying. Use of government equipment where necessary will be specified in the contract including the conditions of that use.

It is not intended that housing Associations should make a surplus or a profit. Any housing Association funds remaining at the end of each fiscal year should be spent on the houses, equipment for the houses or improving services. As stated above, at the end of each fiscal year Federal funds will be returned and outstanding balances on contracts will automatically lapse and cannot be added on to the following year's contract.

When a housing Association receives a contract to carry out certain work on our behalf, it does not necessarily have to do the work itself. The housing Association in turn might enter into a contract with a co-operative or an individual to get the job done. In many communities a local co-operative might carry out some of the responsibilities given to the housing Association. In these instances the housing Association should ensure that sufficient funds are included in the contract with us to cover its own overhead expenses together with the cost of the sub-contract with the co-op or individual. In this way the same money will circulate many times in a community creating increased economic activity in which the Eskimo can participate.

(g) Housing Association Accounts

As mentioned above it will be necessary for the Housing Associations to keep proper accounts and control of expenditures made for contracts received under the rental housing program. In approving the special form of contract, TB 671528, the Treasury board stipulated that such accounts shall be kept and that they shall be audited annually.

What is required, therefore, is a simple set of detailed books of account that may, with training, be readily understood by the Association officers yet be sufficiently detailed as to provide a control against misuse of funds and provide sufficient information to assist the administration.

In Appendix E there is a suggested series of such detailed books of accounts numbered hA1 to hA6 which we propose for general use by all the Associations. If in any settlement the Association Chairman or other officer devises a better accounts system, then that Association is perfectly free to adopt the other method, providing that the books are properly kept, are ready for inspection after due warning and are satisfactory to the auditors.

The system outlined in Appendix E is not a double entry system although in some instances there are similar double postings. The control accounts can be likened to journal accounts (or day books if you like) and similar postings will often be made in the cash account. However, basically it is intended as a single-entry system and there are no credit and debit sides of the ledger as in the classic format. Similarly, there are no trading accounts, profit and loss statements or balance sheets.

Basically the main functions of the Association will be:

- (a) To administer the contracts given to them or by them and to keep a record of expenditures against the contract.
- (b) To keep a record of cash transactions and control the bank account.
- (c) To record wages paid including payroll deductions.
- (d) To record monies paid to the Government on behalf of employees.
- (e) To record Payments made to the Association officers.

(f) To record monies paid to the Government for rentals collected.

One of the first tasks the Housing Associations will need to undertake will be getting a bank account. This can only be initiated locally. In most settlements presumably the accounts will be in a bank outside of the area. We would advise that the bank manager should be fully informed about the purposes of the Association and probably use of the account. We also suggest that all transactions should be by cheque, with two signatures required to ensure validity - the Chairman and Secretary would seem to be the right people.

6. Provision of Services

Because of the extremely high cost of fuel and other services in the north, the rental housing plans will provide a complete package covering the housing itself, and the attendant minimum services. We hope through constant redesign and experimentation, to evolve prefabricated and other construction techniques which will reduce the cost of construction, heating and maintenance. At the same time, we will seek improved and cheaper water, sewer, heating and power supply systems.

Modern kitchen plumbing will not be provided in most communities at the outset of the program, but where water and means to heat sufficient water is available, wash tubs will be installed. In all other areas galvanized wash tubs will be provided. Instead of day tanks, a 250 gallon storage tank, stand and piping will be installed to supply oil to the stoves and space heaters. In all places except Frobisher Bay, 45 gallon water storage tanks will be supplied. In Frobisher Bay a 100 gallon tank with outside fill and overflow will be ordered.

Although provision is made for oil, power, water and sewage facilities, consumption must be limited; therefore, quotas will be established. After each quota is consumed, either the power will be cut off or the Eskimo will be expected to pay for all additional services. Oil will be supplied on a quota basis also and once the monthly quota is used, the Eskimo will have to pay for additional fuel.

It is hoped that where a community association is administering the rental program, they can be responsible for ensuring that Eskimos remain within the quotas established. In this manner, Eskimo responsibility in the community may be assisted.

While it is the ultimate goal to provide the rental houses with all services, we are at present limited to the facilities available in the settlement. The Rental Agreement Form has therefore been designed in such a manner that the Area Administrator can specify each year what services will be provided by the Department as realistically determined at any one time in the settlement. If people in a rental house wanted extras, however, such as clothes drier or refrigerator, they would have to pay the amount of electricity used over the quota plus the cost of installation.

(a) Supply of Fuel Oil

All new housing will be provided with 250 gallon outdoor fuel tanks, complete with fuel gauges. For economical reasons we suggest that oil be delivered to the houses on a programmed basis only. It is recommended that the following quotas by Imperial Gallons or by 45 Gallon Drums, and the approximate number of deliveries per year, be adopted as a guide to indicate a firm quota level.

ANNUAL QUOTAS FOR FUEL OIL

<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>IMPERIAL GALLONS/YEAR</u>	<u>DRUMS/YEAR</u>	<u>APPROXIMATE NUMBER DELIVERIES FOR YEAR</u>
<u>1 Room</u>			
Standard Plan 370A	810	18	4
Standard Plan 408			
Standard Plan 418			
<u>1 Bedroom</u>			
Standard Plan 395	1080	24	5
Standard Plan 411			
Standard Plan 417			
Standard Plan 424			
Standard Plan 428			
<u>2 & 3 Bedroom</u>			
Standard Plan 396	1710	38	7
Standard Plan 397			
Standard Plan 409			
Standard Plan 410			
Standard Plan 416			
<u>3 Bedroom</u>			
Standard Plan 436	1890	42	8
Standard Plan 439			

In order (a) to provide monthly consumption data required for Branch statistics, (b) to bring to the notice of the local housing association an excessive monthly use of oil, and (c) to educate the Eskimos on the conservation of oil, the following monthly procedures should be adopted:

- (i) The Area Administrator until such time as service contracts are made with the Association will prepare a consolidated list of all consumptions, and deliveries and send a copy to the Local Housing Association, and one to the Regional Engineer and Regional Housing Co-ordinator. If the Local Housing Association does the servicing of the rental units, then they prepare the above lists and forward them to the Area Administrator.
- (ii) The tenant will read the gauge on the last day of each month and check the reading with the local housing association. From the gauge readings the local housing association will be able to advise tenants who are using too much oil on a month-to-month basis and issue timely warnings.

The following table shows the approximate monthly consumption of fuel oil for the various houses. The unbracketed figures denote the number of 45 gallon drums and the figures in brackets show the actual gallonage.

MONTHLY QUOTAS FOR FUEL OIL

<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>JAN.</u>	<u>FEB.</u>	<u>MAR.</u>	<u>APR.</u>	<u>MAY</u>	<u>JUNE</u>	<u>JULY</u>	<u>AUG.</u>	<u>SEPT.</u>	<u>OCT.</u>	<u>NOV.</u>	<u>DEC.</u>
<u>1 Room</u>												
Standard Plan 370A	3	3	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	2
408	(135)	(135)	(90)	(45)	(45)	(45)	(0)	(45)	(45)	(45)	(90)	(90)
418												
<u>1 Bedroom</u>												
Standard Plan 395												
411	4	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3
417	(180)	(180)	(90)	(90)	(45)	(45)	(45)	(45)	(45)	(90)	(135)	(135)
424												
428												
<u>2 & 3 Bedroom</u>												
Standard Plan 396												
397	4	4	4	4	3	2	1	1	3	4	4	4
409	(180)	(180)	(180)	(180)	(135)	(90)	(45)	(45)	(135)	(180)	(180)	(180)
410												
416												
<u>3 Bedroom</u>												
Standard Plan 436	5	5	5	4	3	2	1	1	3	4	4	5
439	(225)	(225)	(225)	(180)	(135)	(90)	(45)	(45)	(135)	(180)	(180)	(225)

Should an individual tenant use more than his quota no further free issue will be made but the tenant will be required to buy the extra oil required or the fuel supply will be reduced by the amount used over the quota. The Area Administrator must be flexible on the quotas depending on the circumstances; a house on a hill may need more fuel than one protected from the wind.

