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There's No Place Like Home:
The Dichotomy between Ontological and Functional Depictions of Community
In Policy Initiatives

By

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Graduate Program
in
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Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

This thesis explores two examples of Canadian policy initiatives involving the resettlement of human populations. In the eyes of those who undertook them, these initiatives were intended to relieve the problems of certain existing communities by relocating them. A close examination of these initiatives, however, shows that in their enactment opposing ideas of the meaning of the term 'community' arise.

The absence of a universal definition of 'community' has allowed different disciplines to appropriate the term and attach different meanings to it.. This thesis focuses on the particular dichotomy between 'ontological' and 'functional' approaches to 'community', and explores the deficiencies of policy making when assessed in terms of this dichotomy.

The 1953 Relocation of Inuit and Newfoundland's 1965 Household Resettlement Plan are employed as case studies representing opposite responses to similar challenges. While the Inuit were decentralized to promote independence and self-sufficiency, Newfoundland outport residents were centralized into growth centres in an attempt to foster industrialization. In both cases, government perceptions of destitution sponsored intervention. These policy initiatives were premised on functional explorations of community and their rational solutions.

The importance of the ontological – sociological sense of having a 'home' as an ingredient in the valuing of community seems to be eclipsed, in the minds of policy-makers, by the rationalized images of community as a nexus of services presented in functional approaches. This points to the need to readdress the sense in which 'community' is used in policy documents. Promoting a synthesis of ontological and functional perspectives provides a greater opportunity for the successful implementation of policy initiatives designed to enrich community life.

Dedication

To Kara and Tammera, for giving me hope.
To Vayla, Isaiah, and Calvin, for sustaining it.

To Tom, for his strange scholastic encouragement.
To ZED, past and present, for keeping me smiling.

To Jeff and Brian, for their cynicism,
To Peggy and Cliff, for their optimism.

To Bob, for taking me down the yellow brick road.
To Hannah, for bringing me back.

To my grandmother, who told everyone I was perfect,
And to my father who never disagreed with her.

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Chapter One: *Introduction*

This thesis is a study of two Canadian policy initiatives involving the relocation of human settlements. Within these initiatives, two opposing ideas of the meaning and usage of the term community clearly arise. Each policy initiative reflects the dominance in bureaucratic minds of a functional approach wherein community is defined in terms of the capacity to deliver services. This is contrasted, in this thesis, with an ontological depiction of community espoused by the community members affected by the relocation initiatives. Here, community is an intangible sense of rootedness – the feeling of having a home. Not surprisingly, opinions differ on the extent to which the policy initiatives studied here were successful. It is clear, however, that they had substantial negative consequences for the relocatees, making many of them feel uprooted and, in an important sense, homeless. In the cases studied here, it is argued that substantial policy deficiencies ensued from an incomplete and unbalanced depiction of the concept of community. It is in order to illuminate this lack of balance and its regrettable consequences that the idea of a dichotomy between these two different approaches is examined.

Analysis of the term community is elusive; its study is multifaceted. The term community is portrayed in a diversity of meanings and contexts, with each approach emphasizing differing elements and reflecting differing goals and objectives. All approaches to the study of community highlight specific subjects of concern and utilize different languages of analysis. Any use of community as a concept carries with it a wealth of embedded assumptions regarding elements of value and worth for human nature and society. The absence of a universally acceptable or applicable definition of community has led to a general confusion regarding its definition. In his attempt to categorize the multitudinous definitions of community, George Hillery found a general lack of agreement beyond the fact that community involves people.¹

Discussions of community are dependent on the context upon which they are based; while economic considerations may play a central role in plans for community development, anthropological case studies might highlight the importance of social interactions. The concept of community may thus include all activities of people and a

full complement of the social structures through which a common life is organized. The extensive capacity of the term community to depict and describe all elements of a common life has generated a multitude of definitions, each with its own emphasis. According to Robert Fowler; "No set of categories can capture the current range of conceptions of community which are part of a large and expanding conversation."² Widening use of the concept of community has induced confusion regarding its meaning. As a result, each representation of community contains its own definition and portrayal. In the absence of a universally acceptable depiction of community, its definition is dependent on the views and biases of the 'definer' as well as the goals or aspirations of the approach in which it is used. As George Hillery notes;

Regardless of which approach is used, let it be noted that the term community when used alone has too wide a set of connotations to be understood. Unless otherwise instructed, the reader will supply his own definition and probably his own confusion as well.³

The general utility of the concept of community has made it beneficial to a variety of approaches seeking to classify a group of people along a specific dimension, trait, or capacity. These approaches may be categorized as either primarily ontological or functional in nature. While neither represents an entirely comprehensive or exclusive category, each depicts a specific approach to the study of community.

Ontological approaches emphasize the sentiment of home. The quality and totality of human relations and interactions within a community accentuate the capacity of the community to shape and affect each member's identity and sense of belonging. The strength of ontological community relations exists along three interrelated dimensions.⁴ First, common values and beliefs bind community members together. In this way, each member participates in the full complement of social structures and daily activities within the community. Second, ontological-sociological depictions of community contain direct and multidimensional relationships. Functioning as a social unit, the community fosters cooperation and participation. Finally, sentiments of reciprocity are central in ontological-sociological presentations of community as this encourages trust and interdependence among members of the community. Together, these elements provide the basis of a distinctive quality of

human relationships which comprise the definition of community in ontological depictions.

Ontological presentations of community may be contrasted with functional depictions in which community is defined by a collection of services to be delivered to clients. The specific terms used are directly relevant to the primary objective of the approach. For example, in taxation assessments, a community may refer to persons receiving an equitable provision of services within a definable geographical territory. These definitions attempt to contextualize a community in practical terms that lend support to the objective of the approach, such as the resources it provides or the services it requires. Functional presentations provide a range and variety of definitions; community is embraced for its capacity to define a group of persons with regard to specific elements of importance in the approach. For example, discussions of political communities refer to a commonality within a geographical territory; nationalism and statehood form the basis of the political community. In order to discuss terms such as nationalism and statehood, it is necessary that community be defined in terms of the collective sharing of these specific attributes.

In order to depict the implications and limitations of policy-making when it is addressed in words which can also be used to reflect a context which provides meaning in people's lives, this thesis shall examine the fundamental dichotomy in the conceptualization of community between ontological and functionally based perspectives. Two case studies will be examined, the 1953 relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic and the 1965 initiative by the Newfoundland government to resettle outport communities into larger growth centres. In each, policy initiatives were functionally premised on improvements to material and physical characteristics. Ontological considerations were largely absent from both the planning and implementation stages of these policy initiatives. This thesis shall contend that without adequate reference or consideration to the ontological manifestations of community, policy initiatives will inevitably result in detrimental and damaging effects on communities and their inhabitants.

Ontological Representations of Community

In Community, Anarchy and Liberty, Michael Taylor presents an ontological categorization of communities in his examination of the compatibility of anarchy, defined as the absence of state control, with the social ideals of liberty and equality. Taylor premises his discussion on the belief that order is a social good which benefits every member of the public. For Taylor, community refers to an essential quality of social relations upon which any reasonable consideration of the viability of an anarchic society must be based. In the absence of state interference, relations of trust, interdependence, and cooperation would form the inherent system of social regulation and order in society. It is these relations which Taylor believes are intrinsic attributes of communities.

Taylor recognizes that 'community' as a concept has been overused; it has been used to describe everything from tribal societies to gatherings of academics. As a result of this overuse, the definition of the concept of community is problematic.

It is clear that 'community' is an open-textured concept; that is to say, there is not and there cannot be an exhaustive specification of the conditions for the correct use of the concept, a set of criteria or tests which are both necessary and sufficient for something to be deemed a community.⁵

In order to avoid such confusion with regard to the concept of community, Taylor's description of community as necessary to the viability of anarchy is premised on three elements; a commonality of beliefs and values including language and communication, direct and many-sided relations, and an inherent reliance on reciprocity. Taylor does not believe that his definition of community is universally applicable, but rather that these elements may be found in varying degrees in all communities. These elements, according to Taylor, serve to foster the development of interdependent relationships which form the basis of a community.

The first element in Taylor's definition of community is that its members hold beliefs and values in common. Included within this is the implicit understanding and use of common language and communication techniques. A crucial quality of this consensus is the recognition that common identity and membership within the

community create special and unique bonds between members. These bonds become manifest in the ways of life, lessons, and worldviews specific to the community.

The conscious identification with the community provides members with a sense of rootedness and illustrates a sense of caring for others. Members of a community possess a sense of trust, common purpose, common respect, and a sense of connection.⁶

This commonality of beliefs and values provides an overarching community sentiment upon which identity formation occurs. Understanding the values and beliefs of the community enables members to participate and shape their own identities within the stability of an existing framework, thereby promoting security and belonging in the development of identity.

The study of speech communities, for example, exemplifies the proliferation of common beliefs and values. A speech community is said to exist when there are frequent and regular interactions which utilize a common language and body of linguistic symbols. The linguistic repertoire depicts the particularities of the contextual and geographical setting of the speech community. The language of a speech community is reflective of local values; "...it symbolizes relationships based on shared identities with local culture."⁷ This leads to a distinct separation of local and non-local values; the commonality of beliefs and values which underlie the use of a common language distinguishes community members from non-members.

Acceptance within a speech community is dependent on a person's ability to conform to the rules of linguistic usage. Mastery of these conventions may be more important for acceptance than the substance of what is being spoken. "Individuals are accepted as members of the group to the extent that their usage conforms to the practices of the day."⁸ This may be contrasted with the interactions of individuals from diverse backgrounds who employ different languages and thus interact as members of differing speech communities. Communication techniques and language usage thus provide a source of identification; the commonality of speech reinforces membership and belonging within a community.

The communication of information requires an implicit acceptance and understanding of the rules of interaction; "Effective communication requires that

speakers and audiences agree both on the meaning of words and on the social import or values attached to choice of expression.”⁹ The acceptance of such rules symbolizes a commonality of culture within a speech community; “...the speech varieties employed within a speech community form a system because they are related to a shared set of social norms.”¹⁰ According to Blom and Gumperz, the commonality of culture is reflected by the dialect employed within a speech community.

A person’s native speech is regarded as an integral part of his family background, a sign of his local identity. By identifying himself as a dialect speaker, both at home and abroad, a member symbolizes pride in his community and in the distinctness of its contribution to society at large.¹¹

The sociolinguistic approach to speech communities exhibits an inherent recognition of the value and importance of the communication of common values and beliefs within a community. These reflect a unique set of interactions among a people sharing a commonality of meaning.

The commonality of beliefs and values within a community may also be expressed as a unique system of worldviews which distinguishes members from non-members. External observers, without adequate consideration or understanding of the specific values and beliefs underlining a community, may not recognize the centrality of these beliefs and values in the sustenance and promotion of community membership and sentiments of belonging. For example, a Lakota Sioux elder named Black Elk depicted the traditional sun dance of his people in the novel The Sacred Pipe. In this ritual, designed to encourage understanding of the interdependence and oneness of all things, the participating Sioux were pierced with a buffalo thong attached to a central cottonwood pole. The participants danced, praising the sun, until the thongs were ripped from the skin. As Black Elk described; “This truth of the oneness of all things we understand a little better by participating in this rite, and by offering ourselves as a sacrifice.”¹² Among the Sioux there was an understanding of its importance and the lessons it could teach about the spirit of Wakan-Tanka. The system of beliefs upon which the Sun Dance was premised was unique and central to the Lakota Sioux. Non-Native observers lacked a capacity or willingness to understand the system of Lakota values and beliefs. Without this, the Sun Dance was banned as a pagan and barbaric

ritual. In this way, the commonality of values and beliefs may be seen as central and specific to each community; the particularities of rites and rituals reflect local values and worldviews.

The second element in Taylor's definition of community is the presence of direct and multidimensional relations.¹³ Taylor refers to direct relations as those involving personal contact between people who are, on some level, familiar with one another. By this, Taylor eliminates mediated relations, such as those by institutions of government, their representatives, or bureaucrats. Similarly, an expansive geographical territory would prohibit such direct, personal interactions as are found in the type of community Taylor describes. The relations are multidimensional in that they engage members in activities and events extending beyond a specialized or narrowly construed focus. Taylor notes, for example, that an academic community is more limited than many primitive societies in that an academic community is comprised of individuals whose relationships are often singularly based on a similarity of interest or academic pursuit. These relations do not generally extend into the daily lives and activities of the members of the academic community.¹⁴

The direct and many-sided relations central to the ontological-sociological perspective are premised on the diversity of contact within the community. "Both formal and informal interactions develop as an outgrowth of the needs and interests of the members of the community; they are not imposed from the outside."¹⁵ For a community to function, the relations between its members must be reflective of the common beliefs and experiences, promoting friendship and interdependence within the community. Without this, community relations become distant and foreign. "When the landscapes in which we find ourselves are not diffused with our meanings, our history or community, it is not easy to attach ourselves to them."¹⁶ Without direct and multidimensional relations, a community no longer possesses the capacity to create and sustain bonds of interdependence, friendship, and belonging.

Recent trends in local policing and security represent an effort to establish such direct and multidimensional relations between the police and community members. Community policing attempts to create a more meaningful relationship beyond that of

service provider and client. The emphasis is on the police becoming more involved in the community itself, in knowing and understanding the informal relations and structures of power and authority. For example, according to a study by Peter Stevens and Dianna Yach;

The police themselves admitted that they lacked knowledge and understanding of their diverse local communities' customs, traditions, religions and cultures. They also lacked understanding of community justice and traditional problem-solving mechanisms and community perceptions of justice.¹⁷

Without some knowledge and understanding of the community, the relations between the police and community members become formalized, distant, and premised primarily on the provision of security and safety. In the absence of direct and many-sided relations, policing remains removed from the experiences and relations comprising the community. "It has been learnt over and over again that when people are excluded from participating in matters that affect their lives, they become suspicious, destructive, apathetic, and irresponsible."¹⁸

Within this security-oriented approach, community is defined in terms of interpersonal and inter-group relations. These social relations are seen as the essence of the community¹⁹ and necessary in the creation of a police force able to meet the individual needs of each community. Community policing offers recognition of the importance of the community in the lives of its members. "People in communities have commitments to each other and to common projects and causes. They have a kind of rootedness, a connection to the place where they live with others."²⁰ Attempts to foster more meaningful and diverse relations between police and community members represents a practical exemplification of Taylor's emphasis on the importance of direct and many-sided relations in the development of a strong community.

The final element in the ontological-sociological definition of community is reciprocity. According to Taylor;

In typical reciprocity the individual expects that his gift or assistance will be repaid; sometimes the expectation is vague and uncalculating, sometimes it must be somewhat less so, as when the primitive or peasant cultivator gives

up time to help others harvest crops quickly in the firm expectation that those he has helped will do the same for him.²¹

A community is a social unit dependent upon the cooperation and participation of its members. Interdependence rather than independence characterizes it. Each member within the community is included within such an implicit agreement of reciprocity. This fosters trust, interdependence, and a sense of commitment to the community and its members. While a society may be composed of individuals, the interdependence within the community unifies those individuals within a common sentiment of purpose and belonging, premised on reciprocity; "A person rooted in a community knows that she is a participant in a form of life that, in turn, provides the basis for fulfilling her own identity. A member of a community is not a separate, independent individual."²²

Such dependence on reciprocal relations within a community was documented by Jean Briggs after spending eighteen months in the Arctic studying the expressions and emotional responses among a band of Inuit known as Utkuhikhalingmiut (Utku). The community relations created a strong delineation between members and outsiders. While members were treated as extended family, outsiders were merely tolerated. For example, it was acceptable for a member to take an item from the cache of another. For an outsider, however, such an intrusion would be reported as theft and attributed to the inherently negative characteristics of outsiders. "It was always the Others who were accused of untruthfulness, theft, laziness, stinginess, unhelpfulness, jealousy, greed, lechery, and bad temper."²³

Visiting patterns among the Utku also symbolized this distinction. Members of the community would enter another's home, make themselves comfortable, and offer whatever assistance they could. Outsiders, however, were required to wait for an invitation. Where extended, these guests would be greeted with formal interaction and communication designed to tolerate but not promote interaction. Mutual reciprocal commitments between members created strong bonds while simultaneously excluding those who could not be relied on to reciprocate when needed. Between members was an underlying understanding that kindness would be returned.²⁴ According to Taylor's ontological definition of community, these reciprocal relations are essential to

the operation of a community as they create the bonds of attachment and friendship upon which a community is based. The acceptance of taking items by members of the Utku community represents an inherent relationship of reciprocity. Members believed that supplying items to those in need would serve to ensure that when they were in need, the favour would be returned. These reciprocal relations also point to a strengthening of the community as such short-term altruism fosters trust and interdependence among community members.