(b) Electrical Energy

The following quotas of electrical energy are recommended and have been based on reasonable illumination and a reasonable use of small appliances such as floor polishers, food mixers, fry pans, hand irons, radios, toaster, vacuum cleaners and washing machines but not including electric ranges, driers and water heaters.

Again, however, we must be prepared to be flexible; it is possible, initially at least, that in some settlements sufficient power is not available to fulfill the quotas at the shown levels. In these cases a new level must be set consistent with the power supply. It is the intent of the Department, however, to eventually bring its generation capacity up to the level at which electrical quotas in each settlement can be met.

The Area Administrator will control the monthly quotas for electrical energy by pursuing any of the following courses:

- (I) The tenant may be charged at the going rate for his over consumption and pay for it from his own pocket.
- (II) The power to the tenant may be cut off for the period of time that under normal circumstances would have elapsed to use the amount of power over consumed.

The tenant should be made responsible for reading his meter on the last day of each month and checking the readings with the Local Housing Association.

When a service contract has been arranged, the Local Housing Association will be responsible for submitting quarterly meter readings taken on February 28/29, May 31, August 31 and November 30, to the Area Administrator for onward transmission to the Regional Engineer.

Also quarterly, as above, the Local Housing Association will pass on to the Area Administrator all monies collected for over consumption, with complete substantiating records for the same. The Area Administrator will issue an approved receipt for monies so received. At the end of each year, the quotas for both fuel oil and electricity will be reviewed. If the service contract with the Association has not been made, then the Area Administrator will be responsible for the above.

7. Furniture and Household Equipment

The sum of \$500 has been set aside initially for basic furniture and household equipment for each house. This furniture is to be provided on a once and for all basis and items will have to be replaced by the tenants at their own cost. We anticipate that the new houses together with the adult education training will stimulate most families to want to provide their own furniture.

Above all we are expecting our tenants to take a personal pride and responsibility in the upkeep and maintenance of their homes. If we were to provide standardized replacements for items of such a personal nature, it would inevitably work against this policy. At a more individual level, it would probably be quite discouraging for those tenants who are careful with their furnishings to observe less conscientious neighbours receiving new supplies.

Our furniture policy calls for the provision by purchase in southern Canada of roughly 50% of the furniture supplied. Half the houses shipped to the settlement will be provided with the furniture on the Standard List; the remaining with the furniture on the Reduced List (See Appendix F).

Although only 50% of the furniture is to be shipped into the settlement, the balance of the requirement is to be made up either by local purchase or by requisition to a regional office. The cost of any furniture or furnishings purchased in this manner should be charged to the furniture items in the Construction and Acquisition Vote.

The reason for this method of providing furniture is to avoid the possibility that, by supplying every new tenant with all of the items on the approved list, we may end up in some settlements either providing some people with items which they already own or alternatively setting up stocks of surplus items in departmental warehouses. There is no intention of depriving any of the new tenants of items which they require in order to set up housekeeping of a standard which our rental policy envisions.

We would like to emphasize again that it is not the intention to basically alter the original idea of giving the families a start in their new homes by making sure that they do have some furniture and furnishings. This new arrangement is designed to give those families who need it the most help and let the families with some furniture etc., continue to use it and not expect us to provide unnecessary items. Local purchase of some items will also ensure that a variety of articles are provided - in both in design and colour. This will tend to lessen any danger of monotony and apparent institutional atmosphere. It will also ensure that the local co-operative or the Bay will obtain some benefits from the program as the Area Administrator can order from them the extra furnishings he requires. The total number of items supplied to each family, however, should not exceed the total on

the standard list (Appendix F). When the Area Administrator makes his request at estimate time for new rental houses, he should specify at the same time his requirement for furniture and furnishings.

8. Expected Annual Operating Costs

<u>Operating</u>	<u>3 Bedroom</u>	<u>2 Bedroom</u>	<u>1 Bedroom</u>	<u>1 Room</u>
Heating & Cooking Oil	\$570	\$500	\$350	\$300
Electricity	180	160	120	80
Water & Sewage Charges	120	120	120	120
Maintenance of House	190	180	100	80
	\$1,060	\$960	\$690	\$580

The figures should be used to complete the front of the tenants rent card to show the tenants the actual cost of the services.

Maintenance charge is calculated at approximately 1.5% of capital cost; the same formula used for other government buildings in the north. This charge is expected to cover essential maintenance for work generally requiring skilled tradesmen such as carpenters, oil burner mechanics, plumbers and electricians.

It is anticipated that in addition Eskimos may carry out certain maintenance tasks as a condition of their tenancy of the house (see Management Section and Appendix on Rental Agreement). The maintenance charge included in the table is that required over and above any minor tasks carried out by an individual in his home. We suggest that Area Administrators use as many Eskimo tradesmen as possible for any housing maintenance requiring skilled labour. This will be an invaluable training ground for Eskimo tradesmen and will ensure that the wages paid to them for maintenance will remain within the community thus directly assisting and stimulating the local economy.

9. Credits

One of the goals the Department will be working toward is that of home ownership. To provide an incentive to the Eskimo to pay the rent and to maintain his residence, part of the payments made for rents or maintenance will be regarded as credits towards the purchase of the house. The actual provisions for credits in the Treasury Board Submission are:

- (a) 33% of rents actually paid by the family to the end of the last complete year of occupancy of the dwelling unit;
- (b) any payments by the family over the amount prescribed as rental by the standard judgement of the family's income;
- (c) a credit for participation in construction of improvements or additions to houses done at the family's expense with departmental approval; and
- (d) a credit of \$100 per year for day to day maintenance well done on a descending dollar scale for poorer work.

What will have to be done therefore, is to set up a separate journal account (part of the duplicate posting system) for each Eskimo tenant and each year certain sums will be credited to the account. These credits should be done on a once a year basis rather than month to month, preferably at March 31st every year.

Administrative procedures:

- (a) These credits will not have a cash value and Eskimo tenants will not be able to use such credits to offset rent due.
- (b) The credits may be transferred to the surviving spouse of the tenant in case of his death, or transferred to another property if the family moves to another rental house or to purchase housing or to another location.

- (c) The credits may not be sold, passed on for value received, or used to pay debts.
- (d) At such time that an Eskimo may choose to purchase a house, the full amount of the accumulated credits up to a maximum of \$4,000 will be deducted from the cost of the house together with the housing for sale grants.
- (e) However, the credits may not be used to off-set the cost of a house or materials for a house purchased privately. In other words the credits may only be used for Government housing supplied under Eskimo housing programs.
- (f) No credits will be given for Eskimos occupying staff housing and paying the standard rent.
- (g) A tenant is entitled to apply credits accruing to him to the purchase of only one dwelling in his lifetime.

To aid in the determination of credits given, the subject of day to day maintenance must be considered; each Eskimo renting a house should be clearly aware of what he is responsible for. Where wilful damage or consistent non-payment of rent has occurred, the credits can be reduced by an amount determined by the Area Administrator and the Local Housing Association.

10. Houses to Camps

It is not practical to maintain single or very small groups of rental houses away from established communities; therefore, many Eskimos in camps will not be able to take advantage of the rental or resale program. A small number of Eskimos live permanently in isolation 15, 25 or even 50 miles from the nearest community. They normally earn a better living off the land than they earn in a community and it may be to their advantage and to the government's economic advantage to have them remain where they are. As rental houses cannot be offered to them at this time, other arrangements are necessary.