Taylor's definition of community is essentially an ontological-sociological presentation in that the emphasis is on the totality and quality of the relationships rather than the functional objectives or capacities of the community. Through these relationships, a community provides its members with a sense of rootedness and belonging which provides the foundation for identity formation. Community within this approach is understood as a unique and shared context of meanings. The commonality of values and beliefs, the direct and many-sided relations, and the sentiment of reciprocity combine to shape the relations between members of the community and serve to intensify the self-identity and self-perception of its members;

...it is the locus of the interactions that structure the self-concept and build respect for self and others; it provides opportunities for expressing needs for association and involvement; and it allows people to participate in creating their own living conditions.²⁵

This context for self-discovery is essential to understanding the implications and effects of community membership. Community, as presented in ontological-sociological perspectives, is not an individualized place to live. The inherent strength of a community is derived from the internal and inherent qualities of the relationships between community members rather than from physical attributes and characteristics.

Functional Depictions of Community:

In functional approaches, community is a formalized construction used to describe qualities, activities, or characteristics of particular relevance to the approach. For example, urban development studies present a focus on the spatial and social

organization of human populations. Emphasis is placed on improving the geographical efficiency of population gatherings. Within this, community is defined in terms of its benefit or detriment to these objectives. Housing locations, shopping malls, and traffic patterns may replace the quality of human relationships as central components in the definition of community.

When community is utilized in such contexts, its inherent qualities and relations are subject to functional perceptions of value and worth. Assessments relate to manifest characteristics and traits. As well, functional depictions of community utilize a language of specialization specific to the approach or objective of the study. This specificity encourages an intricate arena of high expertise. The narrow field of concentration invites a highly developed understanding of the particular traits of relevance to the approach.

In the study of political communities, for example, the concentration is on the loyalty and allegiance of a geographically distinguishable population. The focus within this approach is on how the community relates to the larger political entity, such as the state or the nation. In this way, the study of political communities is premised on empirical characteristics such as race, religion, or geographical boundaries. Such boundaries also generate interest in 'otherness': a political community relies on a strong delineation between those who belong and those who do not.

The sentiments of loyalty and allegiance provide a source of commonality throughout the political community. According to Andrew Linklater: "The modern state has been successful because it has been able to create community out of the diverse groups brought within the same boundaries by chance or force."²⁶ The relative success of a political community is judged by its capacity to create and reinforce a primary allegiance superseding multicultural and minority affiliations.

Minority customs stripped of political content became manifestations of interesting diversity, improving the texture of national life without threatening the overall homogeneity of liberal society.²⁷

The inherent assumption of an underlying similarity in a political community is accepted as superseding all other minority and multicultural differences which would serve to divide rather than unify the larger political entity. The assumption of this

primary commonality is reinforced, both overtly and symbolically, through law and the governing institutions within the political community. According to Rhoda Howard; “The modern Western state has forced its citizens to discard their identification with substate groups, in order that people from many groups can be incorporated into a common secular community.”²⁸

In a political community, sentiments of belonging and identity are fostered at the individual level through the creation of allegiance and loyalty to the larger political unit. These sentiments or traits, rather than the entirety of the human relationships within the community, are used to identify and categorize the political community. As well, a political community encourages mediated relationships in order to reinforce the centrality and importance of the larger political entity. In this way, the political community unifies its members in their relationship to the larger political or corporate entity.

A similarly functional approach to community was depicted in the Ontario Committee on Tax Reform. The purpose of this report was to create ‘a rationalized regional government system’²⁹ to improve the efficiency and functionality of local regions and communities. To accomplish this, the report looked to ‘service equalization’ through equitable tax resource collection in order to simplify and reduce the provincial task of ‘evening out’ fiscal disparities.³⁰ The language employed by this discourse to community and local regions relates to economies of scale, specialization, and the application of modern technology. The emphasis was on the creation of a clear delineation of local, regional, and provincial functions.

In this report, community was categorized in terms of its capacity to efficiently deliver services. The Ontario Committee on Tax Reform represents a specialized approach to a specific element of community activity. Such specialization does not negate the importance of human relationships within the community but instead necessitates a singular and more in-depth examination of a particular facet of community life. Community activity was assumed to be contingent upon the delivery of services. In this way, relations within a community were to be mediated by the levels of government involved in the delivery of services. The focus of the report

related to improving efficiency and thereby easing and encouraging community relations. This functional presentation of community is an attempt to contextualize community with regard to the resources it can provide and the services it required.

Community activity also occupies a central role in the approach presented within urban development studies. Here, the focus is on the efficient spatial and social organization of human populations. Community in this approach is viewed in terms of its capacity to improve the efficiency of human relationships. It may be defined as the arena in which; "...individuals learn a culture that through generations has proved useful in solving human problems."³¹ Community, in this way, is seen as a logical and rational exemplification of human settlement; it provides benefits not always available in rural and isolated contexts. The potential resources of a large population may, through market dynamics, increase the benefits of social living. A community may, for example, offer specialized services, opportunities, and material goods. Safety and security are also afforded as benefits of community life. Community arises as an ordering of society, in response to these needs. "The essence of community is the working out of interpersonal relationships, solving collective problems, and bringing order to inter-group activities."³² The emphasis here is on the capacity of the community, through regularized activities and interactions, to develop means of problem solving, thereby improving social life and activity.

In this approach, the community as an objective entity develops patterns of activities and norms of behaviour which become the basis of the community's institutions. These institutions, in turn, may be said to reflect the character and quality of the community as they provide a sense of predictability and order to community life. According to Brian Wharf; "Social planning represents a rational, technocratic approach to practice and requires the application of research and other methodologies to social problems."³³

The emphasis on the efficient organization of human populations central to the urban development approach leads to a diversity of characteristics used to define a community. For example, a community may be categorized on the basis of the population which can be supported within a given geographical area. "Culture, in the

form of knowledge, beliefs, and practices, determines the minimum and maximum densities that a society must fall within.”³⁴ For example, 1-8 persons per square mile constitutes a hunting and fishing community, whereas 64-192 is agricultural. Under this delineation, more than 381 persons per square mile is considered an industrial community.³⁵ As such, all the people and institutions within a designated geographical area are said to constitute a community within the urban development approach. This represents a functional approach in that the emphasis is placed on the manifest characteristics rather than on inherent or essential qualities of the human populations inhabiting the community.

Such a functional approach to community differs significantly from the elements outlined by Taylor in his ontological definition of community. The ordering of spatial organization in a community does not necessarily relate to the human relationships occurring within the community. Urban development studies are concerned with improving the efficiency of these social and geographical spaces. The expertise and fields of specialization develop intricate and finely tuned capacities for examining these social spaces in terms of efficient interaction rather than in terms of the quality of human relationships within them. The assumption made in urban development studies is that through improving the efficiency of such social spaces, the quality of human interactions and relations will also improve. The emphasis on functional traits and characteristics assumes a paramount importance to the ontological-sociological qualities of relationships within the community.

Competing Notions of Community

The ontological and functional approaches present dichotomous depictions and definitions of community. In the ontological perspective, the quality of human relationships is emphasized. These relationships are encouraged and reinforced through the proliferation of common values and beliefs, direct and multi-dimensional interactions, and an inherent system of reciprocity. Through these, trust and security are encouraged. Conversely, functional approaches to community emphasize manifest

traits, qualities, or characteristics and the potential for their development and improvement.

Functional approaches to community often occupy prominent roles in government policy and initiatives. The narrowed field of concentration is well suited for the application of specific knowledge and expertise. While ontological-sociological depictions of community are not necessarily omitted or negated, policy initiatives often presuppose that community relations will improve as a result of changes and improvements to the functional and structural elements within the community. This thesis shall contend that without adequate reference or consideration to the ontological presentation of community, policy initiatives will inevitably result in detrimental and damaging effects on communities and their inhabitants.

In order to show the contrasting conceptions of community between ontological and functional perspectives, this thesis will examine two case studies. In each, government sponsored initiatives aimed at improving the living conditions and life opportunities necessitated relocating community members. For the community members themselves, however, the situation at the originating community reflected traditional values and lifestyles. The significance of this tradition to community residents was more important than the potential of external threats to their survival. Community members did not believe that government initiatives or interference designed to refine their communities were the most effective mechanisms for improvement.

The competing notions of community in these case studies reveal the inherent dichotomy between the ontological and functional perspectives. For the community members, the quality of human relationships, based on common values and beliefs, direct and multidimensional interactions, and an implicit understanding of reciprocity were more important than any physical or manifest difficulty facing the community. For involved officials and bureaucrats, however, the physical impediments to well being and successful living necessitated governmental interference. The quality of human relations would necessarily improve with changes to the physical community.

The functional approach utilized expertise and narrow fields of concentration. In this, there was justification and rational legitimization for the policy initiatives. For community members, however, the ontological-sociological importance of community membership superseded the rationalized presentation of expertise. The community members expressed an inherently deep and thorough knowledge of the community which government experts, with their narrow field of concentration, appeared unable or unwilling to take into consideration.

In the second and third chapters of this thesis, these case studies will be used to depict both the competing notions of community and the difficulties inherent in an exclusion of an ontological-sociological conception of community. The fourth chapter will reexamine the conceptualization of community in light of the findings of these two case studies.

Dimensions of the Thesis

The first case study examined will be the relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic in 1953. Government and RCMP reports indicated that the Inuit community at Inukjuak in northern Quebec was heavily dependent on welfare as a result of falling fur prices, increasing populations around the trading post, and inability to continue a traditional Inuit lifestyle. As a result, the decision was made to relocate ten families in order to encourage Inuit self-sufficiency through the creation of three communities in the High Arctic. For the relocated residents, however, the relocation was a painful and traumatic experience in separation and alienation. The extended familial relations in the original community were broken and the new location failed to provide an atmosphere which encouraged sentiments of security and belonging. Thus, while government initiatives were performed in an atmosphere of good intentions, lack of consideration to the ontological manifestations of community membership felt by the Inuit themselves created divisions both with regard to the success of the project as well as to its fundamental goals.

After a brief history of the relocation, perceptions and indicators used to assess the success of the relocation will be presented from both government officials and the

relocated Inuit. These indicators will be compared in order to illustrate how differing perceptions, locations, and peoples, when affected by policy initiatives, yield differing defences of community.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, and in particular, the 1953 Relocation Report with its two volumes of supporting documentation, will provide much of the data for this case study. These documents provide testimony from government officials, generations of relocated Inuit, and academics commissioned to assess the relocation. Through this, both academic and first hand experiential knowledge and information will be utilized in the assessment of the relocation.

The second case study examined will be the outport resettlement initiatives in Newfoundland in the 1960s. For hundreds of years, the coast of Newfoundland housed hundreds of small outport communities, accessible only by boat. After joining Canada in 1949, Newfoundland engaged in a strong drive towards modernization and industrialization. Outports, however, presented a serious challenge to this drive. The scarcity of development and job opportunities in the outports perpetuated a strong reliance on independent inshore fishing. The inaccessibility of the outports also created difficulties with regard to the provision of services. Paramount here was the inability of outport children to attain an education.

A joint venture between the federal government and the Newfoundland provincial government in 1965 was undertaken in an attempt to create larger population centres in order to ease the strain on social services and facilitate the industrialization and modernization of rural Newfoundland. Outport residents, however, felt coerced into the resettlement. Many did not wish to abandon their traditional lifestyles. As well, many believed that the growth centres did not offer the opportunities and material advantages which had been promised by government officials. In many cases, resettled outport residents felt that they were worse off following the resettlement than they had been before. This case study also illustrates a dichotomous perception of community. While government officials saw improvements in industry and modernization as central to the well being of outport

communities, residents perceived that the loss of these outports was itself a loss of the community. Thus, while government initiatives were aimed at improving the lifestyles and opportunities of outport residents, the lack of consideration to the ontological-sociological importance of community membership severely hindered the success of the project for the resettled outport residents.

In this case study, several commissioned reports, both by the federal government and the Newfoundland Provincial government, form the basis of the analysis. These reports are based on interviews and assessments presented both by involved government officials and outport residents themselves.

A brief history of the Household Resettlement Plan will present the evolution of this policy initiative. Following this, assessments of the success of the relocation will be provided from both government officials as well as resettled outport residents themselves. From these assessments, similarities and differences will be examined in order to depict how policy initiatives, tempered with perception, location, and the people involved, yield altering perceptions of the importance of community membership.

The final chapter will serve as an opportunity to reevaluate the conceptualization of community. The absence of a universally acceptable definition, leading to its appropriation across a variety of disciplines, will be explored as a source of the division between ontological and functional portrayals of community. Lessons provided from both case studies will be used to examine the implications of functional initiatives which fail to acknowledge the contribution of ontological elements to the well being of community members. Finally, this chapter will question the potential offered through a synthesis of ontological and functional considerations in the application of policy initiatives designed to shape and affect a community and its inhabitants.

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Chapter Two: *The 1953 Relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic*

This case study focuses on the relocation of Inuit from Inukjuak¹ in northern Quebec to the High Arctic in 1953. It exemplifies the contrast between ontological and functional portrayals of community. Government reports and observations of the Inuit at Inukjuak depicted poverty, dependency on welfare, and an inability to participate in a distinctively Inuit lifestyle. Consideration was also given by the government to asserting a presence of Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic. To achieve Arctic inhabitation, alleviate welfare dependency, and improve the living conditions of Inuit at Inukjuak, the decision was made to relocate Inuit to the High Arctic where a new start towards self-sufficiency could be made.

For the Inuit, the community at Inukjuak was viewed much differently. The original community, with all its inhabitants, was perceived by the Inuit as an extended family. The Inuit language and customs provided an attachment to the land. The sharing of history and language created a commonality of beliefs and values. The relationship with the land and the extension of family comprised direct and multidimensional relations. Finally, through reciprocal relationships of friendship and interdependence, the Inuit were able to survive in the harsh northern climate.

The absence of Inuit perceptions of community significantly contributed to disagreements over the success and suitability of the relocation scheme. Despite governmental good intentions, problems still resulted from the relocation. “The High Arctic relocation serves as a case study that demonstrates the harm done by well-intentioned but ill-conceived government actions...”² As a result of the fundamentally different presentations and implications of community membership between government officials and the relocated Inuit, the relocation itself came under the scrutiny of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1992.

This chapter will first provide a historical overview, including relevant events preceding and following the relocation. The ontological perceptions of community presented by relocated Inuit to the Royal Commission will be examined, as will government depictions of the relocation. In each of these sections, the emphasis will

be on the indicators used to assess the success of the relocation. The chapter will conclude with a comparison of the perceptions of community between relocated Inuit and the government officials in order to depict how a common situation or experience can yield altering perceptions of community and that functional perceptions, when used alone, prohibit an adequate understanding of the implications of community membership.

Historical Overview of the 1953 Relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic

By the time of the 1953 decision to relocate Inuit from Inukjuak in northern Quebec to the High Arctic, the Inuit had witnessed several hundred years of contact with non-Inuit. The Hudson Bay Company had established posts in the north to exploit the fur industry since the 1670s. By the early decades of the twentieth century, the Inuit had grown increasingly dependent on the sale of furs and the purchase of non-Inuit goods.

The traders systematically encouraged Eskimos to spend more time hunting the animals with skins most highly prized in the southern market and to spend less time hunting animals that merely offered a supply of food.³

As a result of this increasing dependence, the Inuit began to abandon the semi-nomadic life of traditional hunting in favour of a more permanent residence centred around the trading posts. Profits from the sale of furs promoted a greater dependence on a monetary economy. During the Great Depression, however, fur prices dropped dramatically.

Average market prices for furs which had been \$32.00 between 1920 and 1924, had dropped to \$11.76 between 1936 and 1940, risen again between 1940 and 1944 to \$25.99, only to drop again in the period from 1948 to 1949 to \$8.88, falling as low, in 1949-1950, as \$3.50.⁴

The Inuit, who had become accustomed to and dependent on the market economy, were left in need. General assistance to the Inuit through national programs such as old age security and family allowances became the primary source of income for the Inuit at Inukjuak.