Where the Eskimo normally earns a better living off the land and where relatively few relief payments are required, then we propose to give them existing houses made surplus by the rental scheme and not required in the settlement. The existing rigid frame (192 sq. ft.) and standard prefabricated house (280 sq. ft.) where made available and where practical, should be taken out to camps and set up for use by these families. A sum of \$30,000 will be included in the Estimates to cover house-moving costs that cannot be borne by the Eskimos concerned. To try and collect rents or payments for these houses would cost more than the original cost or existing value of such houses. Therefore, it will be up to the Area Administrator's discretion to determine whether a small charge can be made for these houses where the Eskimo can afford it.

Generally, however, it is just about impossible to attempt to formulate policies which will give an equal treatment to the camps as will be given to the settlements under the rental program. Development funds are limited and therefore we must provide the best service for the largest number of people. This is bound to concentrate our services in the settlements. Educational facilities are also being concentrated and certainly such services as water, sewage and garbage are only practical if those to be serviced are grouped together.

If the housing policy is to attempt to upgrade the standard of housing in the north, it cannot be separated from the supplying of services, and this in turn means that those living in the settlements will obtain the advantages before those in the camps. However, by transporting the present resale houses to the camps, we will in many cases be raising the housing standards in the camps above what they are at present.

You should note however, that the present policies do not allow for the provision of fuel oil to camps on a rental program basis. Any fuel oil provided to camp residents by the Department must be governed by normal social assistance procedures and policy.

11. Overdue Accounts

We can, as landlords, take any appropriate action short of physical eviction in the case of a tenant who has not kept up his rental or purchase payments. Actual eviction of a tenant can only be carried out by an official appointed by a court after a court order has been passed.

Therefore, where a tenant has not been making payments and does not appear to intend to pay, the local administrator should speak to the tenant concerned about repayment. If nothing satisfactory results from this action, then a written statement should be sent from the Area Administrator to the occupant of the house, clearly stating the action proposed if arrears continue and the reasons for this action. The occupant should also be told in this statement the amount of payment required, and he should be given a period of at least one month to make a satisfactory payment or provide a satisfactory reason for nonpayment. At the conclusion of the 30 days' period, the local Administrator should advise the Regional Office of the result of the warning and recommend the action required. The decision would then be made by the Regional Administrator, who should notify the District Office.

In the event the decision was reached to evict, we would have to present the case to the Departmental Legal Adviser for court action. In court, we would have to present all documents proving our ownership or claim on the house and our selling or letting the house to the Eskimo. No problem would occur in the case of rental houses in the Northwest Territories, as we would have the rental agreement to prove our claim and as the land would be owned by the Federal Government. In the case of purchase houses, however, there are many cases when we may have difficulty in proving our claim to any property or that in fact the Eskimo is in debt to us for a specific amount of money for a house. In these cases, it would be difficult to obtain a court order for eviction as we have not in the past insisted on mortgages against the loan.

In the case of purchase or rental houses in Quebec, the land is not owned by the Federal Government but by the Provincial Government. Where neither the Eskimo nor the Federal Government owns the land and where no mortgages have been registered, as is the case for most resale houses, it will be difficult to substantiate our claim and we may have some problems in eviction or foreclosure proceedings. In the case of nonpayment, therefore, we again should do everything short of physical eviction to get the man to pay back any arrears but if we are forced into eviction or foreclosure, then the Area Administrator will have to transmit the problem through the Regional Office, the Director, and the Legal Adviser.

As can be readily seen, the situation is difficult for most existing resale house arrangements. This is due in large part to our failure in the past to document any actual contract with most of the Eskimos concerned. In many cases, as you are aware, we have not been able to advise the Eskimo of the total cost of the house. However, this would not have been so serious if we had at least arranged for the transfer of ownership of land to the Eskimo either by Title or Leasehold. Both these actions should occur in future.

The provision for the purchase-back of these houses contained in the rental program will relieve us of most of the difficulties of eviction with the old resale houses, as well as providing the Eskimo with a large, heated, and generally more suitable family home. It is to be hoped that Area Administrators will continue to be patient and forbearing with the difficult cases for a while longer in view of the fact that the solution is at hand. Especially in the rental program, we can move more quickly as we may just move the family to a smaller house. If the tenant has a complaint on the move, he should bring it up with the local Housing Association. If the Association disagrees with the Area Administrator's action, the matter should be referred to the Regional Office.

If foreclosure or eviction does occur, then the house could be transferred to the rental pool of housing. If resold, then the property should be resold at at value at least sufficient to cover the Department's equity in the house.

MONTHLY ELECTRICAL ENERGY QUOTAS IN K.W.H.

<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>JAN.</u>	<u>FEB.</u>	<u>MAR.</u>	<u>APR.</u>	<u>MAY</u>	<u>JUNE</u>	<u>JULY</u>	<u>AUG.</u>	<u>SEPT.</u>	<u>OCT.</u>	<u>NOV.</u>	<u>DEC.</u>
<u>1 Room</u>												
Standard Plan 370A 108	130	130	100	100	100	70	70	70	100	100	100	130
<u>1 Bedroom</u>												
Standard Plan 395 411 417 424 428	150	150	120	120	120	90	90	90	120	120	120	150
<u>2 & 3 Bedroom</u>												
Standard Plan 396 397 409 410 416	180	180	150	150	150	120	120	120	150	150	150	180
<u>3 Bedroom</u>												
Standard Plan 436 439	190	190	160	160	160	130	130	130	160	160	160	190

THE GREENLAND CRIMINAL CODE AND THE WESTERN GREENLAND SOCIETY I - 1962SUMMARY

The legal situation prior to the Criminal Code and the background of the carrying into effect of a special Code for Greenland.

During the first period of the colonization only few prohibitions vaguely drawn up were introduced and with provisions of sanctions attached thereto. First and foremost, it was in practice that rules crystallized as to what was to be considered a crime and as to what should be the nature of reactions against those who committed crimes. While quite up to the carrying into effect of the Criminal Code Danes stationed in Greenland were subject to Danish criminal law, the criminal law which developed into practice applied to the Greenland population.

The greatest interest attaches to the rules of law regarding measures which in many respects were essentially different from those known in Denmark. As an example one could mention exclusion from the shop and from the right to sell products to the Royal Greenland Trade Department, as well as banishment and compulsory labour.

It was a rare thing that a criminal was sentenced to some kind of confinement, even if it happened now and then that the crime was considered to be so serious or the criminal so dangerous that he was sentenced to confinement in a temporarily arranged cell, where as a rule, however, he was kept separated from the outside world after hours only.

It was a characteristic feature of the enforcement of criminal law that in cases of application of measures towards criminals due regard was to the greatest possible extent taken to their individual and social conditions and that they were preserved in the community.

As time went on a growing need of having written penal provisions as in Denmark appeared. Thus, in 1915/16 the Greenland Provincial Councils read a draft of penal provisions for Greenland containing rules on corporal punishment and imprisonment. The draft, which upon the whole corresponded to the Danish Penal Code of 1866 then in force, was, however, not carried into effect.

In 1929 the Greenland Provincial Councils read and assented to another draft of a decree on penal provisions for Greenland. The draft, which among other things contained rules on imprisonment with compulsory labour and imprisonment was in part a simplified copy of the Danish Penal Code of April 15th, 1930. Nor was this draft realized, as the Greenland Administration of that day found, partly for humane reasons and partly for practical reasons, that it was unsuitable for Greenland. In 1948 sociologists of law were sent out to Greenland, among other things to make clear whether it was necessary by now to carry into effect written provisions of criminal law in Greenland, and, if so, the form under which this could then take place.

In their report the sociologists recommended the carrying into effect of an act different from the Danish Penal Code, in particular because the rules on crimes and the rules on the legal consequences of the crime were separated. The purpose of this was, to a higher degree than this being the case according to Danish law, to attach the stipulation of measures to a judgment of the perpetrator and to a less degree let the crime in itself be decisive. The sociologists attach great importance to preserve the particular feature of the Greenland criminal law, namely of adapting first and foremost the measures to the individuality of the perpetrator and to his social background, omitting by the application of measures to keep him isolated from the community to which it was just the intention to adapt him.

On the basis of the results of the sociological research a Bill for a Criminal Code for Greenland was elaborated which was enacted on the 5th March 1954, and which was put into force on the 15th July 1954.

It was agreed from all quarters that a particular Greenland Criminal Code should be preferred to the carrying into effect of the Danish Penal Code in Greenland, because it was considered to be of the utmost importance to build on the existing tradition which to a high degree was adapted to the particular Greenland geographical and social conditions.

The Code, its Aims and Basis.

The first part of the Code is a catalogue of the crimes, whereas the second part contains the rules on the measures.

Due to the fact that no criminal code had existed in Greenland up to now, the present Code was looked upon as a "social experiment" and a particular provision was inserted in the Code to the effect that it should be followed up by sociological research.

The purpose of the investigations is to describe the aims and basis of the Code and to ascertain whether the aims were attained and the suppositions as to the existence of certain social and cultural conditions had been and still were correct.

First, as far as the *aims* of the Code are concerned, it appears among other things from the preparatory work that the intention was - by means of the written provisions - to give the legal authorities in Greenland lines of direction for their activity as well as to create rules that could strengthen their authority in the actual cases.

It was also an important aim to create legal equality between Greenlanders and Danes in Greenland in accordance with the principles of the Greenland Commission, which were among other things expressed in the Greenland Administration of Justice Act and - in a greater connection - in the Constitution of the 5th June 1953.

Furthermore, it appears clearly from the preparatory work of the Criminal Code, from its systematics, and in particular from its provisions in respect of measures that it has for its aim, by means of an individualizing treatment of offenders, to re-socialize them, thereby preventing that they commit future offences. In relation hereto the general preventive aims occupy a less prominent position. In the Code much importance is attached to the aim of avoiding to the greatest possible extent the isolation of convicts which in the rest of Denmark is identical with imprisonment and sentence to various types of establishments and institutions.

One of the most fundamental aims of the carrying into effect of the Criminal Code was to contribute to making the transition from the legal situation up to then to that in existence in the rest of Denmark as harmonious as possible. Instead of carrying into effect without further ceremony the Danish Penal Code in Greenland, the intention was to try to preserve and to support the tendencies of development which had manifested themselves in the time prior to the carrying into effect of the Criminal Code. First and foremost, these tendencies were marked by a slow development, where Danish legal principles were introduced within the frame of and in harmony with the existing legal situation.

The Criminal Code is based on the *assumptions* partly that a considerable influence of Danish criminal law had already taken place and partly that Greenland consisted of a plurality of isolated small communities with a particular pattern of reaction and finally also that the legal authorities in Greenland had a close contact with the communities in which they operated.

The Code and the Community.

A comparison of *the rules on crimes* of the Criminal Code with Danish criminal law and with Danish criminal political points of view will show a high degree of accordance. Certainly, there are some discrepancies in existence regarding alcohol abuse, hazard, and a few other crimes. These discrepancies are, however, of no great importance and they are due to social and cultural dissimilarities between Greenland and the rest of Denmark.

Furthermore, mention has been made as to whether the rules on the crimes have been understood and accepted by the legal authorities, i.e. law courts and police, in Greenland. It seems to be a characteristic feature that the authorities have in many cases applied the individual provisions on crimes of the Criminal Code to a somewhat wider extent than originally aimed at. This is due, first and foremost, to the fact that during the first period after the carrying into effect of the Criminal Code the authorities operated completely without policy provisions which, as far as the rest of Denmark is concerned, are found in the police regulations. Apart from that there seems to be a high degree of accordance between the rules on the crimes and the perception of the legal authorities, such as same has been expressed in practice and in opinions set forth for the use of the research.

Finally, the rules on the crimes are compared to the general conception of law. Here, too, there seems to be a high degree of accordance between the rules and the concep-

tion of the population of what constitutes a crime and of what constitutes a lawful act.

Particular interest is attached to the offences that have caused charge or indictment, conviction or other reactions from the part of the legal authorities. By and large, in respect of kind and number - relatively judged - the cases correspond to the conditions in the rest of Denmark. Thus, as an example, cases of larceny constitute the greater part of all cases in both places. Incidentally, it seems to be difficult to undertake comparisons, when there is a question of comparing the application of the law in earlier times to that of the present time, as well as when there is a question of comparing the cases in Greenland to the cases in other parts of Denmark.

The reasons hereof are first and foremost the facts that police service and organization of law courts in Greenland have been altered in several places. Furthermore, the principles, whereafter reaction has taken place against the offenders, have varied. Finally the principles, whereafter registration and report of the offences have been effected to the superior authorities, have been changing.

As to the comparison between Greenland and the rest of Denmark in particular, it is of no small importance that charges have been brought and sentences passed to a great extent in Greenland in respect of circumstances which in the other part of the realm are considered as offences against police regulations and domestic rows and have in many cases not given occasion to bring charges.

In spite of the difficulties of performing such comparison, there is, however, basis for making the estimate that the number of cases in Greenland, by and large, correspond relatively to the number of cases in the Danish provincial towns, just as was the case when the research took place in 1948/49.

However, there has been a remarkable increase in the number of cases, in which the legal authorities in some way or other have reacted on the occasion of offences. Presumably, this increase is due partly to a more effective law enforcement and partly to a real increase of criminality which among other things is a consequence of rapid development of the community and cultural change in that part of the country.

A comparison of the system of measures to the present Danish principles of criminal law and criminal policy shows that, by and large, the system of measures of the Criminal Code corresponds to the Danish conception of law. By the latest amendments of the Danish Penal Code the accordance between the principles of criminal law in Denmark and Greenland has even become somewhat greater than at the carrying into effect of the Criminal Code. There is in particular a question of the new Danish rules in respect of suspended sentences, the characteristic feature of which is the separation of the ascertainment of guilt and the fixation of sanction. If the convict fails to observe the terms fixed for being bound over, he will be sentenced in consideration of the total situation at the time when the fixation of sanction is settled.

The greater part of the measures imposed have been fines, whereas the measures like compulsory labour and compulsory training are of less importance.

An essential reason why fines have been applied to such great extent in Greenland is the fact that the legal authorities have been without the practical possibility of carrying out in particular compulsory labour, compulsory training as well as confinement to a specified area.

They have not only been without institutions where the convicts could be housed, but they have also in many cases - among other things owing to the working stress otherwise resting upon the police - been unable to find persons who were able and willing to receive convicts in their homes or to supervise them.

Hereafter it is obvious that, while in all essentials it has been possible for the legal authorities to apply the rules on the crimes of the Criminal Code, the said authorities have not to a sufficiently high degree had the possibility of applying the measures such as this was aimed at by the Code.

By and large the population of Greenland has been positively minded towards the system of measures. It appears from interviews, in particular with representatives from households of the Disko Bay region, that there is no desire in general of having offenders subjected to imprisonment. On the other hand it is desired that to a higher degree there should be a possibility of having offenders placed in institutions in

Greenland where they can be under control.

Furthermore, through contributions appearing in local newspapers the desire has been expressed of more effective measures being taken - particularly in cases of sexual offences - than has hitherto been the case.

All things considered, however, there does not seem to exist any desire in general as to an alteration in principle of the system of measures of the Criminal Code.

Finally, attention is called to the fact that there is a number of *problems in connection with the translation of the Criminal Code into Greenlandic.*

Concluding Reflections.

While there seems to be no basis of proposing the Danish Penal Code to be carried into effect in Greenland, there may be reason to propose certain amendments of the Criminal Code.

As far as *the rules on the crimes* are concerned, there is only a question of amendments of less essential importance. On the other hand, as to *the rules on measures*, there is apparently something to be said in favour of the introduction of a rule according to which the court - without necessarily at the same time having to fix some other measure, e.g. supervision - may decide that the convict shall subject himself to *certain restrictions* in respect of the application of his spare-time, intercourse with certain persons, disposal of income and capital and the like when this is considered expedient.