The increasing atmosphere of Inuit dependency and poverty, coupled with a growing fear that the decreased prices of furs might drive the trading companies from the Arctic, the Northwest Territories Council, in 1951, commissioned a report by Joseph Cantley, an experienced Arctic trader. "The purpose of the Cantley Report was...to suggest means by which the difficulties may be overcome and the general economy and well-being of the natives improved."⁵ Cantley believed that the Inuit of northern Quebec had lost their self-reliance not as a result of food shortage, but rather of competition between trading companies. As a solution, Cantley recommended the relocation of Inuit into new areas to be serviced by the RCMP and the Hudson Bay Company's posts.

The Cantley report observes that, if the Inuit were to live off the resources of the Arctic as they had for generations before the arrival of non-Inuit, it would be necessary to distribute the Inuit in small communities over as wide an area as possible.⁶

The expansive region of the High Arctic was seen to offer benefits for a relocated Inuit population in two fundamental ways. First, the climate and geography were seen to be similar in nature to that which the Inuit of northern Quebec had been accustomed to. Second, the High Arctic was largely uninhabited which would allow the Inuit to recreate a traditional lifestyle without interference from the growing northern population of non-Inuit.

Further encouragement and rational justification for the relocation of Inuit came from concerns over exerting Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic. For example, Alex Stephenson, leader of the Eastern Arctic Patrol in 1950, noted the presence of both Greenland Inuit and U. S. military in the Canadian Arctic. Stephenson recommended, as a response to these sovereignty concerns, the relocation of some Inuit into the High Arctic in an effort to 'Canadianize' the Arctic. During the Second World War, the Arctic became a frontier of Canadian sovereignty and defence, as well as a theatre for the American military. "The Second World War also significantly altered the nature of southern concern with the north, creating strategic and new nationalistic dimensions."⁷ By the end of the war, interest in the north waned. Northern concerns were not revitalized until the 1950s with the Cold War. For example, in 1953, after concerns

about American involvement in the Arctic had been addressed before Cabinet, Prime Minister Pearson called on the Minister and Deputy Minister of the Department of Resources and Development to, "...tackle the problem that Canada had not been in a position to do things a sovereign government ought to do."⁸

By the middle of the century, revitalized interest in the Arctic generated activity by more than thirty departments, each with their own mandate and agenda. In the thirty-two year period before the 1953 relocation, responsibility for the Inuit was transferred between seven federal departments.⁹ At the time of the relocation, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) undertook responsibility for Inuit affairs. Within DIAND, further fragmentation existed; field workers, often through translators, would transfer information to their superiors. Government concern for the welfare of the Inuit took place within this context of fragmentation and diffusion of responsibilities.

Bureaucratic perceptions posited the Inuit as naïve and incapable of making rational decisions affecting their own well being. For example, Gordon Robertson, Deputy Minister of DIAND in 1953, asserted this position in his submission to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples; "I don't know that the Inuit would have suggested anything different. I don't suppose that they had the capacity at that time to judge what could be different."¹⁰ For the Director of Arctic Services, the solution to the problems plaguing the Inuit of northern Quebec could be found in the creation of a round table discussion which included, "...as many people as possible who had an intimate knowledge of the problem."¹¹ These experts, however, did not include the Inuit themselves.

In December of 1952, Joseph Cantley reinforced his concern with Inuit welfare when he drafted a four page memo which contained proposals designed to improve the economic conditions of the Inuit of northern Quebec. Within this, Cantley briefly sketched four possible relocations to provide concrete examples of potential improvements. "The plan...was little more than a concept- a very general description of what was to be done and for what purpose. The details would be worked out as the plan was implemented."¹² After making its way through the Northern Administration

and Lands Branch to the Northern Administration Division, the relocation of Inuit from Inukjuak to the High Arctic was approved as a method of increasing Inuit self-reliance. "The Inuit would come from 'over-populated depressed areas', and the object would be to 'establish them in the native way of life under the direction of the RCM Police.'"¹³

For DIAND, the relocation represented a rational solution to the various problems in the Arctic. The relocation would help to alleviate Inuit reliance on welfare and the monetary economy. It would aid in the reestablishment of a more traditionally based Inuit lifestyle. As well, the relocation stood as a sensible move towards asserting Canadian sovereignty in the north. According to Dr. Richard Diubaldo, commissioned by DIAND to examine twentieth century government relations with the Inuit; "The early 1950s are seen as a time of great activity, a rush to make up for past neglect, in which sometimes anything was put forward in an attitude of 'why not' and 'let's give it a try'."¹⁴

Information regarding the relocation was to be transmitted to the Inuit at Inukjuak by the RCMP through interpreters. Ross Gibson, an RCMP officer at Inukjuak, considered it his responsibility to 'sell' the proposal to the Inuit, believing it to be to their own advantage.¹⁵ Gibson believed that the Inuit were being offered a better way of life in a place of plentiful game. At the time, they were told that they could return to Inukjuak after two years if they were not happy with the relocation.

In total, fifty-four people in ten families agreed to the relocation. During the one-month trip, the Inuit travelled more than 5700 kilometres. On the journey, Inuit families from Pond Inlet, a settlement already within the High Arctic, joined the Inukjuak Inuit. Government officials had included Inuit from Pond Inlet in order to aid the Inukjuak Inuit in the transition to the High Arctic. When the C. D. Howe reached Craig Harbour, it was met by another Canadian icebreaker which was to take the Inuit to three settlement destinations. It has been questioned whether the Inukjuak Inuit had known of this planned separation prior to agreeing to the relocation.¹⁶ The Inuit were left at Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord. Cape Herschel, destined to be the

third settlement, was inaccessible due to ice formation.¹⁷ These Inuit were returned to Grise Fiord.

Acknowledged government mismanagement prevented the arrival of some necessary supplies. Despite this, it was believed that minimal Inuit reliance on supplies would promote self-sufficiency by encouraging hunting and adaptation in the new settlements. Conditions at the new locations differed significantly from those at Inukjuak. For example, at Inukjuak, the Inuit had become accustomed to burning wood for heat and light. In the High Arctic, there were no trees. This necessitated the use of seal oil lamps and heaters. To obtain this oil, the Inuit needed to learn Arctic seal hunting techniques. As well, they had to learn the patterns of migration of local game and to adjust their equipment to the new terrain. The difference of game also meant an adjustment in diet.¹⁸

The settlement at Inukjuak had fostered permanent residence; with the trading post, there was no need to travel and live the semi-nomadic life of traditional Inuit. As such, permanent houses had been built. In the new locations, however, there were no houses or structures that could be utilized for this purpose.

Due to the inadequacy in winter of a frame tent-cum-shack heated by seal-oil lamp and their lack of knowledge concerning winter dwelling construction, Port Harrison immigrants continued to live in snowhouses for their first three winters on Lindstrom Peninsula.¹⁹

The Inuit had been told of plentiful game in the High Arctic. At the new locations they were also informed, however, that they could not hunt musk-ox and were only allowed one caribou each year.²⁰ In Inukjuak, streams, rivers, and lakes had surrounded the Inuit. In the High Arctic, however, obtaining fresh water required a more skilled process. "The recognition of suitable freshwater ice requires skill, for many of the promising-looking pieces are indeed salty when melted even if seemingly fresh when tasted in situ."²¹

As the supply boat arrived annually, the trading posts were stocked with supplies for the members of the community for one year. At Craig Harbour, the settlement was established forty miles away from the store and the police post. "The site had been selected not only in the belief that sea mammals were plentiful at Grise

Fiord, but also to discourage what was believed to be the tendency of the relocatees from northern Quebec to seek 'handouts'."²² To ensure self-sufficiency through hunting, the Inuit were extended no store credit. Without anything to trade, nothing could be bought. In times when supplies were short, the Inuit would first be given ammunition. In Inukjuak, the Inuit had received both family allowances and old age security. In the new locations, these payments were immediately deposited in the store's books as a form of credit. If the store supplies were short, the local official would record the benefits as compulsory savings. "If goods issued to an Inuit family were charged against family allowance, there would be no way for the recipient to know this unless they understood how the accounts were being kept."²³

Throughout the first year, resentment between the Pond Inlet and Inukjuak Inuit escalated. The RCMP favoured the Pond Inlet Inuit; their existing knowledge of the High Arctic enabled them to better adjust to the new locations. They knew the climate, hunting patterns, and lifestyle necessary for survival in the High Arctic. They were also accustomed to the effects of the extended period of darkness. In comparison, the Inukjuak Inuit appeared incompetent, depressed, and unwilling to work. According to Ross Gibson, an RCMP officer who had had contact with the Inukjuak Inuit at the time of the relocation;

The Pond Inlet hunters knew how to set seal nets under the ice, how to hunt polar bear, how to dress a polar bear, and how to hunt in that country better. The Port Harrison Inuit seemed to have lapsed into a decline.²⁴

The Inuit were isolated both within their new community and from their friends and family at Inukjuak. External communication occurred primarily with the annual arrival of the supply boat. The return to a subsistence lifestyle made the accumulation of capital for a return trip untenable. As well, the sheer distance from Inukjuak made the supply boat the only option available for travel. "If people could simply pick up their things and head off a few hundred miles to their homes they could vote on the success of the project with their feet."²⁵ Without the resources or opportunities to return, the Inuit had little choice but to accept life in the High Arctic.

In 1993, forty years after the relocation, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples set the stage for an examination of the 1953 relocation. The Commission was a forum for both government officials and relocatees to tell of their impressions and responses to the relocation. This forum represented the culmination of a ten year struggle for the Inuit to be heard. The Royal Commission was thus an opportunity to divulge grievances and present impressions of the relocation.

Inuit Assessments of the Success of the 1953 Relocation

Inuit assessments were heavily premised on the impact the relocation had on their families, their communities, and their own senses of identity rather than on material possessions or capital accumulation. For the Inuit, the success of the relocation must be measured against the disruption to familial ties, sentiments of isolation, and the loss of history. The importance of community ties at Inukjuak, and the absence of similar relationships in the new locations, were strong detriments to the success of the relocation. Without consideration to the Inuit way of life, the relocation alienated the Inuit who participated. According to Martha Flaherty;

The Department of Indian Affairs tries to govern the Inuit without knowing how the Inuit live. They are still governing the Inuit without knowing how the Inuit live. They don't feel the pain and the struggles that the people had to endure in the High Arctic.²⁶

In Inukjuak, the Inuit lived in a community premised on history and belonging. They shared values and beliefs encapsulated in a richly detailed language. The relations were direct and many-sided; the geographical isolation of the community necessitated constant cooperative interaction. Hunting, for example, was a community event. The prestige for an individual hunter came from the skill involved; the community as a whole benefitted from the food and supplies provided by the physical carcass. Every member was supported by an interdependent system of reciprocity. The 1953 relocation, however, fundamentally disrupted these community relations.²⁷

In traditional Inuit communities, interpersonal relationships represented an extended family. With marriage, adoption, and the naming system²⁸, all members were drawn together through these extended familial links “The bonds are emotional and they form physical and metaphysical links with the network of the society.”²⁹ These links were reinforced through the sharing of common beliefs and values with the use of a richly articulate language. Inuit languages provided links to wisdom and lessons which had been gathered, preserved, and passed from generation to generation.

This oral tradition is central to Inuit culture; it is the precise and accurate way in which an extensive body of knowledge, extending back through many generations, has been meticulously maintained.³⁰

While a non-Inuit might, for example, describe weather conditions with reference to the temperature, an Inuit would be more interested in the quality of the weather and its implications for hunting.³¹ The use of Inuit language was particular to each settlement; it was relevant to the lands and lessons from the geography of the community. The uniqueness of language, coupled with the relative isolation of each community, created relations which were necessarily direct and many-sided in order to foster self-sufficiency. “The sense of belonging, the sense of participation in a network is extended through the relationship of kin because the kinsfolk are seen to be part of this physical and metaphysical environment.”³² Within this network of community relations, every member was an essential participant in the system of reciprocity. The isolation of the communities necessitated cooperative and interdependent relationships in which members could trust and depend on each other. In The People’s Land, Hugh Brody describes such Inuit relations of reciprocity;

The smallness of the...community conditioned the relationships that existed among the families in it. They looked to one another for help. Indeed, they had a strong right, almost a legal right, to each other’s help.³³

Membership in an Inuit community provided security and belonging; each member was a necessary and integral element of the society. Following the relocation, however, these sentiments of belonging and security were destroyed for the relocated Inuit. Ties with family and friends were severed, causing difficulties in both Inukjuak and the new settlements. In addition, the inclusion of Inuit from Pond Inlet in the

relocation scheme fostered suspicion and distrust; this prohibited the emergence of community relations and sentiments which would have eased the physical difficulties of the relocation. Without this, the Inuit were alienated and alone; their ties with their history, language and culture had been severely altered. More importantly, the inability to create new ties and community relationships negated a positive assessment of the relocation.

The fundamentally different geography in the High Arctic from that at Inukjuak also created difficulties for the Inuit in the relocation. The centrality of place in Inuit tradition was reflected in the intimate relationship with the land; “What the Inuit refer to as their land in fact describes the totality of the environment, both physical and human.”³⁴ Inukjuak housed Inuit populations for hundreds of years and was a traditional hunting and fishing location. More importantly, through language, custom, and beliefs, Inukjuak possessed special qualities to the Inuit. In a submission to the Royal Commission, Markoosie Patsauq reflected; “The place where you were born is unique, there is no other place like it. No one thought about leaving. No one ever wanted to leave their home because it is their homeland.”³⁵ Such an attachment to place was not unique to the Inuit. According to Alan Marcus, such a relationship underlies all sentiments of belonging;

...the identification of places is vital to human development, and whereas an unknown space is in a sense empty, it requires bounding and identification by an individual in order to become a meaningful place.³⁶

For the Inuit from Inukjuak, the land fostered deep spiritual and personal sentiments of security and belonging. Such ontological-sociological implications of community membership, however, were not reflected in the objectives and implementation of the relocation of Inuit from Inukjuak to the High Arctic. Without consideration to the centrality of place, the relocation could only dislodge and alienate the participating Inuit. “Inuit were reluctant to be separated permanently from the land they knew and to be treated as nomads who could be relocated to foreign places, however Edenic according to White perceptions.”³⁷ While the older relocatees longed for the land at

Inukjuak, the younger generation, having grown up in the High Arctic, viewed this as their home. According to Anna Nungaq;

Three of her children moved back to Inukjuak with her but only her son has moved back to the High Arctic because it's his home. It's where he feels he belongs. Inukjuak, however, is her home and she could never forget it.³⁸

The relocation thus caused the dislocation and alienation of those who moved. They were severed from an intimate relationship and knowledge of a land which had provided for them. In addition, divisions were fostered between the generations as each perceived of 'home' in different ways. For the Inuit, this alienation caused by the neglect of consideration to the centrality of place is an important indicator of the failure of the 1953 relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic.

In their original community, the Inukjuak Inuit were surrounded and included in an intricate system of relationships and knowledge which fostered sentiments of security and belonging. The relocation, however, severed the relocated Inuit from this network of interdependence. "They experienced a sense of isolation, feelings of loneliness, and a great need to go home and see kin. Some felt their lives lost meaning."³⁹ The isolation felt by the relocatees was threefold; first, they were separated from their homeland and the larger community at Inukjuak, including immediate family, extended family and friends. Second, this separation removed them from the services and facilities which had emerged to sustain the community at Inukjuak. Third, sentiments of isolation and alienation were reinforced by differences between the Inukjuak Inuit and the Pond Inlet Inuit.⁴⁰ In his submission to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, John Amagoalik stated:

They felt complete and utter isolation in the new community. They were completely cut off from the world for the first three or four years with no way of communicating with family or friends back home.⁴¹

The relocation removed the Inukjuak Inuit from their community; they were no longer surrounded by a commonality of beliefs and values, relations had deteriorated and become based on dependency rather than reciprocity.