Furthermore, it is a question whether it might be possible to abolish the rules on compulsory labour and compulsory training. Partly, work as well as education could be imposed upon the convict in the form of conditions in connection with the imposition of supervision, partly, it would be possible to procure legal authority to incorporate work and education among the above mentioned restrictions of the liberty of action, and, finally, it often seems inexpedient to try to enforce work and education if the convict is not placed in an institution where he can be under complete control.

Finally, it is a question whether the rules of the Criminal Code on *custody* should be abolished, already for the reason that it has proved impracticable in Greenland to establish a safety-marked confinement. Presumably, the purpose of safety will be covered sufficiently by means of the opportunity for imposition of confinement in a *mental hospital, home for the mentally deficient or criminal lunatic asylum in the rest of Denmark.* On the other hand it should be considered whether legal authority should be procured in the Criminal Code for placing the convict in an *institution in Greenland.*

If anything, reference is hereby made to an institution that corresponds to the Danish open prisons. When carrying into effect such a type of institution in Greenland, decisive importance should be attached to the point of giving the convict to the greatest possible extent the opportunity to work together with the free citizens of the community in such a manner that there will be only a question of real confinement during a certain short time of the 24 hours.

Through these amendments of the rules of measures no change in principle will be effected, but only a flexibility of the existing opportunities of imposing measures. In particular, it should here be taken into consideration that even custody has hitherto been executed in relative liberty.

Furthermore, it is suggested for consideration whether *the execution of measures* should in part pass to the Danish Welfare Association or to an organization corresponding thereto in Greenland. The institution should have for its most prominent task to register, instruct and control persons and institutions found able and willing to undertake supervision, employment, and education of convicts.

For practical reasons it would, presumably, be more expedient still to leave, until further notice, the execution of measures within the jurisdiction of the Chief of Police in Greenland.

As a consequence of the above mentioned reflections, it is submitted for further consideration whether *the provisional custody institution in Godthaab should be abolished* and substituted by one, possibly two, *institutions* which - without first of all being marked by the purpose of safety - nevertheless make it possible to carry out an effective control with the convicts.

The application in practice of the Criminal Code depends to a very high degree on the attitude taken by the legal authorities as well as by the citizens towards the Code and its principles. It is therefore held expedient that not only *the staff of the authorities* in Greenland, but also *the citizens should be given information on the social and cultural background of the special Greenland criminal law.*

Finally, it is recommended that *the social scientific research*, which has been the basis of the carrying into effect of the Criminal Code and through which the Code and its relation to West Greenland communities have been investigated, should be continued in such a manner that it will be possible throughout the coming years to have the development within the Greenland criminal law under observation. In this connection it is stressed that there is not only the question of research on criminality, but also on the attitude of the community towards the criminals and their behaviour. That means the attitude of the legal authorities and of the various groups of the population. Not least in this field one can expect that the industrialization of Greenland and the closer contact with the outside world will leave their marks.

In conclusion it is thought reasonable to underline the fact that the question of the suitability of the Criminal Code for the West Greenland communities cannot be replied to unilaterally from the points of view of criminology or jurisprudence. *The Criminal Code can be considered part of the culture of West Greenland, such as same has developed under Danish influence.* The Code, as well as the method in which it is being applied in practice, have a close relation to local traditions and to the structure of the West Greenland communities which are particularly marked by many built-up areas of more or less scattered houses with a small number of inhabitants. *A judgement of the expediency of the Criminal Code must therefore for the main part be undertaken from social-scientific experience and culture-political estimates.*

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE IN WEST GREENLAND I, 1961.SUMMARY

In recent years a number of sociological investigations have been carried out in Greenland in order to facilitate the understanding of the rapid changes which are taking place there. In the following, mention will be made of a sociolegal inquiry into the effects of the new Marriage Act for Greenland which provide for judicial separation and divorce.

The Act was passed in 1955, and before that time Greenlanders were *not* able to have their marriages dissolved. Nevertheless, there were some married couples who ceased to live permanently together, and there were also some who established new families, being unable to do so legally because the first marriage could not be formally dissolved. As a consequence of this many voices were gradually heard urging the introduction of judicial separation and divorce in the same way as in the rest of Denmark. The Danish provisions were largely introduced, but there was one provision which it was considered inadvisable to introduce in Greenland, viz: the rule that adultery immediately entitles the injured party to a divorce. It was feared that this would give rise to many hasty divorces. It was considered a possibility to frame the provision in such a way that only repeated cases of adultery or specially insulting or offensive kinds of adultery were to entitle the petitioner to a divorce. This idea was abandoned, however, and a time-limit was introduced in its place, providing for a decree nisi to be issued first. If the petitioner persists in demanding a divorce, he or she must petition for the decree nisi to be made absolute - not earlier than three months and not later than ten months after the issuing of the decree nisi.

As the introduction of dissolution of marriages was an entirely new arrangement, a provision was inserted in the Act laying down that it was to be made subject to a revision after some years, and in this connection a report was to be submitted to the Danish Parliament on the effects of the Act during the elapsed period. In order to make this report the Ministry for Greenland has instituted an inquiry, through the medium of the Social Research Committee for Greenland, comprising all marriages dissolved during the period following the coming into force of the Act.

Material.

The inquiry comprises 43 cases concerning the dissolution or marriages which have been dealt with by the district courts or the Governor during the years following the coming into force of the Greenland Marriage Act on the 1st July, 1955 and till the end of 1959. The material consists of extracts of court records, entries in the records of the courts, entries in the Governor's records and police records. Furthermore, interviews have been held with some of the parties whose cases are included in the material and with the authorities that have had to deal with matrimonial cases. The material does not comprise all cases of incompatibility of temperament between husband and wife which have been submitted to the authorities since the coming into force of the Marriage Act, as it has been impossible to obtain from the clergymen any material relating to the cases in which the husband and wife have attended conciliation proceedings and subsequently discontinued the action. Neither has it been possible to elicit information concerning all the cases in which one or both parties have communicated with the police or the district bailiff with a view to a dissolution of the marriage and in which these authorities have succeeded in conciliating the parties concerned. It is not usual, in such cases, to make any records of the proceedings unless the police has found occasion to intervene on account of disturbances in the home.

Occurrence of Judicial Separation and Divorce.

It had been feared that - especially during the period immediately following the coming into force of the Act - a great number of precipitate petitions would be filed. On the basis of the inquiry it seems warrantable to state that the access to judicial separation and divorce has not resulted in any precipitate dissolutions of marriages.

In the material available there is only a single case in which the wife, who had taken the initiative herself, states that she regrets the dissolution of the marriage

and that she would like to have her husband back. On the other hand, there is much to indicate that the actual separation would have been upheld, as the husband had deserted the home. Apart from this, none of the parties interviewed have expressed any regret, although some complain of the difficulty in finding a place to live, difficulties in the domestic arrangements, and economic problems; but the difficulties mentioned must be viewed in relation to the complaints lodged against the other party during the matrimonial case, and there is nothing to indicate that the situation has been generally aggravated. There is every indication that the marriages were dissolved on account of deep and lasting incompatibility.

Many dissolutions of marriages have apparently been prevented by the intervention of the local pastors, the district bailiffs, or the police. This fact also appears from the comments of the High Court Judge for Greenland on his annual returns in which he estimates that about 50 percent of the actions brought were discontinued by the parties; but an even greater number must be presumed never to have come so far as to be recorded by the district judges. It appears from the material collected in order to estimate the effects of the criminal law that numerous domestic disputes have been settled by the police, and in connection with the present inquiry the pastors as well as the district bailiffs have stated that the authorities concerned are making considerable efforts to settle disputes between husband and wife. There is reason to believe that the hopes entertained in respect to the Conciliation Board at the drafting of the Act have not been disappointed.

Contents of Decisions.