The relocated Inuit were effectively cut off from the world they had known. The detailed language, which had provided them with wisdom and knowledge, was

not relevant to the new location. New lessons pertinent to the High Arctic had to be learned. Men had to relearn how to hunt and fish. Equipment had to be modified to suit the geography. The lessons were made more difficult to learn as the Inuit arrived in the High Arctic at the beginning of the winter season of bitter cold and darkness.⁴² This caused unnecessary hardship according to the Inuit. For example, Sarah Amagoalik had given birth to her first child aboard the C.D. Howe. Not only were the new locations ill equipped to provide the necessities for a newborn baby, but the lack of community relations prohibited her from benefiting from the wisdom and strength of her elders.

She lost her appetite and did not eat anything for about a month. She was breast feeding her baby and the result was that she was unintentionally starving her baby. She did not know how to wean a baby or nurture a baby. She had to learn from her own experience.⁴³

The pervasive sentiments of isolation and loneliness, according to the Inuit, point to a failure of the relocation scheme. Community relations were viewed by the Inuit as a central and sustaining feature of their lives. Without this, the relocated Inuit felt disconnected and alienated both from the community at Inukjuak and in their new communities. According to Samwillie Elijasialak;

The people who were relocated envy the people who did not move because they have a sense of security, a sense of community and their children are living adequate and connected lives. They have not experienced the hurt and pain which the relocatees have suffered.⁴⁴

The absence of an ontologically based consideration of Inuit welfare, premised on the need for belonging and security within a community, prohibited the relocation from succeeding according to the Inuit. These sentiments of insecurity, isolation, and alienation indicate the failure of the relocation plan. Promises had been made that the relocation would offer them a better life. For the Inuit, inherent in such a promise was the security and belonging provided by community membership. While the Inuit did not expect that the government could provide these, it was not believed that the relocation would destroy existing community ties or prohibit the formation of community relations in the new locations.

After the relocation, many of the Inuit expressed a desire to return to Inukjuak. In many cases, this desire was frustrated by the lack of capital; the Inuit were required to pay for the return voyage on the annual supply ship. For those who did return to Inukjuak, there were unexpected difficulties. For example, the community of Inukjuak, with the return of relocatees, experienced a shortage of housing and service facilities.⁴⁵

As well, Inukjuak could no longer provide the returning Inuit with important community sentiments of security and belonging. The isolation and alienation of the relocatees continued even after their return to Inukjuak. In his submission to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Bobby Patsauq related the difficulty of the return to Inukjuak;

After moving back to Inukjuak, he had to adjust to the community. It was difficult the first year. He did not know the people or his relatives. He could see that his father and mother were feeling much better when they reached their home. He began to learn who his relatives were...He calls Inukjuak home although his roots are in Resolute.⁴⁶

The time spent away from Inukjuak had broken many of the ties upon which the relocatees' senses of belonging were founded. While they returned to what they perceived to be their home, they were no longer active and necessary elements of the community. Many of the relocatees returned to Inukjuak as strangers. For Lizzie Amagoalik, twenty-six years away from Inukjuak made her a stranger upon her return; "After they returned to Inukjuak in 1979, no one recognized them. The people they had known were all dead. They became strangers in their old country."⁴⁷ Jaybeddie Amaraulik reaffirmed this sentiment. The return necessitated another new start; his son had to learn how to hunt in a different land than the one that he had grown up on.⁴⁸ As well, the return would require that he reestablish familial and friendship ties in the community. For his son, however, the return to Inukjuak fostered similar sentiments of alienation and isolation as the relocation to the High Arctic had for Jaybeddie Amaraulik himself.

These difficulties, according to the Inuit, represented a fundamentally flawed approach to the relocation, its objectives, and its implementation. The relocation stripped the Inukjuak Inuit of their sentiments of belonging and security as well as depriving them of the wisdom and lessons of both their language and their elders. This dislocation was felt both in the new communities and upon their return to their original homelands. The hardships imposed from this failure led to a general decline in Inuit welfare. For the Inuit, no improvement in material possessions could compensate for the loss of community relations. Samwillie Elijasialak's father was one of the relocatees; eight months after the relocation, his father died.

It had sunk into his father that it would probably never be possible again for him ever to return to his original homeland and that what he had been told about plentiful wildlife was absolutely not true. He was severely depressed and died of a broken heart.⁴⁹

Central components, which may have been included or considered by the Inuit had they had a more active role in the planning of the relocation, were instead dismissed or ignored. As such, the relocation represented a set of values and beliefs foreign to the Inuit. Within this context, the Inuit consider the relocation to have been unsuccessful. "The relocation decision was made from outside the Inuit community by non-Inuit officials. The Inukjuak Inuit were presented with a decision made by others and consider that the decision was imposed on them."⁵⁰ As a result of the relocation, the participating Inuit were isolated and alienated. Their family and community ties had been broken. The detailed observations and life-skill strategies, which comprised their basic value and belief systems, were not applicable to the new setting in the High Arctic. Relations between the Inukjuak and Pond Inlet Inuit were tense and suspicious. The Inukjuak Inuit were bound within relations of dependency on both the Pond Inlet Inuit and the various government and RCMP officials. Absent in the new community was an inherent sense of trust, security, and interdependence. Reciprocal relations were replaced with individualized motives for survival. The 1953 Relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic had failed to take into consideration central ontological-sociological elements and features essential within the Inuit way of life. As a result, the relocation dislodged and alienated Inuit without providing any

form of communal assistance or support through which the transition may have been eased. According to Inuit indicators, therefore, the relocation was unsuccessful.

Government Assessments of the Success of the 1953 Relocation

In preparation for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the federal government commissioned several reports to assess the 1953 relocation. With the contradictory findings of these reports, the government adopted a position which acknowledged difficulties with regard to details of the relocation but assessed the overall results of the relocation favourably. “After many studies and reports and several changes in its position, the government has acknowledged some failings in the relocation scheme but has insisted that nothing was done that calls for an apology.”⁵¹ The relocation, according to government assessments, was sponsored by good intentions for the best interests of the Inuit at the time. Increased Inuit self-sufficiency, a decrease of reliance on welfare and government assistance, and material improvements with regard to standard of living thus became the strongest indicators of the success of the relocation according to governmental assessments.

The dominant characterization of the Inuit by government officials was that of naïve ‘clients’ who were in desperate need of aid and assistance. This perception was tempered with an idealized notion of traditional Inuit lifestyles.

The Inuit were thus seen, on one hand, as possessing ideal characteristics when leading a traditional life but, on the other hand, as needing to have objective decisions made for them without regard to their own desires because they lacked the ability to resist the ‘temptation’ of welfare.⁵²

This fundamentally dichotomous perception of the Inuit rationalized the relocation objectives and provided legitimization. The belief that ‘traditional’ Inuit lifestyles could revive ideal characteristics of the Inuit, and the creation of self-sufficiency through hunting, eliminating dependence on welfare and government handouts both served as important justifications for the relocation.

The objectives of the relocation were couched in terms of benefits for the Inuit. The government officials involved believed that the relocation would provide the Inuit with a better way of life and opportunities to recreate their traditional lifestyles. Through this, the pressure would be relieved on overpopulated areas. Self-reliance would increase with improved hunting opportunities, and dependence on government assistance would diminish. For example, according to Gordon Robertson, a Deputy Minister of DIAND at the time of the relocation;

The intent of the move was to establish Inuit communities that would be self-reliant based on the traditional life of the Inuit. The intention was for communities that would not be reliant on handouts and would be self-reliant.⁵³

Magnus Gunther, one of the authors commissioned by the government to assess the relocation, defined a similar objective in his review and assessment of the relocation;

The purpose of the relocations was to improve the living conditions of the Inuit of Northern Quebec both by reducing overpopulation there and providing better hunting, trapping, and employment opportunities at the new settlements in the High Arctic.⁵⁴

Government officials pointed to Inuit misery and dependency in Inukjuak. Reports indicated that the area could not support a population the size of Inukjuak. The relocation was thus seen to provide better opportunities in several ways. First, it would relieve geographical pressures on both locations, resulting in better hunting and fishing. Second, the improvements in hunting and fishing would foster Inuit self-sufficiency and therefore decrease dependence on government allowances. Finally, these perceived benefits of the relocation would result in the reemergence of traditional Inuit lifestyles.

The expertise available to the government and its officials provided a wealth of first hand information and knowledge which was utilized in assessing the 'Inuit situation'. For example, Gunther notes that the ground level officials in charge of the relocation had amongst them years of experience in the Arctic.

The planners themselves had years of experience as sailors, traders, public officials, and police officers, who had adequate background and knowledge

of what was needed for survival in the High Arctic, bearing in mind that the new communities were stripped down Model T Fords, not Cadillacs.⁵⁵

These experienced officials provided the government with the ground level advice necessary in the planning and implementation of the relocation. They also furnished information concerning Inuit interest in the relocation. There was an inherent assumption with the relocation that the Inuit would be pleased with the opportunity to relocate. In his submission to the Royal Commission, Graham Rowley, who was secretary to the Advisory Committee on Northern Development at the time of the relocation, stated his belief that; "...the Inuit would be pleased to become more self-reliant and more self-confident owing to the much better hunting."⁵⁶

While government assessments of the relocation made concessions to some inadequacies in planning, overall good intentions were reinforced. In his assessment of the relocation, Magnus Gunther notes; "There were hardships that first year. Housing was inadequate, adjustment to the dark period must have been very difficult as must have been the strangeness and loneliness of the new location."⁵⁷ These difficulties were viewed in light of the apparent successes of the relocation; hunting and trapping were successful, and RCMP reports indicated that the Inuit were both well fed and healthy. In this way, the good intentions which underlined the relocation superceded the difficulties and hardships which were seen as temporary and amendable. According to Doug Wilkinson, a Northern Service Officer of the Arctic Division of DIAND; "The people who planned and implemented the relocation were well-intentioned and concerned for the well-being of the Inuit."⁵⁸ These concerns and good intentions provided strong justifications for the implementation of the 1953 relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic.

In his assessment of the relocation, Magnus Gunther emphasized that the 1950s represented a different context from the modern point of view. Consequently, it was important to place the relocation in the context of the 1950s and judging it by standards which existed at the time of the relocation itself. By those standards, Gunther believed that the relocation must be seen as a considerable success. Even

judged by modern standards, Gunther noted that the relocation must be seen, at least, as a modest success.⁵⁹

In the years following the relocation, government and ground level officials employed various means to assess the relative success of the relocation. Most prominent among these were reviews of the annual RCMP reports on life at the new settlements. These reports commented on everything from the material status of the Inuit to their general disposition, demeanor, and health. These reports were viewed as a good means of assessing the effects and success of the relocation. The status of the new settlements could be compared in terms of their relative prosperity to both other High Arctic locations and also to life at Inukjuak and throughout Northern Quebec during the 1950s. Finally, assessments of the success of the relocation were also performed with regard to the provision of services. The supply of services could be used to evaluate improvements in schooling, health, and the building of community buildings and institutions.⁶⁰

The records kept by government officials represent the primary source of information regarding assessment of the 1953 relocation. The indicators of success, namely improvements in material goods, were well documented in these reports. As well, the first hand experiences of those recording the information provided a legitimate vantage point from which assessments could be made. According to Graham Rowley, secretary to the Advisory Committee on Northern Development at the time of the relocation; "All the reliable evidence points to Inuit satisfaction with the move."⁶¹ Through such mechanisms of assessment, government officials attempted to watch and carefully record improvements in communities following the 1953 relocation.

Reports issued from the new locations offered indications that hunting and fishing were abundant for the needs of the Inuit. "All contemporary accounts...show that the Quebec Inuit were fully satisfied with the amount of game they found at the new locations."⁶² Government reports indicated that the limited diversity of available food was compensated by its abundance. This was contrasted with conditions at Inukjuak in which there was more diversity but not enough to sustain the population

of the community.⁶³ From government reports, it appeared that the necessary elements for fostering Inuit self-sufficiency were in place.

At a basic level, the mere survival of Inuit in the High Arctic was viewed as a positive indicator of the success of the relocation. "The government did not need to use overt force. The imperative of survival achieved the desired objective."⁶⁴ Implications of success were derived from survival as this indicated that Inuit could be induced to live in the High Arctic. According to Joseph Cantley's assessment: "The Inuit should be seen as an asset not a liability, an asset in the mere fact of their adapting to the High Arctic."⁶⁵ The adaptability of the Inuit to the High Arctic relieved the burdens associated with overpopulation at Inukjuak. Survival following the relocation indicated that such a solution was viable in resolving such problems and providing the Inuit with an opportunity to reaffirm their self-sufficiency.

Due to the geographical isolation, health care facilities were primarily inaccessible. Careful attention had to be paid to illness and disease as it could easily decimate an entire population. As such, a central feature of the RCMP annual reports dealt with the health of the Inuit. This was used as an indicator of the success of the relocation. Scarce game and fish, for example, would be reflected in the physical health and well being of the Inuit. For the most part, these reports were positive. For example, according to Milton Freeman's assessment; "Viewed in the government's terms, there is no doubt that Grise Fiord residents enjoyed improved standards of health and physical well-being as a result of their move to that new location."⁶⁶

Government reports also depicted detailed demographic characteristics of the population. These characteristics were compared with other Arctic communities. Emphasized within this was the overall population in each settlement. An increase in the population, whether through birth or through mobility, would indicate that the relocation had provided the Inuit with an adequate location which was beginning to grow and flourish. The primary source of population increase was the moving of more Inuit families to the High Arctic. Such moves began in the year following the relocation. "The fact that additional families came to the North has been said to indicate the success of the project."⁶⁷ While their move may reflect the importance of

the integrity of relationships more than the physical success of a new community, the reason for the move was not as important as the physical population increase of the communities. According to government perceptions, the increase of population in the new settlements by families moving from Inukjuak demonstrated the success and viability of the communities in the new locations.

Government assessments relied heavily on reports of material improvements in the new locations. According to Magnus Gunther; "...although more lonely and socially isolated (not by any means inconsequential matters), they nevertheless were doing in most ways materially better than they had at Inukjuak."⁶⁸ The perceived overpopulation at Inukjuak had created greater demand than supplies could meet. The results were poverty and dependence at Inukjuak. In the new locations, however, the available resources could exceed the demand of the settlement residents. According to Milton Freeman; "The small number of households in the community allowed significant physical improvements to be made to each, utilizing surplus materials within the community."⁶⁹

Income was also utilized as an indicator of the standard of living and well-being in the new settlements. The income statistics reported by the RCMP, in order to determine the relative affluence in the new location, were compared both with income statistics of other Arctic communities as well as those across Canada. This comparison, notes Magnus Gunther, pointed to the favourable improvements for the Inuit in their standard of living following the relocation.

If dollar income was in 1954 also worth only 40% of total family income at Grise Fiord in 1953, then average family income in dollars and in kind would have been \$2708, close to the median Canadian income...it is apparent that there was a dramatic improvement in standard of living."⁷⁰

The increase in income led to improvements in the material possessions of the Inuit. As there was more opportunity for hunting and fishing, disposable income also increased as money did not have to be used to buy food and supplies as it had been in Inukjuak. The increase in disposable income could be put towards improvements in the ease and efficiency of hunting. In his assessment of the relocation, Magnus Gunther notes; "All the men had good dog teams. All, also, were in possession of, or

part time owners of, boats and engines.”⁷¹ The material possessions of the relocated Inuit were compared with those possessed by other Inuit communities in the north. As a measurement standard, the presence of material possessions was used as an indicator of the success of the project;

Compared with other settlements in the Arctic the Resolute Bay Eskimo is fairly well off and continues to possess articles that are not owned by a good many other Eskimos in the North. There are washing machines, tape recorders, record players, irons, sewing machines, transistor radios and 35mm cameras.⁷²

The Inuit were relocated from a poverty-ridden area to a settlement which could boast material wealth and possessions. The success of the relocation, cautions Gunther, was not devoid of shortcomings and misfortunes, but these must be weighed against the important improvements and advantages offered as a result of the relocation;

Despite the mistakes, the penny-pinching, the discontent expressed from time to time, the benevolent boarding school atmosphere at Resolute in the early years, the delays and the frustrations of living in small communities far from original kith and kin, these projects must be seen as a limited but not insignificant success story.⁷³

Ontological-Sociological versus Functional Depictions of Community

The fundamentally different perceptions underlying assessments of the relocation between the government and the Inuit reveal an inherent dichotomy between their perceptions of community. For the Inuit, the central and essential elements for assessment reflect ontological-sociological features of community membership. For the government and its officials, the relocation must be viewed in terms of its functional implications and effects as these were the mechanisms used to assess the viability of a community.