During the drafting of the Act some consideration was given to the possibility that the economic conditions of the country and the general poverty of the population would render it difficult to make satisfactory arrangements with regard to the division of the joint estates of spouses and the payment of alimonies.

It also appears quite clearly from the scanty material available that there is generally no estate to divide and that it is difficult for the husband to contribute to the maintenance of two households, so that any order to pay alimony would be somewhat illusory. The party who moves out of the home will have to start afresh with almost empty hands, but the impression is that, in most cases, this state of things is accepted as inevitable and does not appear to give rise to much self-pity. It clearly appears that it will generally fall to the lot of the wife to move out, and this is no doubt connected with the general feeling that the house belongs to the husband, provided the wife has not inherited it from her parents or a former husband. The problems are lessened by the fact that, under the existing conditions, it does not at any rate seem difficult for a woman with full capacity for work to obtain paid work. The housing problem is somewhat more serious. It has been difficult to trace with accuracy what has happened to the spouses who moved out of their former homes. In cases in which the party concerned has not been given the custody and guardianship of one or more children there do not seem to have been any difficulties; the party concerned has often sought employment where it was possible to live at the place of work, but this solution is not so often practicable where there are children. In a number of cases the family has assisted, but it is the impression that this assistance frequently amounted to no more than a temporary solution. In any case changes of addresses occur quite frequently. It is not possible to leave out of account the thought that a woman who accepts that she must be the one to move out of the home will also forego the custody and guardianship of the children because the housing problem becomes so much greater when there are children. *Perhaps a discussion of the housing problem with the authorities should be introduced as a permanent feature of all matrimonial cases*, so that it would not merely be left to the parties themselves to decide who has to continue living in the home, and left to the party leaving the home to manage on his or her own. It can be considered a natural obligation of the members of the court, when deciding questions of custody and guardianship of children, to make sure that the children will have the chance to live under healthy, decent and settled conditions. It also appears to be a natural duty of the district courts to keep themselves informed of any arrangements between the parties in order to check whether such arrangements are equitable; including the question of whether they are in conformity with a more modern outlook which places husband and wife on an equal footing both as regards property and the custody and guardianship of children.

If the authorities do not receive reliable information that the party concerned has a possibility of finding a suitable place to live in, the question of a housebuilding loan might be considered. The few matrimonial cases at issue show instances in which the parties having the custody of the children - but who have not been able to solve their housing problem - either arrange for the children to be adopted by someone else, or place them out, or simply surrender them to the other spouse.

Custody of Children after Dissolution.

It is difficult to say anything about the effects which the dissolution of a marriage may have on the children, apart from the cases in which both parents have simply had to renounce the children.

There seems to be a tendency for the women not to want to keep the children with them if they feel that they are unequal to the task.

There seems to be a fair amount of agreement between husband and wife as to the distribution of the children. Older children seem to be regarded more or less from the point of view that they can lessen the parents' maintenance or housekeeping problems, so that disagreements are most likely to arise in respect to the distribution of these children. No information is available concerning cases in which the right of access to the children has been discussed. The parent who does not have the custody of the children often appears to cease to have any contact with the children concerned - especially in cases in which he or she moves to another place. It has not been deemed possible to include the children's reactions to dissolutions in the inquiry.

Administrative Problems.

As to the question of whether any difficulties have been encountered in connection with the administration of the individual provision of the Act in its entirety it must be stated that, according to the material available, only a few formal mistakes have been committed during the conduct of the cases. The problems do not seem to be greater than that they can be surmounted by obtaining general instructions from the High Court Judge for Greenland; however, there may be occasion particularly to take up the question of the conduct of cases in which the permanent domiciles of the parties are not situated in the same locality, so that, e.g., the police at the place where the summons has been served are instructed to keep the cases under observation and to keep track of the whereabouts of the spouse who has moved out.

The principle of the Act is that the courts of law are considered to be on an equality with the administrative authorities as all cases can be tried by the courts, whereas this is not possible in Denmark proper where certain cases are referred to the administrative authorities. It appears important to adhere to this principle which has the practical effect that the vast majority of cases are tried by local courts possessing personal knowledge of the relations of the parties. The centralized administrative authorities are especially familiar with Danish legal lines of thought and may have assisted in similar cases in Denmark. They will be conversant with the general points of view held in Denmark whenever it is considered impossible to form an opinion of the existing relations. It is unfortunate that decisions in matrimonial cases in Denmark, including decisions in respect to the custody and guardianship of children, so often are "paper decisions", but the chances of making a correct decision will nevertheless be greater on an average than they would be if similar general points of view were adopted in Greenland. By way of example may be mentioned that it is a general point of view in Denmark that small children are more closely attached to the mother than to the father, and this is bound up with the system in which fathers earn money outside the home and do not see much of the small children who are only awake for a few hours while the father is at home. The general tendency to allow the mother to have the custody of children under the age of puberty, and perhaps of all girls, may not necessarily be advisable in Greenland where both parents have greater opportunity to see their children. To this must be added that, in cases in which the household comprises adults other than the parents - and this is still a quite frequent occurrence in Greenland - the children may be just as strongly attached to these other adults as to the parents; and this must naturally be taken into account when deciding what will be best for the children.

The present practice according to which the majority of Greenland married couples apply to the district judges, whereas Danish married couples apply to the administrative authorities, must therefore be said to be sound, but it must be admitted that it is difficult to form an estimate of the case material as the rationes decidendi are comparatively scanty; a fact which does not, however, cause the judgments to differ widely from those of the Danish lower courts. It should also be mentioned that this scantiness of rationes decidendi is ascribable to consideration for the litigant parties.

By way of example may be mentioned a case in which an order for the custody of two small children was made in favour of a man who had never seen one of the children and the other only as a baby several years earlier. This district court delivered judge-

ment in the case without having had any possibility of examining the man direct as he was in Denmark at the time, and nothing was mentioned in the judgement which could explain why the children were to be sent to Denmark to uncertain conditions when they had, after all, been living with their mother in Greenland for several years. The explanation appears from information obtained in connection with an inquiry into the effects of the criminal law. From this information it appears that the mother was living together with the two children in her family's home, and that an old and infirm grandmother had to look after the children because the mother frequented the ships and hutments and made her living by accepting gifts from her male acquaintances. She had fallen out with her family and was practically always away from home at night; and the information concerning her conduct was elicited in connection with a charge of theft.

Accordingly, the judgement pronounced by the district court in this matrimonial case appears to be quite reasonable, but it is unfortunate that there is no possibility of understanding the decision solely on the basis of the *rationes decidendi*, and this affords grounds for raising the question as to the way in which more objective information about the matrimonial cases could be obtained without burdening the district judges too heavily with demands for more detailed records of judgements, and without embarrassing the litigant parties by disclosing their relations in judgements accessible to the public. It might be considered, in connection with the preparation of a case, to draw up schematic reports on the fitness and qualifications of the parties, containing statements from the child welfare authorities. These reports might also contain information about the financial status of the parties and their future prospects in respect to housing conditions and income.

Amendments to the Act?

The question of whether the inquiry gives occasion to propose any amendments to the Act itself can be concentrated in the question whether there is any reason to maintain the special provision laid down in section 59 a.

It appears from the material that the time-limit has been exceeded by mistake in some cases and that, in other cases, a petition for a decree nisi to be made absolute has not been filed in spite of the fact that the parties have not resumed marital relations.

It appears from statements made by the authorities that they have desisted from acting according to the letter of the law, after which the initiative has been left to the petitioner. On the other hand it probably cannot be said to be in contravention of the provision that the authorities have the case in mind and ask the party concerned about his or her intentions.