At the heart of this dichotomous presentation of community between the government and the Inuit were the fundamentally different lifestyles and worldviews. The government, despite their activity in the north, maintained a distance from the Inuit. In Hugh Brody’s observations of government officials in the north, he noted;

“They lived at the edge of Eskimo society, distanced from it by their purposes, by their lifestyle and by their central interest in transforming rather than adapting to the peoples they encountered.”⁷⁴ The emphasis on functional endeavours prohibited consideration of the ontological-sociological systems which underlined Inuit community relations and their contributions to survival in such a harsh climate. With preconceptions of societal stagnation and demise, government activity was premised on modernizing and improving Inuit lifestyles.

Because they went north with commercial or ideological motives, they were intent on radical changes in Eskimo life. Many features of Eskimo culture and personality were inevitably the objects of their criticism and distaste...⁷⁵

Based on expertise and experience in the north, government sentiments of paternalism prohibited affording legitimacy to the ontological-sociological life lessons and knowledge which formed the basis of the Inuit way of life. Without consideration of these, the foundation upon which the relocation was premised was inherently devoid of an understanding of the people it affected.

Governmental expertise and experience in the north were assumed to provide information applicable across the Arctic. In this, there was little consideration given to the fundamental differences which distinguished communities and regions in the north. For example, Gordon Robertson, the Deputy Minister of DIAND, presented to the Royal Commission a view of the relocation which drew no distinctions between communities. “His view of the relocation reflects a belief that life in the High Arctic communities was satisfactory and no different for the Inuit in many respects than life at other Arctic communities.”⁷⁶ Without reference to the fundamental ontological-sociological differences between communities, such an assumption of similarity encouraged assessment of the relocation in functional terms where simple survival and adaptation could be used as measurements of success.

The differences between the Inukjuak and Pond Inlet Inuit created difficulties in the relocation. For example, Minnie Allakariallak stated; “The Pond Inlet Inuit thought that the Inukjuak Inuit were speaking English because their dialects were so different.”⁷⁷ The rich language of each Inuit group was specific to their environment and their own community history; it illustrated a continuously changing and evolving

historical and present account of elements essential to Inuit life in a particular community.

The inclusion of Inuit from Pond Inlet in the relocation plan was aimed at easing the transition of the Inuit from Inukjuak to the High Arctic. It represented governmental good intentions in the attempt to foster adaptation to the Arctic. It was, however, devoid of consideration of the fundamental ontological and sociological differences which existed between the two groups. As such, the inclusion of Inuit from Pond Inlet became a strong inhibitor to the success of the relocation plan. The tensions and differences between the two groups were noted by both the Inuit from Inukjuak as well as within government reports. For example, according to the RCMP Annual Report for 1966:

Morale is generally quite high, with the only obstacle being the tendency for the two groups of people to cling to habits or desires carried with them from their former settlements.⁷⁸

The functional utility of the Inuit from Pond Inlet was to provide information and guidance to the Inukjuak Inuit in their transition to the High Arctic. For the Inukjuak Inuit, however, the inclusion of Inuit from Pond Inlet fostered suspicion and tension which prohibited the formation of community relations in the new locations.

The Inukjuak Inuit were not told that they would be joined by Pond Inlet Inuit or why the Pond Inlet Inuit would be involved. This aspect of the plan failed to take into account the disruptive effect of putting different groups together in isolated communities.⁷⁹

The Inuit from Pond Inlet were accustomed to life within the High Arctic. Their language, beliefs and values were reflective of their own community. Their inclusion disrupted the commonality of beliefs and values which was shared among the Inukjuak Inuit. The Inukjuak Inuit were forced to rely and depend on the knowledge and guidance of the Pond Inlet Inuit. This transformed the many-sided relationships that had existed at Inukjuak into relations of dependency. This dependency, coupled with the resentment and suspicion with which the two groups viewed each other, undermined the establishment of a system of reciprocity and relations of

interdependence. Forty years after the relocation, at the time of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the two groups were still divided; “Though cultural exchange has occurred since immigration, there exists no doubt in the minds of Grise Fiord people that they comprise two distinct social and cultural groups...”⁸⁰

In its investigation of the 1953 Relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples emphasized the difference in the methods used to present the historical material between the Inuit and government officials. For the government, reliance was placed on a wealth of information recorded in reports by the RCMP and other government agencies. For the Inuit, information was documented in an oral tradition.⁸¹ With the advantage of hindsight, the Royal Commission cautions that; “Each approach to history- oral and written- must be treated with respect; it would not be appropriate to dismiss oral history simply because of an apparent conflict with the written record.”⁸²

At the time of the relocation, however, the only accounts afforded legitimacy were those provided in written form by government agencies. Inuit accounts and grievances were, for the most part, dismissed. This sentiment was alluded to by Graham Rowley in a report assessing the success of the relocation; “All the reliable evidence points to Inuit satisfaction with the move.”⁸³ The implication here is that ‘reliable’ evidence would not be that of complaints or expressions of dissatisfaction registered by the Inuit as these would not be considered quantifiably legitimate sources of information. With governmental emphasis on functional traits and characteristics, the increase of material possessions and capital were viewed as indicators of improvements to the standard of living for the Inuit in the new locations. These restrictions do not take into consideration the Inuit community as a legitimate and necessary element of well-being. There is no reference to the value of direct and many-sided interactions among members who share common beliefs and values. Also absent is the role played by reciprocal relations in building the self-confidence and well-being of Inuit within a community.

In addition, the assessment of Inuit satisfaction with the relocation by governmental agencies was premised on a limited understanding of both Inuit

behaviour and psychology. While government assessments relayed the image of a complacent Inuit, this may not have presented an accurate depiction; "A stranger may see a smiling and attentive Inuk but the underlying emotions may be quite different than that which is expressed."⁸⁴ Without an adequate understanding of Inuit behaviour, incorrect assumptions of complacency and satisfaction were drawn and utilized as measurements of success. Accordingly; "Expressions of apparent satisfaction cannot, however, be taken at face value. It is clear that the situation that had been created was not one designed to facilitate free and open communication."⁸⁵

Limiting the sources of information used in the assessment of the relocation provided a restricted view of its effects and implications; it allowed only information directly relevant to the government's objectives without considering the important ontological-sociological implications of isolation and alienation from community relations and membership. The primary objective of the relocation, according to government reports, was the establishment of Inuit self-sufficiency through the creation of settlements in the High Arctic. This self-sufficiency was dependent upon good hunting and fishing, and decreasing dependence on a monetary income and government allowances.⁸⁶ Such presentation of the objectives of the relocation consistently omitted an ontological-sociologically based understanding of what the Inuit believed to be necessary to achieve such self-sufficiency.

Even if the people were unhappy or had a desire to return home, they would still have to hunt. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that officials were reporting consistently that the relocatees were doing well while at the same time the relocatees speak of their unhappiness and their desire to return home.⁸⁷

The government's functionally premised presentation of necessary elements for self-sufficiency negated features central to Inuit happiness and well being. With consideration to only the physical and manifest activities of the Inuit, there was no opportunity to establish the importance of familial and friendship relationships and their centrality to the Inuit community.

The designated locations for the resettlement were selected on the basis of reports indicating necessary features for survival. Excursions to the locations revealed

adequate fresh water and an abundance of fish and game. Positive assessments of the geography of the new locations provided indications to the government that the transition would be minimal for the Inuit. For example, following a trip to the High Arctic, Bishop Donald Marsh of the Anglican Church noted;

Here no mosquitoes plague them; no blowflies ever contaminated their cached meat; vegetation was lush in the few valleys fed by the mountain streams...the grounded ice bergs...provided an abundance of fresh water both winter and summer...this indeed is a paradise for these people from the southern arctic.⁸⁸

Such assessments, however, were based on perceptions of value and worth foreign to the Inuit. For the Inuit, a lack of pestering insects and availability of water aided in daily life but did not comprise elements of value or worth. The centrality of family and community to Inuit life overshadowed any material improvement in environment. As well, such governmental assessments did not recognize the intertwining of history, family, and tradition with geographical location.

People who have been archaeologically known to have inhabited this territory for more than 5000 years recall this long experience of relatedness with their environment through their naming, whereby the name is the soul and the soul is the name and they live in a matrix of inter-relatedness with each other, whereby people never felt alone or in unfamiliar circumstances or surroundings.⁸⁹

The rich language of the Inuit contained a detailed vocabulary and lessons pertinent to the geography of their homeland. The new environment fostered more hardship than had been anticipated as the Inuit were forced to learn lessons necessary and relevant to the new locations. Without consideration to the ontological-sociological implications of geography and location, government assessments of this aspect of the relocation failed to present an adequate depiction of the effects of the relocation.

The functional basis of the relocation was premised on governmental good intentions for the Inuit who were perceived as incapable of making rational and informed decisions. These good intentions, coupled with the expertise and experience of ground level officials, provided justifications and rationalizations for the relocation. For Magnus Gunther, the dichotomy of cultural and ideological differences between

the government and the Inuit are not sufficient to label the relocation a failure. "The fact that their understanding of the project was far from complete does not mean that it was non-voluntary nor that it was an unreasonable decision to make."⁹⁰ The relocation itself, however, was created and implemented without participation or consideration of those whose lives it changed. The value of Inuit lifestyles was discredited and in this, assessments were inherently narrow and biased, representing only functional portrayals of success and well being. "The government did not step back and begin with a reassessment of the social, political and cultural context in which the relocation took place and then consider the complaint broadly in that context."⁹¹ Without such considerations, the relocation severely altered ontological-sociological relations central to the Inuit way of life. According to the findings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, governmental good intentions can not compensate for the negative effects felt by the Inuit as a result of the relocation;

The concern of the government for Inuit welfare was undoubtedly a serious one, and the difficulties facing administrators were significant. The government did what it believed best for the Inuit in the institutional context of the time. However, in the result [sic], the relocation plan was an ill-conceived solution that was inhumane and damaging in its effects.⁹²

Endnotes

1. Inukjuak is the current Inuit name of the settlement; at the time of the relocation, the community was called Port Harrison.
2. "A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation," *The High Arctic Relocation*. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1994), p. xi.
3. Hugh Brody. *The People's Land: Whites and the Eastern Arctic*. (New York: Penguin Books, 1983), p. 21.
4. Magnus Gunther. *The 1953 Relocations of the Inukjuak Inuit to the High Arctic: A Documentary Analysis and Evaluation*. 2nd ed. (under contract to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1993.), p. 81.
5. *Ibid.* p. 82.
6. "A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation," p. 50.
7. Brody, p. 30.
8. "Summary of Supporting Information," *The High Arctic Relocation*. Vol. 2. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 128.
9. *Ibid.* p. 253.
10. *Ibid.* p. 132.
11. *Ibid.* p. 89.
12. "A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation," p. 79.
13. *Ibid.* p. 71.
14. "Summary of Supporting Information." Vol. 2, p. 254.
15. "A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation," p. 81.
16. *Ibid.* p. 1.
17. It is fortunate that the ship could not get through as there was no game spotted around Cape Herschel for the entirety of the winter.
18. "A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation," p. 95.
19. Milton M. R. Freeman, "The Grise Fiord Project," in *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol. 5. Ed. David Damas. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1984. p. 676-682), p. 677.
20. According to Frank Edwards, a G'wichin Native from Aklavik in the Northwest Territories, a medium sized family would require between 8-12 caribou a year, depending on the size.
21. Freeman, p. 678.
22. "A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation," p. 100.
23. *Ibid.* p. 90.
24. "Summary of Supporting Information." Vol. 2, p. 152.
25. *Ibid.* p. 354.
26. Submission to the Commission by Martha Flaherty. Cited in "Summary of Supporting Information." *The High Arctic Relocation*. Vol. 1. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 77.
27. "Summary of Supporting Information." *The High Arctic Relocation*. Vol. 1. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 33.
28. When a child is born, the choice of her name may reflect particular characteristics of other members of the community, present or past. Through this, the child and her parents continue to be linked with that person.
29. "Summary of Supporting Information." Vol. 1, p. 28.
30. "A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation," p. 11.
31. Brody, p. 37.

32. Presentation to the Commission, cited in "A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation," *The High Arctic Relocation*. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 11.
33. Brody, p. 137.
34. "A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation," p. 10.
35. Submission to the Commission by Markoosie Patsauq. Cited in "Summary of Supporting Information," *The High Arctic Relocation*. Vol. 1. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 94.
36. Alan Rudolph Marcus. *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic*. (London: U P of New England, 1995), p. 207.
37. *Ibid.* p. 223.
38. Submission to the Commission by Anna Nungaq. Cited in "Summary of Supporting Information," *The High Arctic Relocation*. Vol. 1. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 60.
39. "A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation," p. 34.
40. *Ibid.* p. 95.
41. Submission to the Commission by John Amagoalik. Cited in "Summary of Supporting Information," *The High Arctic Relocation*. Vol. 1. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 89.
42. "Summary of Supporting Information." Vol. 1, p. 18.
43. Submission to the Commission by Sarah Amagoalik. Cited in "Summary of Supporting Information," *The High Arctic Relocation*. Vol. 1. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 73.
44. Submission to the Commission by Samwillie Elijasialak. Cited in "Summary of Supporting Information," *The High Arctic Relocation*. Vol. 1. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 47.
45. Submission to the Commission by Johnny Epoo. Cited in "Summary of Supporting Information," *The High Arctic Relocation*. Vol. 1. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 111.
46. Submission to the Commission by Bobby Patsauq. Cited in "Summary of Supporting Information," *The High Arctic Relocation*. Vol. 1. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 214.
47. Submission to the Commission by Lizzie Amagoalik. Cited in "Summary of Supporting Information," *The High Arctic Relocation*. Vol. 1. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1994), p. 105.
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Chapter Three: *Newfoundland's 1965 Household Resettlement Initiative*

This case study depicts the centralization of Newfoundland outports in the 1965 Household Resettlement Program.¹ Attempts to modernize and industrialize Newfoundland were arrested by the inaccessibility of the outports. Service delivery was, at best, difficult. This hindered, for example, the ability of young people to attain a decent education. As well, poverty was rampant in the outports; government indications revealed a high dependence on welfare and unemployment insurance benefits. Employment opportunities in the outports were minimal; the inshore fishery was often the only employer, and this led to an independent and uncertain life. Resettlement objectives were twofold. First, the expansion of designated growth centres would serve to improve industrial development in Newfoundland by increasing the size and productivity of the labour force. Second, resettlement would offer better opportunities for service provision, including access to both educational and medical facilities. This resettlement effort exemplified the dichotomy between functional portrayals of community in economic terms and ontological-sociological perceptions of community given by outport residents.

Despite such rationalizations concerning the minimal standard of life in the outports, residents had survived centuries of severe weather and harsh climates. They were a rugged and independent people. Community relations formed the foundation for survival of these outport communities. The geographic isolation of the outports necessitated direct interactions. The need for self-sufficiency created skills and abilities in each member and fostered multidimensional relations within the community. These relations furnished an inherent system of interdependence and reciprocity. Taken as a whole, these elements of community life in the outports became a part of a common system of beliefs and values specific to each outport community. Consequently, many outport residents were not interested in the Household Resettlement Plan.

Government assessments of the resettlement, premised on functional and economic standards, were inherently antithetical to assessments made by resettled outport residents which consisted primarily of ontological-sociological considerations. The functional approach promoted business and industry and increased the provision of services in Newfoundland. For resettled outport residents, these improvements were achieved at the expense of outport independence and the loss of a way of life. Without consideration of the ontological-sociological implications of security and well-being derived from membership in an outport community, the success of the Household Resettlement Program could only be measured in terms relative to its functional objectives without the capacity to understand or include the negative ontological-sociological implications of resettlement.

This chapter will begin with an historical overview of the Household Resettlement Program, including its planning and implementation. Consideration of the ontological-sociological perceptions and governmental depictions of community will then be examined. In each of these sections, the emphasis will be on how each approach emphasizes different indicators of the success or failure of the relocation. This chapter will conclude with a comparison of the perceptions of community between outport residents and government officials in order to depict how a common experience can yield differing perceptions of community and that these perceptions, when used alone, prohibit an adequate understanding of the implications of community membership.