However, some doubts seem to arise in cases in which the marital relations are not resumed and in which a petition for the decree nisi to be made absolute is not filed either. The defendant seems to be in a rather unfortunate situation, since she or he is not legally entitled to file a petition for the decree to be made absolute, whereas, on the other hand, she or he will nevertheless have to put up with the fact that the marriage has in reality been dissolved. When considering whether the provision is to be upheld, account must also be taken of the fact that it has in no case had the effect of conciliating the parties and causing them to resume their marital relations. On the other hand, it must also be taken into consideration that the circumstances underlying the cases in which section 59 has been relied on are such that the apprehension entertained by the Provincial Council that isolated cases of adultery, which perhaps ought to be pardonable, have been used to bring about a dissolution, has hitherto been proved to be unfounded. There is not one single instance of such an isolated case of adultery having been set up; it is frequently a question of repeated adultery, protracted illicit affairs, and the expected birth of an illegitimate child, i.e. cases about which the Provincial Council would agree unanimously that the petitioner should have the possibility of instituting divorce proceedings, and with regard to which it might doubtless also be said that the waiting period prescribed by section 59a is not strictly necessary.

Accordingly the material does not seem to afford serious grounds for upholding the special provision, but as it is expected that the Danish Marriage Act will be amended, and as the Committee on Marriages is considering a proposal to the effect that judicial separation must precede divorce in all cases of adultery, it may be inexpedient for the present to confuse the issue by abolishing the waiting period which may possibly be reintroduced at a later stage.

THE ALCOHOL SITUATION IN WEST GREENLAND, 1961.SUMMARY

The object of the present investigation is to contribute to the elucidation of the alcohol question in West Greenland. At the request of the Ministry for Greenland the Committee on Social Research in Greenland has investigated this matter, as the result of the derationing of alcoholic beverages in 1954 has been very widely debated both publicly and privately. It has been considered important in this connection to procure data concerning the extent to which alcohol is consumed, as well as regarding the social problems which are presumed to have increased in consequence of the population's consumption of alcohol.

Survey of the Investigation.

The investigation report begins with a survey of the data available from earlier sources concerning the extent to which alcohol has been consumed in the past. A brief account is given of the public debate which resulted in the derationing of alcoholic beverages in Greenland on the 15th December 1954, and goes on to mention the official and other reports on the alcohol situation in Greenland during the period from 1935 to 1960 which have been received from various quarters.

Next follows a chapter containing a detailed statistical analysis of alcohol consumption in the years from 1949 to 1959 and its distribution on individuals and population groups, based on available data concerning the quantity and value of sales of alcoholic beverages and malt for the homebrewing of beer (imiaq).

The habits of the population groups in respect to the consumption of alcohol are briefly described in a following chapter, after which an account is given of a number of laboratory tests undertaken to determine the percentage of alcohol etc., in collected samples of imiaq.

It has often been assumed that the derationing of alcoholic beverages entailed an increase in the number of cases of venereal diseases, in the number of accidents, and in the number of offences against the criminal law.

These questions are therefore dealt with in a separate chapter.

Finally mention is made of the attitude adopted by the different population groups in respect to the consumption of alcoholic beverages and the importance of the temperance movement. The report concludes with some comments on the multifarious potential effects of the different political measures which may be introduced to deal with the alcohol situation.

The Alcohol Situation in Greenland before 1954.

Alcoholic beverages were unknown in the aboriginal Eskimo civilization, but as early as in the seventeenth century intoxicating liquors were served and sold on various occasions, for instance when whalers called on the settlements and trading stations. In 1782 the Danish Colonial Administration prohibited the distribution or sale of spirituous liquors to the Greenland population, but consumption of alcohol nevertheless continued to occur. In the period up to 1929 various modifications were gradually introduced. Rationing was introduced in 1929 and continued, with various relaxations, until the sale of alcoholic beverages was derationed in 1954.

Volumen of Consumption from 1949 to 1959.

If the alcoholic liquors and beer bought or home-brewed in Greenland is converted into pure alcohol the average consumption of each individual of fourteen years and over was 7.2 litres in 1959. In 1949 the corresponding figure was 7.2 litres. In the years up to 1955 consumption increased to 9.7 litres, after which it dropped to 7.3 litres, cf. table E 1. This volume of consumption is on a level with the average consumption in the rest of Denmark fifty years ago but is about 50 percent higher than the average consumption of alcohol in the rest of Denmark in 1958.

Composition of Consumption from 1949 to 1959.

During the years after derationing, however, a redistribution has taken place in the population's consumption of alcohol, as shown in table E 1. The consumption of industrially produced spirituous liquors in the years from 1949 to 1959 increased from an average of 1.5 litres of pure alcohol to 4.6 litres, whereas the consumption of imiaq was halved from 5.7 litres to 2.7 litres per individual of fourteen years and more. The consumption of Pilsener and dark lager beer is steadily increasing in the towns.

Distribution of Consumption.

The average consumption of alcoholic beverages by the adult population in Greenland expressed in pure alcohol must - on the basis of the material available - be estimated to be about 7-8 litres in the towns and about 5 litres in "other places". The consumption of alcoholic beverages by Danes stationed in Greenland is estimated to be somewhat larger than the average consumption of the total population in the country. An enquiry into the distribution of the consumption on the individual households shows, cf. table E 9, that 20 percent of the main consumer households have accounted for almost half of the total consumption of alcohol. It follows that the consumption of alcohol only appears to present a problem to a small group of the population. Chronic alcoholism, however, does not seem to occur to any appreciable extent.

Expenditure on Alcoholic Beverages.

During the years from 1954 to 1959 the average expenditure on alcoholic beverages increased from 249 Danish kroner to 428 Danish kroner per individual of fourteen years or more in West Greenland as a whole. At the same time, however, the income of the population and the level of prices changed. If this is taken into account, the average expenditure on alcoholic beverages was less onerous in 1959 than in 1954. The majority of the households spend a comparatively small portion of their total income (in cash and in kind) on alcoholic beverages. The investigation of general consumption carried out in 1956/57 showed that nearly half of the households in West Greenland spent less than 2.5 percent of their income on alcoholic beverages while only about 5 percent of the households spent more than 10 percent on such beverages, cf. table E 16.

Habits of Population Groups in Respect to Consumption of Alcohol.

The investigation shows that only a minority of the population consumes alcoholic beverages regularly every day. Both the Greenland population and the Danes stationed in Greenland chiefly drink alcoholic beverages on festive occasions and during holidays. Moreover, the consumption of alcoholic beverages in the towns seems to be somewhat larger on paydays, cf. table F 4.

Alcoholic beverages are most frequently consumed in company. Consumption in the towns is apparently fairly evenly distributed on the different age groups, whereas, at the outposts and smaller settlements, it is considered that the oldest persons in the household are those who consume alcohol most frequently. In this connection there may be reason to mention that outside the towns there are no catering establishments (restaurants) where the young people and the old people can meet. Outside the towns the facilities for distributing industrially produced alcoholic beverages are more limited, and this is one reason why the homebrewed imiaq constitutes a major part of the consumption. Before alcoholic beverages were derationed, the right to buy malt was reserved for those masters of households who were more than twenty-five years of age.

The most generally occurring celebrations of the Greenland population are birthdays and the last days of the church festivals. The greatest occasion for celebration is often - as in Denmark - the confirmation, which in Greenland is celebrated in the summer. Finally, "first-catch feasts" are often celebrated, e.g. on occasion of the first catch of a son or perhaps the first school day of a child. But there is reason to point out that the most common drink at these celebrations is coffee. If spirits are served at a celebration or feast, this is generally done later in the day or in the evening when the dancing starts.

Home-Brewed Beer, IMIAQ and KIVISITAQ.

The laboratory analyses carried out on a large number of samples of imiaq collected from different places show that the percentage of alcohol of the Greenland beer does not in any of the known cases exceed the percentage of alcohol in Danish export beer

(6.5 percent); it is often very weak - like non-excisable beer (1.2 percent), and the average corresponds roughly to the percentage of ordinary, industrially produced Pilsener beer (3.7 percent).

The content of hops in imiaq is frequently assumed to be intoxicating. This is not so. The only effect which the hops can have, beyond giving a flavour to the beer, is antiseptic.