Historical Overview of the 1965 Resettlement of Newfoundland Outports

Despite Britain's claim on Newfoundland's fishing industry following Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition in 1583, independent fishermen continued to exploit the rich coastal waters. As industry in North America grew and Newfoundland became an important strategic location, these independent fishermen were increasingly viewed as a threat. Merchants lobbied the British Parliament to preserve their monopoly by passing a law forbidding permanent residence in Newfoundland.² With

the difficulty of patrolling 6000 miles of coastline, however, independent fishermen began to settle in coves and on coastal islands, establishing Newfoundland's outpost communities.

The Second World War encouraged the development of industry and technology in Newfoundland. As the closest point to Europe, Newfoundland held strategic importance to both Canada and the United States.

The construction and maintenance of American bases in Newfoundland and Labrador during World War II developed a growing consciousness among the people of the disadvantages of living in small isolated settlements, and periodically commuting long distances to and from work centres.³

Such increasing awareness of the promises offered by technologically based industrialization encouraged the government of Joey Smallwood to sponsor modernization and development.

When Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949, however, obstacles to modernization and industrialization were both diverse and plentiful. Newfoundland had only 150 kilometres of paved highways.⁴ Its economy was heavily dependent on an inshore fishery whose technology had changed little in centuries. A significant proportion of Newfoundland's population continued to reside in the small coastal outports;

Outport Newfoundland may be taken to consist of some 800 settlements with populations ranging from under 50 to over 1000, and comprising some 200,000 people of the Province's population of half a million.⁵

Development was hindered by the character of settlement in outpost communities. The difficulties of service provision, including education, prevented outpost residents from benefiting from and contributing to technological advances. As such, government assessments saw the outports as poverty ridden and without potential in the industrial age.

The inshore fishery was the economic base for the outports. Seasonal changes, technology, and falling fish prices hindered fishing. As well, fishing as a livelihood was demanding and difficult; "The technology is rather simple, labour intensive rather than capital intensive, and has not changed drastically since 'grandfather's days'."⁶ Survival for outpost residents was dependent on their capacity to perform a variety of

tasks; each outport community was necessarily self-sufficient. As the inshore fishery began to collapse, however, the capacity for outport survival began to diminish and various government disbursements began to replace the fishery as the main source of income.⁷

In order to foster economic and industrial development, the Smallwood government implemented a Resettlement Plan in 1953 designed to provide a small amount of financial assistance to outport communities that wished to resettle. "Resettlement payments were first made in Newfoundland in 1953, when grants of up to \$150 per family were paid to help whole communities relocate onto the expanding highway network."⁸ To receive assistance, this plan required that all members of the community be willing to move. The main objective of this first resettlement plan was to improve the provision of services. There were, however, no restrictions placed on where residents could move. "Indeed, it might be said that people moved from one marginal community to another, which although more 'central' often had a poorer resource base."⁹ Although the program was designed to foster industrialization through encouraging centralization, the provision of government allowances and relief payments often became greater in the larger centres.

By the early 1960s, the failure of the first Household Resettlement Plan was acknowledged and research on a new plan began. Despite the attempts of the 1953 plan, few outport residents took advantage of the centralization funds available. As such, outport communities were still considered hindrances to the economic development of Newfoundland. The large number of small rural settlements housed uneducated populations and younger generations did not have adequate access to schools. Older generations clung to traditional fishing methods and means of survival. The small communities in isolated settings made it difficult to attract teachers willing to commit themselves to life in the outports.¹⁰ Illiteracy was highlighted as a primary hindrance to industry and development. "In 1961, 18 percent of all Newfoundlanders and 26.7 percent of Newfoundland's rural population were illiterate, giving Newfoundland twice the national illiteracy rate."¹¹ Moreover, the cost involved in training workers to perform in an industrial capacity was immense and prohibitive.

At the same time, there was an ever increasing dependence on government allowances and benefits in the outports. “The most important of the transfer payments, in terms of its effect on the operations of the local economy, if not always for the individual household, is the unemployment insurance benefit (UIB).”¹² Introduced in 1957, UIB quickly became essential to fishermen. After filling an annual quota, fishermen were eligible for benefits. Once the quota was achieved, there was little incentive for fishermen to continue fishing. Unemployment benefits provided fishermen with the leisure time needed for ‘household’ work, such as cutting firewood, fixing shutters, or general maintenance. Governmental perceptions of dependency on unemployment and relief increased the Smallwood government’s resolve to improve on the 1953 relocation plan in order to foster industrialization and modernization in the province. “And its principal economic argument was that it was patently unwise for the government to be subsidizing people’s existence in many very poor and very small outports.”¹³

The 1965 Household Resettlement Plan was an attempt to encourage urbanization and industrialization while eliminating the problems associated with the 1953 resettlement plan.

The plan stemmed from the realization by both federal and provincial governments that opportunities for improvement of income and living standards of fishermen would continue to be limited so long as fishermen remained dispersed in several hundred small fishing settlements.¹⁴

The 1965 resettlement plan sought to alleviate the problem of people selecting other marginal communities offering few improvements from the one that they were abandoning. “The danger has always been that while people might be moved to better services, the adopted community might be as much marked for decline as the one they left.”¹⁵ Under the new resettlement plan, potential relocatees were required to submit a petition stating the community into which they wished to move.¹⁶ This proposed location was considered by a Resettlement Committee and rejected if a suitable, designated ‘growth centre’ had not been selected. This process would continue until

the residents had chosen one of the approved sites for resettlement. Only relocations to these growth centres would be eligible for the plan's financial assistance. The 1953 household grants were increased substantially in the 1965 plan to encourage more outport residents to resettle. "The incentive was hard cash, more than most outport Newfoundlanders had ever had in their pockets before: a basic \$1000 grant plus \$200 for each member of the family up to a maximum of \$3200."¹⁷ In addition, travel expenses and the cost of moving household items were eligible for reimbursement. Following the abandonment of an outport community, the land became the property of the Crown in order to prevent year round resettlement.¹⁸ Fishing and other seasonal activities in the outports would be allowed only with the provision of a permit.

In order to further increase outport resettlement, the Smallwood government made no commitments to further developments in outports not designated as growth centres. In this way, outporters were encouraged to relocate. "Residents of small, isolated communities were both encouraged to move through resettlement grants and discouraged from staying by the Provincial Government's failure to improve community facilities."¹⁹ The Smallwood government hoped to increase interest in relocation by providing incentives and greater personal opportunities for employment and education. In this way, the 1965 Household Resettlement Plan contained a duality of purpose; "...between the provision of better social services on the one hand and industrialization and urbanization on the other."²⁰

The Household Resettlement Plan had three main results in Newfoundland. First, it reduced the number of communities in Newfoundland; about 250 communities were resettled as a result of the plan. Second, the number of persons living in communities of over 1000 was increased. Finally, in response to the Resettlement Plan, the number of local governments in Newfoundland increased from 67 in 1960 to 223 in 1971.²¹

Outport Residents' Assessments of the 1965 Household Resettlement Plan

For the outport residents themselves, the resettlement employed a different set of value judgements, involved an unacceptable degree of coercion, and resulted in both

a loss of independence and a traditional way of life which had sustained populations in rural Newfoundland for centuries.²² According to Ralph Matthews in his assessment of the resettlement of Newfoundland outports; “Too often policy is high-handed simply because it is based on values which are different from those of the people it affects.”²³

Government goals of urbanization and industrialization appeared to limit consideration of the outport way of life as a central component in the resettlement scheme. The government’s blanket categorization of outports underestimated the distinctions between them. While outports reflected contextual similarities, each represented a distinctive community with a specific set of shared beliefs and values, evolving in relation to the specific geography and as a composite of the relations among the community members. The outport residents’ shared sets of values and beliefs were often antithetical to the goals of industry and capitalism. “Their values are in direct opposition to many of the values of the planners, and the goals they have for their lives are quite different from those which the planners wish to thrust upon them.”²⁴ The community attachments encapsulated a traditional way of living. Many residents were determined to remain in the outports, despite promises of better and easier lives in urban settings.

Failure for them would mean moving their families to live permanently in Toronto, St. John’s or Corner Brook. Success, on the other hand, has come to be associated with the ability to supplement traditional sources of income with outside seasonal employment, so that one’s family can live in their rural community throughout the year.²⁵

For outport residents, the viability of the community was represented through its community relations. Geographically isolated, relations among outport community members were necessarily direct and many-sided. Members were able to rely on each other in times of need, fostering a system of reciprocity. With these elements intact, outport residents viewed their own communities as the best place for them to live. According to Ralph Matthews;

Even communities which outsiders consider to be without economic viability may be considered by local residents to be both economically viable and socially vital places in which to live. Their residents are absolutely convinced that 'there's no better place' for them.²⁶

Despite promises offered through the Household Resettlement Plan, many outport residents opposed the plan and were willing to abandon modern conveniences in order to remain in their communities.²⁷

Community membership, for the outport residents, was more important than the material and financial advantages offered by resettlement. The benefits of living in an outport had little to do with monetary considerations. Advantages related to participating in a way of life which promoted the development of identity and offered security and belonging. According to a fisherman quoted by Noel Iverson and Ralph Matthews; "You can't value lost friendship- and someone comes along and offers you one hundred dollars for it!"²⁸ For many of the resettled outport residents, government subsidization provided cash for a way of life on which no value could be placed; dislocating the outport residents from their communities for economic and industrial advantage was a foreign concept. "In a community where one is not expected to profit at another's expense there is little incentive to engage in vigorous economic enterprise."²⁹

Government presentations of the disadvantages of outport life were heavily premised on employment statistics revealing a high percentage of unemployment in the outports. According to outport residents, however, these statistics misrepresented the employment realities in the outports. The statistics were compared with employment in urban centres. According to Cato Wadel, outport residents viewed the independent employment opportunities in the outports more favourably than the promises of employment in urban sectors; "While it may indeed be difficult for many to 'eke out an existence' in the inshore fishery at present, it is still more difficult for many Newfoundlanders to find employment in the urban-industrial sector."³⁰ In the outports, residents spent most of their time engaged in fishing and fishing related activities such as repairing boats or nets. Bad weather provided opportunities to

engage in other essential activities such as house repair, wood cutting, or food gathering. As Ralph Matthews notes;

Even when they may not have a job, they are probably building a house, cutting logs, helping out at the saw mill, setting a few vegetables or doing one of the myriad other things which have enabled people to survive before cash and government.³¹

The traditional subsistence economy strengthened the outport community; time spent engaged in non-wage activities provided residents with social opportunities which reinforced community relations. The value of money in the outports was secondary to time and skill. As well, the need for cash was greatly diminished in the outports. There were no cars or mortgages and the cost of house repairs, vegetables, and fish was absorbed by independent activity. "Thus every dollar can be said to be worth about a third more in the outport than in an urban area where normally all these things have to be paid for in cash."³²

Outport residents also noted that the high proportion of welfare receipt was misunderstood. Rather than welfare functioning as a necessity in the alleviation of poverty, in the outports, it functioned more as a safety net; it was guaranteed income in an industry offering no guarantees.

People on welfare in the type of communities described still have some subsistence 'income' and welfare payments simply supplement this by guaranteeing that each household receives a certain level of cash each year.³³

As well, receipt of welfare did not necessarily indicate that a person was not working. For outport residents, the receipt of welfare allowed the time to engage in subsistence, non-wage activities such as cutting firewood or repairing the house;

...the residents manage to maintain the values of hard work and industry at the same time as they accept welfare payments...it would seem that they regard this as a more 'honest' form of earning a livelihood than working for the government and thus being dependent on it for all of their income.³⁴

Residents were able to survive in the face of adversity from their own hard work. Rather than fostering independent activity, this rugged necessity encouraged the formation of deep networks of community relations and systems of reciprocity in the outports. These direct and multidimensional interactions also reinforced the

commonality of beliefs and values. Receipt of welfare did not point to irredeemable poverty as success was not measured in terms of monetary gain or security. Instead, receipt of welfare provided outport residents with a greater opportunity to engage in necessary non-wage work. "Government assistance is regarded simply as another source of income to be 'harvested'."³⁵ The capacity to engage in such non-wage work, fostered through the receipt of welfare, also increased the amount of social time available to outport residents. Thus, according to outport residents, the receipt of welfare pointed to community vitality and perseverance.

External perceptions of poverty and unemployment in the outports were not sufficient reasons to encourage outport residents to participate in the Household Resettlement Program. Outport life enabled residents to work independently, providing for their own survival through minimal wage-work and supplemented with non-cash subsistence activities. In their description of outport residents, Harry Thurston and Stephen Hunter note;

It must be remembered that he does not have car expenses nor, in most cases, a mortgage. He hunts, fishes and cuts his own firewood. He is a self-styled carpenter, plumber and electrician, and if the job requires more than two hands, the neighbours can be counted upon.³⁶

The lack of a monetary economy in the outports also diminished the appeal of urban centres. A resettled outport resident would need a job to provide more money than that offered by fishing in order to pay for items which had been accomplished by independent subsistence work in the outports. For example, resettlement would necessitate money for a down payment which was never needed in the outport as homes were built by hand using surplus materials. According to Cato Wadel, an outport resident would need to earn about \$4500 annually in an urban centre to realize an equivalent lifestyle to that in the outport;

Many unskilled jobs in the urban centres, for example, in the fish plants, do not supply this level of income: the hourly rate of \$1.25, the latest fish plant offer, gives \$2800.00 for a forty-five hour week, fifty weeks of the year.³⁷

For outport residents, uncertain and low-paying job opportunities in urban centres offered little competition for life in the outports where independent activity was always

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For outport residents, uncertain and low-paying job opportunities in urban centres offered little competition for life in the outports where independent activity was always available. As well, a mass exodus of outport residents into designated growth centres created high competition for a minimal number of available jobs. As explained by Peter Gard; "Centralization in its present form is doomed to create more unemployment in Newfoundland which has already one of the highest urban unemployment rates in the Western world."³⁸ Faced for the first time with a genuine need for cash and monetary income, the increased potential for unemployment in urban centres discouraged many outport residents from participating in the 1965 Household Resettlement Program. While welfare constituted a high proportion of income in the outports, this money was largely used to provide residents with luxuries that could not be self produced. In this way, assistance was a choice rather than a necessity. In the urban centres, however, without adequate job opportunities or the capacity to engage in activities to provide for their own needs, resettled outport residents were forced to accept government assistance. "Indeed, some of these [growth centre] communities, although providing better services, might be termed welfare communities with much greater force than any outport proper."³⁹

The strong sentiments of independence which characterized outport communities were viewed in terms of freedom from government interference rather than from other community members. These relations provided belonging and security in spite of the geographic isolation of the outports. As Peter Gard noted; "Isolation, after all, is as much a state of mind as it is a geographic condition."⁴⁰ The strong interpersonal relations in the outports created unique community traits and characteristics. These unique traits were reflected in the language, attitudes, and beliefs of the community. It was these traits which separated outports rather than geographic isolation and distance. For example, in his study of the Mountain Cove outport, Ralph Matthews found that;

Mountain Cove was isolated until the road from Poplar Point was constructed thirteen years ago. The community is no longer geographically isolated, but it remains socially isolated. Few residents have much to do with nearby communities.⁴¹

The unique qualities and characteristics distinguishing outport communities fostered sentiments of belonging within a set of interdependent relationships. The social basis of outport relations supported survival in the outports. "Small, isolated communities do have a closely-knit identity. The members are usually more self-reliant, and yet always ready to give communal assistance to alleviate individual distress."⁴² Outport life was filled with community interaction and involvement. In addition, the necessity of self-sufficiency in the outports required community members to be able to perform a variety of tasks and activities. In times of need, other outport residents could be counted on to provide assistance, materials, or advice. According to an outport resident of Grande Terre: "You could go to anyone at all and he will come. They're good like that around here. Around here they helps one another you know."⁴³

The underlying sentiments of independence and interdependence minimized the need for local government or local leaders. As each community member was both independently in control of his own life and interdependently responsible for community welfare and survival, decisions were made collectively and informally.