Moreover, the samples of imiaq collected have been examined for methyl alcohol (wood alcohol) and toxic organometallic compounds, and bacteriological tests have also been undertaken. The toxins mentioned were not found to be present in the samples, and the bacteriological tests did not give the Public Health Board occasion to make any special comments.

Special Problems in Connection with the Population's Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages.

On the basis of statistical data submitted to the Committee by the Chief Medical Officer and other authorities in Greenland it has been investigated whether it is possible to establish a connection between the increase in the consumption of alcohol and the increase in the number of cases of gonorrhoea, the number of accidents during, before or after working hours, and in the number of offences against the criminal law in the years from 1954 to 1959.

The results of these investigations show that it is not possible to establish any univocal connection between the consumption of alcohol and the conditions mentioned. There is no doubt that, in a number of cases, the consumption of alcohol has been conducive to the spreading of venereal diseases and the occurrence of accidents and offences against the criminal law (particularly crimes of violence and offences against the family or public authorities). On the other hand, it is certain that a number of othersocial and economic - factors have also contributed hereto. Consequently, it will not be possible to solve the social problems in question solely by taking steps to restrict the consumption of alcohol.

It has also been of interest to ascertain whether the special conditions existing in Greenland, in particular the cold temperatures, have any influence on the clinical aspect of intoxication, and whether there is any reason to presume that the Greenland population is less resistant to alcohol than Danes stationed in Greenland. In this connection experts have stated that the degree of intoxication depends entirely on the quantity of alcohol consumed and the rate at which it is consumed. Mixed drinks are no more intoxicating than unmixed drinks with the same alcohol content.

Low temperatures have no influence on the degree of intoxication, but it is particularly dangerous to be intoxicated when exposed to very low temperatures.

Persons used to drinking alcoholic beverages will be less intoxicated by the same permillage of alcohol than persons who are not used to drinking, but there is no reason to believe that the population in Greenland should be less resistant to alcohol from biological causes than are the Danes stationed there.

The Attitude to Alcohol - The Temperance Movement.

The investigations carried out in Greenland by the Committee in respect to the attitude of the different population groups to the consumption of alcohol, and their evaluation of the alcohol situation, seem to show that opinions differ very widely.

The public authorities in Greenland seem to take the most pessimistic view of the alcoholic situation, whereas the majority of the population, both the Greenland population and the Danes, do not consider the situation to be such that they would recommend or prefer restrictive measures such as rationing of alcoholic beverages, while they do consider it necessary to attempt to limit the consumption of alcohol by educational means.

It is true that the evaluation of the temperance situation by the temperance movement reflects anxiety with regard to general developments. On the other hand, the reports of the temperance movement are also expressive of optimism, one reason for this being the vigorous growth of the Greenland temperance societies.

TENANT'S ANNUAL RENT RECORD

NORTHERN RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAM

1. Credits from previous card	\$ 252.00
2. 33% of \$514.50 rent paid this card	169.00
3. Maintenance credit this year (maximum \$100.00)	75.00
	<hr/>
TOTAL CREDITS	\$ <u>496.00</u>

I agree with the amount of rent paid as
shown on this card

.....
Tenant

.....
Date

.....
Witness

DETAILS OF RECORD

- Column
1. Assessed rent for the month.
 2. The Balance Forward from the previous month.
(5a or 5b)
 3. The Assessed (1) plus Arrears (2a) or minus prepayments (2b).
 4. Amount received by cash or by payroll deduction.
 5. The difference between the Total Due (3) and the Amount Paid (4).

A. Revenue Accounting

The method of accounting for the rental payments received from tenants in the Northern Rental Housing Program has been designed to serve several purposes. A system which is acceptable under present audit arrangements is of course mandatory and that such a system conform with existing accounting procedures is highly desirable. At the same time some means of recording and having readily available the credits towards future purchases of houses being accumulated by the tenants has become a necessity. To fulfill these needs the three accounting forms used in the rental program are based on individual tenants rather than on houses as was the case previously.

The three forms which will be required in the revenue accounting for the rental program, effective April 1, 1969 are briefly described below.

1. General Receipt (IAND 10-38)

Because the General Receipt is used for accounting for other revenue received in a settlement, it becomes the logical choice to perform the same duty for the rental revenue. An individual receipt is required for each rental payment received. The original copy must, of course, be given to the tenant at the time of payment.

2. Register of Cash Received (IAND 10-23)

The General Receipts for rental revenue are recorded on the Register of Cash Received in the same manner as are receipts for other revenue. It is important that the coding shown reflects the source of revenue in order that the program will be properly credited.

Note:

In those settlements where the Government of the Northwest Territories is operating the Northern Rental Housing Program on behalf of the Federal Government, the applicable Territorial forms will be used in lieu of the General Receipt and the Register of Cash Received.

3. Tenants' Rent Record (IAND 50-83 (2-69))

The Tenants' Rent Record acts as a settlement record of each tenant's rental transaction within one fiscal year. After the end of a fiscal year it becomes a permanent Regional record of the credits for future house purchase which are being accumulated by each tenant in the Region. The cards are designed to allow easy filing in alphabetical order to provide a quick access to any required information on any tenant. The suggested method of use is:

- (a) At the end of a fiscal year the amount paid column is totalled and the result transferred to the back of the card. The 33% of the total paid is entered as a credit and added to the maintenance credit (see section on Administrative Procedures for details on the calculation of the maintenance credit) to become the total credits available at the end of that fiscal year.
- (b) A new card is prepared for each tenant and the balance, either arrears or prepayments, is carried forward from the previous card. The total credits

on the reverse side of the previous card are also brought forward to the new card.

- (c) Each tenant signs his card in the presence of a Housing Association Director or officer and signifies his agreement to the amount shown as having been paid during the year.
- (d) The completed cards are sent to Regional Northern Housing Section (Federal) or to the applicable Territorial Government Department. All of the tenants' cards for a settlement for a fiscal year should be forwarded at one time. In the event that a tenant refuses to sign a card, the unsigned record, together with an explanation, should be included with the signed cards.
- (e) The Regional Office will audit the record and investigate all cases of unsigned cards. Upon completion of the audit the cards will be filed in alphabetical order for future use. Each individual tenant's cards for succeeding years should be filed together and with each having a successive number (No. 1 for the first year a card is used, No. 2 for the second year and so on) a complete record of all rental transactions for every tenant is readily available.

Note 1

A sample copy of a Tenants' Annual Rent Record is shown as an Appendix to this section.

TENANT'S ANNUAL RENT RECORD

BROWN		Jimmy	Bowes Point,		1970	2			
Surname		Given	Settlement		Fiscal year	Card No.			
Month	House No.	Assessed	Balance Prev. Month		TOTAL DUE	Amount Paid	Balance a arrears	Forward b prepaid	Receipt or Paylist No.
			a arrears	b prepaid					
April	22	21.50	11.00	-	32.50	25.00	7.50	-	A 111111
May	22	21.50	7.50	-	29.00	29.00	-	-	A 333333
June	22	21.50	-	-	21.50	21.50	-	-	A 444444
July	22	21.50	-	-	21.50	21.50	-	-	A 555555
Aug	22	21.50	-	-	21.50	21.50	-	-	B 666666
Sept	22	21.50	-	-	21.50	21.50	-	-	B 666777
Oct	22	21.50	-	-	21.50	21.50	-	-	B 788444
Nov	33	67.00	-	-	67.00	67.00	-	-	B 788999
Dec	33	67.00	-	-	67.00	67.00	-	-	C 554411
Jan	33	67.00	-	-	67.00	67.00	-	-	C 555448
Feb	33	67.00	-	-	67.00	67.00	-	-	C 555448
Mar	33	67.00	-	-	67.00	85.00	-	18.00	C 555777
To be carried forward		to new card				\$514.50		\$18.00	
		to reverse side this card							