Most outport communities have never had the need to take such collective decisions and have therefore never developed any organizational devices to this end, e.g. some form of community council or local government body.⁴⁴

As such, when resettlement was presented to outport communities, leaders were typically advocates who had the least to lose from the move. For example, outport residents whose sole source of income was welfare lost little by relocating to an area which provided better job opportunities. Factions emerged dividing those who could profit from resettlement and those who had little to gain. This created deep divisions in many outports, severely altering community relationships. Resettlement, in this way, eroded many of the interpersonal systems of reciprocity which formed the basis of the strength and survival of the outports:

...what was lost in every move were such social credit as self-help and such social capital as local group support- which the government never regarded as real capital. These were precious and self-renewing assets which, once lost, could never be restored.⁴⁵

Resettled outport residents who wished to continue fishing were faced with new difficulties. Local residents were already well accustomed to the intricacies of fishing in the area and were unlikely to willingly divulge information which would reduce their own productivity. While the number of fishermen increased in these areas, the fish did not; "The fish...stayed where they had always been, out by the isolated headlands and islands."⁴⁶ The increased competition for limited fish stocks made fishing as a livelihood even more difficult to sustain in the urban growth centres. For other resettled outport residents, fish plants offered the only source of employment. This work, however, did not pay well and was not highly valued. According to Cato Wadel: "The work carries little occupational prestige and involves for fishermen the loss of a highly valued independence."⁴⁷

The subsistence economy of the outports enabled residents to provide for their own needs, often with the help of their neighbours, with very little dependence on cash income. The Household Resettlement Plan resulted in the loss of independence for many of those who were relocated. For example, in the designated growth centres, previous residents would have taken the best plots of land. In addition, lot sizes were small in order to maximize the population density in the growth centres. The relocation resulted in an inability to produce much of the food which had been grown in the outports; "...almost every household grew enough vegetables for its own use on the island; few grow any vegetables now. Most complain bitterly that they cannot afford to purchase additional land for this purpose."⁴⁸ In the urban growth centres, the monetary economy necessitated that each resettled outport resident abandon subsistence in favour of capital gain. According to Cato Wadel; "It cannot be denied that a large number of resettlers have benefited little from their move, and hundreds have been forced for the first time in their lives to take welfare."⁴⁹ In the outports, welfare provided additional, although not always necessary income. It allowed residents to purchase luxury items. This income also provided the outport residents with leisure and social time.

In the resettled growth centres, welfare allowances were needed for survival rather than to provide luxuries and leisure time. Strains on fishing and the low paying jobs at the fish plants did not provide enough for all residents in the new urban locations. The reciprocal relations of the outports had been abandoned; other resettled outport residents were each struggling to survive. The 'new' resettled residents were the ones to often bear the majority of these difficulties as local residents had already established their homes and jobs in the community. These difficulties represented a loss of independence for outport residents who could no longer survive merely by the work of their own hands. According to one resettled outport resident, cited by Noel Iverson and Ralph Matthews; "...it seems that when a man loses his independence he isn't the same. Some of 'em who moved just don't care any more; they had so many setbacks they don't try any more, they just give up and take the relief."⁵⁰

Resettled outport residents also complained of the coercive nature through which the Household Resettlement Plan was implemented. For example, according to Frederick Rowe;

Charges were made that pressure, direct and indirect, was being applied to force people to move; that communities which objected to moving were being penalized by having essential services withdrawn or seriously curtailed...⁵¹

News of the Resettlement Plan often came to the outports in pamphlets and forms. Education and literacy levels in the outports were low. "Official forms and petitions are not wholly effective means of communicating the complexities of Household Resettlement to semi-literate outporters."⁵²

When the 1965 Household Resettlement Plan was introduced into many of these outports, residents perceived that the government had already decided that they were to move. Their limited interactions with government did not foster an adequate understanding of the proposal as it was presented to the outport residents. According to Herbert Pottle; "While the government was protesting that no pressure was being applied to resettle, the fact that it was actually sponsoring resettlement severely limited the people's freedom of choice."⁵³ As well;

...the people conceive the situation as 'the Government wants us to move'. The major proof to the outporters for this is that the Government provides funds for moving: 'the Government wouldn't pay for something they didn't want, would they?'"⁵⁴

The government sponsored relocation plan was seen by outport residents as an indication that the government was unwilling to continue investments of services or provisions in the outports.⁵⁵ This was seen by many as a direct threat to the services which they currently had, and an indication that no other services would be provided in the outports. According to Cato Wadel:

It would seem that most of the outports that have actually resettled in recent years have done so more often because they have lost services they have already enjoyed than because they did not get the services they wanted.⁵⁶

Outport residents perceived of the loss of services as an indication of government abandonment. Despite the emphasis on tradition in the outports, some services had greatly aided outport life. For example, telephone and postal services enabled outport residents to keep in touch with absent friends and relatives. As well, local schools provided outport children with education opportunities without having to leave the community. The loss of such services decreased the capacity of residents to remain in the outports. According to one outport resident: "When it come down to the fine point there was nothing else we could do. They did keep the post office open till we left but there was no school and no church."⁵⁷

Without such vital services, outport residents felt pressured to move to urban growth centres. While the first to leave were those with the least to lose and most to gain from resettlement, the loss of services prompted a stronger exodus from the outports. In his examination of the outport community of Grande Terre, Ralph Matthews notes that;

The government was convinced that everyone was going to move and so saw little point in spending thousands of dollars to upgrade the road. The people themselves were convinced that everyone else was going and that, if they were not careful, they could be the only ones left behind. They saw the deterioration of the road as proof that the government intended to force them out.⁵⁸

The 1965 Household Resettlement Plan was premised on the issuing of government grants to communities willing to resettle to designated growth centres. Cash incentives were coupled with promises of high-paying job opportunities. According to Peter Gard; "Cash incentives were increased substantially. By the program's end, they averaged \$2500 per family, a small fortune to fishermen used to a mere subsistence."⁵⁹ This 'fortune', however, was often inadequate to meet all of the new economic demands occurring with resettlement. Outport residents were forced to pay for the resettlement themselves, and then submit receipts to the government. Only then would money be issued under the Resettlement Program. This left many outport residents in desperate need. Money was also required for a down payment on a new home. Life in the outport had not necessitated capital savings; many were forced to sell their belongings and many could not afford a home until the government grant was received.

By granting insufficient funds for moving, paying relocatees only when they have completed their move, and restricting the removal of their former dwellings, the provincial government has in effect been playing a coercive role, for it severely narrows the range of alternatives open to householders.⁶⁰

In this way, many outport residents felt that the Resettlement Program was inherently coercive. It provided only one set of alternatives and left people with little choice; "At present the only apparent plan for rural development in Newfoundland seems to be resettlement."⁶¹ As such, remaining in the outports without government assistance or services and in the face of a dwindling population was not a viable option for outport residents.

As these changes were implemented, the pace for development set by the Smallwood government led to an increase in the number of civil servants in the province; "...the rapid growth of the civil service has resulted in the recruitment of personnel with insufficient qualifications and/or little understanding of the Newfoundland outport situation."⁶² The emphasis which government officials placed on the strength of this expertise, however, was inherently antithetical to the importance placed on independent thought and decision making in the outports. According to Ralph Matthews; "Above all they believed that free men have a right to

live in the communities where they and their families have managed to survive for generations, and that no one has the right to order them to move.”⁶³

The outport communities were a central feature in the history and evolution of Newfoundland. Despite their apparent economic non-viability, these outports represented centuries of proud and independent fishermen who flourished long before the introduction of a monetary economy or the entrance of Newfoundland into Canada. Resettlement represented a reliance on a set of standards foreign to outport life. The outports were condemned by urban criteria which did not account for the ontological-sociological implications and vitality which membership in a community offered. With resettlement in 1965, these community relations were effectively severed. The shortage of housing prevented whole communities from moving together. Resettled outport residents thus lost both their geographical community and also community support and relations.

The problem of housing becomes especially critical when people move, as it strips families of their traditional community supports. It destroys their old community but does not always build another: the scarcity of housing makes it all but impossible for relatives and close friends to resettle in the same area: typically they are dispersed.⁶⁴

In the new locations, local residents viewed resettled outport residents with skepticism and suspicion. They were the recipients of government grants and government built housing; this was money which could have benefitted local residents through improvements to existing services or buildings. The resettled outport residents were also intruding on fishing grounds. They were competition for scarce jobs. The local residents also saw the disruption of their own community stability and relations with the arrival of these new residents. Iverson and Matthews depict a story of a resettled family in February of 1965 who was instantly rejected by its new neighbours;

They were refused temporary lodgings in an unused fish shed for a night or two in mid-February, 1965. The couple were obliged to spend their first night in the new community huddled beneath their overturned boat.⁶⁵

Most assessments of the 1965 Household Resettlement Program by outport residents are negative. Resettlement resulted in the loss not only of material possessions and homes, but it also destroyed communities which had existed for centuries. A traditional way of life was also lost as the outports were abandoned. According to Noel Iverson and Ralph Matthews:

The destruction of 'nonviable' fishing villages through household resettlement is also the destruction of a traditional system of reciprocity and interdependency. Effective ties of kinship and friendship...are severed by the strains of resettlement.⁶⁶

Government Assessments of the 1965 Household Resettlement Initiative

In an article which examined his own assessment of the Household Resettlement Program, Ralph Matthews noted that;

A social planning policy is, above all else, a goal-value system. The goals or objectives of the plan are claimed by the planners, from their value position, to be in the best interest of the society at large, and perhaps also in the best interest of those directly affected by the program.⁶⁷

It was within this atmosphere of best interests and intentions that the provincial government of Newfoundland implemented the Household Resettlement Plan. Outports were assessed in terms of various distance and isolation criteria. Among these included the relative distance from education, communication, and medical facilities, and the quantity and frequency of service provision.⁶⁸ From these indicators, outport life was depicted as wrought with economic stagnation and poverty. Service delivery was hampered by geographic isolation. Across Canada, increased industrialization was fostering a national trend of migration from rural to urban areas. Within this atmosphere, the 1965 Household Resettlement Plan appeared to provide the best opportunity to increase potential for outport participation in the modernization and industrialization of Newfoundland.

The Household Resettlement Program was devised by planners eager to encourage industrial development in Newfoundland. Without economic viability, the outports were seen as; "...archaic vestiges of a dying way of life."⁶⁹ The high

dependence on welfare payments in the outports was viewed as confirmation that this way of life was disintegrating; residents could no longer afford to live without government assistance. After interviewing residents of Mountain Cove outport, Ralph Matthews noted; "Under such circumstances the government's desire to break up the community and disperse its population among those with more accepted value patterns is understandable."⁷⁰

One of the most vocal critics of life in the outports was Dr. F. W. Rowe, Newfoundland's Minister of Finance and Social and Community Development at the time of the Household Resettlement Program. According to Rowe; "Life in small isolated communities is for the birds."⁷¹ Nearly twenty years after the implementation of the 1965 Household Resettlement Program, Dr. Rowe's recollections of life in the outports had not changed. According to Peter Gard; "Senator Frederick Rowe recently recalled outport living...as near-medieval, a life of continuous drudgery for the women, dole for the men, illiteracy for the children."⁷² The geographic isolation of the outports made service delivery inaccessible. As a result, many outport residents were often denied access to many modern conveniences and necessities such as medical facilities and transportation. The primary service consideration was education. According to Edward Hassinger and James Pinkerton; "The education of [a] population can be regarded as an index of a community's quality."⁷³ The low density of populations in Newfoundland's outports and the unavailability of qualified teachers prevented many young outport residents from attending school. Consequently, business opportunities were limited in Newfoundland by this population of poorly educated people incapable of actively participating in the industrialization of the province.

Sentiments and perceptions of the desolation and misery inherent to life in the outports were common throughout the Smallwood government. Such evaluations of life in the outports were used as a primary reason and justification for the resettlement; "...the major reason given by Government officials as to why people move from the outports to larger centres is that living in the outports prevents the citizens from maintaining a decent standard of living."⁷⁴

Living in the outports, according to government assessments, residents were unable to participate in the burgeoning economic development throughout the province. Development in Newfoundland had increased services and their provision, as well as industry and technology. Geographic isolation and reliance on traditional technology prohibited outport residents from benefiting from these improvements. While there were no claims that the Household Resettlement Plan could offer universal or absolute improvements, it was viewed as the most effective mechanism available to improve the standard of living for outport residents.

The Government rationale for continuing to sponsor extensive resettlement seems to be based on the belief that, while resettlement might have some negative effects in the short run, in the long run the programs will eventually benefit most people...⁷⁵

Rural to urban migration had become a national trend at the time of the first Household Resettlement Program. The Second World War had fostered industrialization and modernization throughout Canada. According to Harry Thurston and Stephen Homer;

During the 1950s and 1960s, when resettlement was taking place in Newfoundland, a whole generation of Canadians were, similarly, being deracinated by the trends in society which made people more mobile- and that mobility one-directional, toward the cities and towns.⁷⁶

Such national trends encouraged the Newfoundland government to undertake projects to aid in urbanization as the increased urban population would provide greater potential for improvements in industry and technology within the province. The increased urban population would provide a greater labour force, thereby encouraging more development and growth in the province.

In addition, the government's perception of misery and desolation in the outports reinforced the belief that outport residents would gladly and willingly accept aid in relocating to larger urban centres. "The handicaps of small, isolated communities are such that the residents invariably, in course of time, rebel and move elsewhere."⁷⁷ This perception was reinforced with the assumption that resettlement and

centralization were the inevitable and unavoidable consequences of modernization.

According to S. J. Hefferton:

Centralization is inevitable. For economic, social and other reasons men move from rural surroundings to urban centres. In Newfoundland and Labrador, government assistance merely accelerated the process.⁷⁸

The Household Resettlement Program was justified and encouraged on the grounds that it was aiding a natural and mutually beneficial process. Rural residents would be offered a better standard of living with increased opportunities for participation in the modernization of the province. The provincial government would benefit as a result of the increased labour force and, therefore, the increased potential for further growth.

The 1965 Household Resettlement Plan was thus devised and implemented with the primary objective of improving and increasing the industrial capacities of the province. Resettlement would aid this objective in several ways. First, it would provide greater access to public services, including education and medical facilities. Second, it would both lessen the demand on the fish stocks thereby increasing the productivity of those continuing in the fishery, as well as improving the viability of a twentieth century fishing industry in Newfoundland. Third, the Household Resettlement Plan would provide opportunities and training for those leaving the fishing industry. These improvements were assumed to be contingent upon the relocation of rural populations. The increased standard of living offered in urban contexts would increase the labour force and therefore improve the potential for development in the province. All objectives of the Household Resettlement Plan were related to this primary goal.

The basic concept of the Newfoundland Fisheries Resettlement Program is that of a long-term socio-economic investment plan designed to facilitate the transition of the human resources and the movement of social capital from disadvantaged outlying communities to areas with greater opportunities for economic, social and cultural benefits.⁷⁹

Support for the Household Resettlement Plan came from various sources, each providing the provincial government with indications of inevitable success. For example, resettlement would provide a stable labour force, improve efficiency and

productivity, as well as increasing potential for expansion. Given such inherent benefits for companies and business in Newfoundland, industry greatly favoured the program.⁸⁰ Support for the program continued following its implementation. In a personal correspondence to the Honourable J. Marchand on March 6, 1969, Jack Davin notes; "This program has strong support from all levels of government, members of all parties, the churches and the people. It has a great many very obvious long-term economic advantages to both federal and provincial governments."⁸¹ Support for the program was also derived from the improvements to education throughout the province; education facilities were more available and more students were attending. These improvements added support to the program as they stood as a physical manifestation of the benefits offered by resettlement and urbanization.

At a basic level, the success of the Household Resettlement Plan was assessed according to the number of people and communities which were relocated.⁸² While there were no expectations of resettling all outport communities, government objectives hoped that a 'substantial' number could be urged into urban centres. In order to avoid coercing unwilling participants into resettling, information was given and a resettlement officer provided detailed facts where requested. The final decision, however, was to be made by the community members themselves. As a result, the initial years of the program were expected to be slow. In the first two years, the numbers were low; "...about sixty-eight communities representing a population of nearly 5000 have resettled."⁸³ There were concessions that the popularity of the program would increase over time as people began to see other communities profit from the tangible benefits of urban living. Consequently, after five years, when 119 communities, representing 16,114 people had been resettled, perceptions of the success of the program increased.⁸⁴

The increased provision of services in the growth centres was also utilized as an indicator of the success of the Household Resettlement Plan. In the outports, the cost of service delivery was prohibitive. This led to the conclusion that; "...many outports can only be provided with many of the modern facilities at very high cost relative to their economic base."⁸⁵ In the growth centres, however, the higher

populations made the delivery of services much more efficient and cost effective. As a result of this, resettled outport residents were able to enjoy improvements with regard to medical care, municipal facilities, and recreational services.⁸⁶ More importantly, however, were the improvements to the availability and accessibility of education. According to Harry Thurston and Stephen Homer; "For the first time, a generation of Newfoundlanders was to have access to modern educational facilities and alternatives to a life of fishing."⁸⁷ Improvements in service delivery allowed greater participation in the modernization of the province. Residents had access to better medical care, enabling them to lead healthier and more productive lives. The growth of communication technology and transportation fostered greater interconnectedness throughout the province. Large numbers of young Newfoundlanders were getting an education, cited as the first step in alleviating the province's high illiteracy rates. This first generation of educated rural Newfoundlanders would bridge the traditional life of the outports with the benefits offered through modern living. By these indications, the Household Resettlement Plan was a success.

The 1965 Household Resettlement Program was implemented in an attempt to modernize Newfoundland by improving the potential for labour and industry. According to Cato Wadel; "Resettlement has in recent years been put forward, especially by the government as a kind of 'master device' in the modernization of the Province."⁸⁸ As such, primary indicators of the success of the program were the manifest improvements in business and industry. In many of these growth centres, the community did not boast a population high enough to fill the available jobs. The resettled populations in the growth centres increased the labour force throughout the province. Through this, available positions were filled and the potential for further expansion increased. In the early years of the resettlement program, growth centres were not defined in terms of their capacity for industrial development. Instead, the term 'growth centre' was used to describe a community which had a fish plant.⁸⁹ Job opportunities in the fish plants thus indicated the success of the Household Resettlement Program by providing the resettled outporters with an opportunity to

participate in twentieth century industry and development. These plants offered positions which could be filled by fishermen possessing little or no education or training. Working in the fish plants offered a manifest link between traditional independent fishing and working more directly in fishing as an industry. The economic improvements resulting from the Household Resettlement Program thus indicated success in two ways. First, resettlement urbanized the scattered populations of outport residents, providing them with job opportunities. Second, industry and development in the province were increased.⁹⁰ As a result of the Household Resettlement Plan, the Newfoundland government could boast of a productive work force and improved industrial capacities. The improvements in opportunities for resettled outport residents, as well as the increased industrial capacities for business and industry in Newfoundland thus strongly indicated the success of the 1965 Household Resettlement Program.

According to Ralph Matthews;

The basic measure for determining the economic viability of any economic action is cost-benefit analysis. This is simply a method whereby all discernible economic expenditures are weighed against economic benefits. If a programme or policy produces more economic gain than it costs to provide it, it is usually considered successful.⁹¹

The Household Resettlement Program was premised on assessments of the economic viability in relation to the population base of each outport community. As such, reviews of the success the program were usually couched in economic terms.⁹² The economic goals of the program were designed to benefit both the resettled outport residents as well as the province itself. While resettled outport residents could benefit from increased possibilities and a better standard of living, the province could increase its development objectives and foster the growth of Newfoundland. In their assessment of the Household Resettlement Program, Iverson and Matthews noted that the objectives presented by the government, although expansive and development-oriented, were premised on providing a better life for all Newfoundland residents.

In its most idealistic terms, resettlement is aimed at providing a better life and a better future for more Newfoundlanders. It is designed to move people from the isolation and privation which they now experience, into larger centres where they may enjoy the advantages of twentieth century life. Its long term economic goal is to turn a peasant, subsistence-level society into a market-oriented, industrial one.⁹³

The indicators used to evaluate the Household Resettlement Program pointed to its success. The number of people and communities participating in the program had increased. Service provision improved significantly from the outports to the urban centres. As well, education facilities were improved, ushering in a new generation of Newfoundlanders, educated and skilled, ready to actively participate in the industrialization of the province. Finally, as a result of the resettlement program, a stable and growing labour force was improving the industrial capacity and increasing economic benefits throughout the province. For the first time, it appeared that Newfoundland residents were beginning to enjoy the benefits of twentieth century living. Thus, indicators utilized in government assessments pointed to the success of the 1965 Household Resettlement Program.

Ontological-Sociological versus Functional Presentations of Community

The 1965 Household Resettlement Plan depicted fundamentally dichotomous presentations of community between ontological-sociological depictions by outport residents and functional approaches undertaken by governmental agencies. Outport residents stressed the importance of community relations in the provision of support, belonging, and interdependence. These elements provided outport residents with the strength and independence necessary to survive in the harsh outport climate. Government assessments highlighted functional problems which plagued outports and hindered industrial development in the province. The presentation of community in the Household Resettlement Program, according to government assessments, must be considered in terms of its functional attributes and economic viability.

This dichotomous presentation of community was premised on fundamentally different valuations of lifestyle and worldview. In an atmosphere of burgeoning industrial development, the Newfoundland government increased efforts to urbanize in order to extend the benefits of modernization to all Newfoundland residents. The benefits offered by twentieth century living, according to government perceptions, could not be enjoyed in the relative isolation of the outports. Urban centres could provide job and educational opportunities. Services were much more readily available. The prospects for improvement of standard of living were greater than that offered in the outports. In this, however, is an inherent assumption that outport residents would prefer urban to rural lifestyles. Such an assumption was common throughout the Smallwood government during the time of the resettlement;

It was the Smallwood politician's claim that the remote native was so bewitched by the bright lights of the towns and cities that he demanded them for himself, which normally meant that in order to get them he had to go where they were and would need government assistance in so doing.⁹⁴

This underestimated the pervasive effects of outport community membership. For example, in his examination of the effects of the resettlement after twenty years, Peter Gard depicts the lingering memories of outport life;

Brennan and Kevin O'Toole, his friend and neighbour, are middle-aged men with families, who gave up well-paying jobs in the mid-1970s to return to the abandoned community of Little Paradise and the independent life of the small boat fishermen.⁹⁵

The independence inherent in outport life was a central feature which the government omitted in the implementation of the Household Resettlement Program. This independence was founded on a common system of trust and reciprocity. While each member was in control of his own life, he was also bound by community relations to aid and assist other members of the community. This independence also increased each member's ability to perform a variety of tasks, from fishing to cutting firewood. As such, relations within the community were necessarily direct and many-sided. The geographical isolation of outport communities fostered the development of specific

values and beliefs, including language, common within the outport but also unique to it.

For outport residents, economic considerations were secondary to the social and cultural implications of community membership. Sentiments of belonging and the underlying system of reciprocity provided a greater sense of security and well being for many outport residents than economic benefits in urban centres could offer. According to Ralph Matthews, government assumptions with regard to the desire to relocate utilized value biased criteria inapplicable to much of rural life. "It is a value bias to assess rural communities only in terms of their economic viability and to ignore the social structure, culture and values of the people which together constitute the social vitality of these communities."⁹⁶

Government actions were premised on good intentions for a population living in pre-modern times with traditional ways which did not allow them to benefit from promises offered by industrialization and modernization. According to Cato Wadel; "...the essence of this paternalism is that the Government claims to know better than the community what the community really needs."⁹⁷ On the basis of the inability of the outport residents to decipher their own best life plans and strategies, the Household Resettlement Plan was implemented. For the outport residents, however, the expertise which the government boasted was premised on a lack of understanding of outport life. Government officials, with their emphasis on functional and economic indicators of community membership, gave little credence to the systems of reciprocity, direct and multidimensional relations based on common values and beliefs which underlined outport community life.

Without adequate consideration or understanding of life in the outports, government information and expertise relied on a blanket assessment of outport communities. In this, there was little attention given to the differences which drew fundamental distinctions between outport communities. For service provision, the government defined communities in terms of their locality and proximity to both one another and to major arterial roads. Ontological-sociological differences existing beyond these services were not considered. In his assessment of the government's

perceptions of outport communities, Cato Wadel noted; "The Twillingate Islands, for example, definitely constitute one single community... Similarly, Fogo Island should, from the point of view of planning, be regarded as one community."⁹⁸

The governmental assumption of the similarity of all outport communities, for example, would overlook the fact that Stag Harbour, on the southern coast of Fogo Island which juts into the Arctic Ocean from the northern coast of Newfoundland, would significantly differ from Harbour Buffett on the west coast of Long Island, sheltered in Placentia Bay. The geography, the climate, fishing, and agricultural capacities were unique to each outport. The beliefs and values of the communities were reflected in these fundamental differences. Community relations were different; while both direct and many-sided, each differed in style, content, and language to reflect the particularities of the context. Further, while each community fostered reciprocal relations, these would not be extended beyond the community itself. For example, in his study of Mountain Cove, Ralph Matthews noted that residents vehemently opposed being resettled; they could not conceive of another community offering a better life than the one that they had. "Although these communities have a reputation throughout the area for hard work and a good standard of life, the people of Mountain Cove regard them as inferior places in which to make a living."⁹⁹

Government assessments of the Household Resettlement Program inadvertently resettled such fundamentally different communities together without understanding the differences which would prohibit cohesive community relations which had characterized and sustained outport life for centuries. According to Herbert Pottle;

The scheme of resettlement engineered by the Smallwood government was ill-conceived because it was based on a misconception of people... Its misconception of people stemmed from the way in which it saw them related to government policy- which was normally one of subservience to that policy.¹⁰⁰

The government's resettlement objective of fostering modernization and development in Newfoundland was to be encouraged by increased educational facilities in the growth centres. Education would produce a new generation of Newfoundlanders who could actively participate in the industrialization of the

province. In the larger growth centres, teachers would be more available. Education would become, for the first time, universal in Newfoundland. In this, however, there was an inherent disregard for an older generation of outport residents. According to Cato Wadel;

To move people primarily for educational purposes will involve the writing off of a large number of people above school-age as a 'dead loss'... Thus, the older outport generation is bearing a disproportionate share of the 'modernization' of Newfoundland.¹⁰¹

No matter how effective education was for the advancement of a younger generation of Newfoundlanders, the needs of the older resettled outport residents were ignored.

Besides the fact that this stressing of education, together with centralization as the 'master solution' does not solve the problems, it is creating a feeling of inferiority and helplessness among those who cannot benefit from education.¹⁰²

In the outports, all residents were able to make significant contributions to the community. The dualistic emphasis on independence and community relations enabled them to control their own lives and aid those in need. This generation, prior to resettlement, was central to the community. After resettlement, however, they were displaced and alienated. Their knowledge of fishing was not relevant to the new locations. Poor paying and low prestige jobs at the fish plant were competitive and difficult to obtain. Many were forced to accept welfare as their primary source of income. According to Pius Power Sr., an outport resident in South East Bight; "A place like St. John's is home to the people who belong to it, but I don't like it. It's no good me going to St. John's; there's nothing for me to do there."¹⁰³ A similar sentiment is echoed by an outport resident in Grande Terre;

You can put in vegetables and what you got is your own...I knows people who left from here and they haven't got a chair to sit on. A man like me, no learning, I wouldn't be much good in town.¹⁰⁴

Governmental preoccupation with functional and economic effects of resettlement was premised on cost-benefit analyses which gave no consideration to ontological-sociological implications of community membership. Such analyses

examined the cost of servicing the outport communities relative to the projected cost of the provision of services after resettlement to designated growth areas.

This required an assessment of all government inputs into each community both before and after resettlement and an assessment of the income generated by the people of the community both before and after moving. Thus the resettled communities themselves, not the resettlement programme, came to be judged in terms of their cost-benefit potential.¹⁰⁵

The benefits which were considered, however, often failed to present a full picture of the costs associated. For example, according to K. Hoggart;

Benefits were nevertheless obtained in the form of improved community facilities- although this must be viewed in the context of a deliberate governmental neglect of small communities and the fact that many communities were evacuated because their school was closed.¹⁰⁶

The assessment of community potential in terms of 'cost-benefit potential' missed important implications of community membership. It allocated no value to the self-sufficiency of the community or to the interpersonal relationships which combined to form the essence of community living. By such economic standards, without reference to the inherent ontological-sociological benefits of community membership, outport communities were deemed economically stagnant and needful of government assistance.

Assessments of success based solely on economic standards signified recognition of only functional portrayals of fulfillment and well-being. This denied the pervasive implications of an ontological-sociological conception of community in the lives of the outport residents. Outport life was both independent and interdependent. The subsistence economy brought all community members together in a common drive for survival; this commonality was reflected in the beliefs and values of the community. With resettlement, however, community relations were severed. Members lost their independence. Some become engaged in fish plant work while others relied on welfare and government relief. Relations between resettled outport residents and growth centre locals were strained. Each viewed the other with reservation and suspicion.

through community membership, the success of the Household Relocation Program could only be measured in terms of functionality and economics with little attention to the lives it affected. In the outports, the social vitality of the community was strong. The necessary self-sufficiency of the outports created relations in which members became skilled at a variety of tasks. The reciprocal relations of outport life emphasized community involvement and interdependence. Government assumptions of the willingness to abandon this way of life in favour of economic and material gain inevitably resulted in the dislocation and alienation of outport residents as their communities were abandoned. Such assumptions were inherently narrow and functionally biased, representing only functional portrayals of success and well-being. Without consideration of the important ontological-sociological implications of community membership, the Household Resettlement Plan promoted relations of dependency for a historically independent people. By attempting to modernize their traditional way of life, the resettlement forced the dislocation and alienation of outport residents.

Endnotes

1. The program is referred to as both the Newfoundland Fisheries Resettlement Program and the Newfoundland Household Resettlement Program.
2. Noel Iverson and D. Ralph Matthews. *Communities in Decline: An Examination of Household Resettlement in Newfoundland*. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 6 (St. John's: Memorial U, 1968), p. 1.
3. S. J. Hefferton. "Newfoundlanders on the Move," in *Community Planning Review*. (Vol. 19(2). Summer 1969. 4-8), p. 5.
4. K. Hoggart. "Resettlement in Newfoundland," in *Geography*. (Vol. 64(3). No. 284. July 1979, 215-218), p. 215.
5. Cato Wadel. *Marginal Adaptations and Modernization in Newfoundland: A Study of Strategies and Implications in the Resettlement and Redevelopment of Outport Fishing Communities*. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies. No. 7. (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1969). p. 2.
6. *Ibid.* p. 2.
7. *Ibid.* p. 32.
8. Hoggart, p. 215.
9. Wadel, p. 33.
10. *Ibid.* p. 118.
11. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*. (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1976), p. 21.
12. Wadel, p. 49.
13. Herbert L. Pottle. "The Management of People." in *Newfoundland Dawn Without Light: Politics, Power and the People in the Smallwood Era*. (Breakwater: 1979, 56-68), p. 65.
14. "Newfoundland Relocation Plan," in *Trade News*. (Ottawa: Department of Fisheries Canada. Vol. 17(9), March 1965, 10), p. 10.
15. Pottle, p. 57.
16. Iverson and Matthews, p. 3.
17. Harry Thurston and Stephen Hunter. "Outport Renaissance," in *Equinox*. (January/ February 1982. 62-76), p. 68.
18. "Newfoundland Relocation Plan." p. 10.
19. Hoggart, p. 216.
20. Wadel, p. 34.
21. Hoggart, p. 218.
22. Reports evaluating the Household Resettlement Plan were commissioned by both the federal and provincial governments. The reports examined here present accounts of resettled outporters without direct inclusion of their testimony. The majority of the conclusions in this section, therefore, are contingent on the presentations made by these authors. See, for example, Cato Wadel. *Marginal Adaptations and Modernization in Newfoundland: A Study of Strategies and Implications in the Resettlement and Redevelopment of Outport Fishing Communities*, Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, and Noel Iverson and D. Ralph Matthews. *Communities in Decline: An Examination of Household Resettlement in Newfoundland*.
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25. *Ibid.* p. 24.

26. *Ibid.* p. 52.
27. *Ibid.* p. 138.
28. Iverson and Matthews, p. 91.
29. *Ibid.* p. 91.
30. Wadel, p. 137.
31. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 99.
32. Wadel, p. 2.
33. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 118.
34. *Ibid.* p. 62.
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36. Thurston and Homer, p. 70.
37. Wadel, p. 43.
38. *Ibid.* p. 151.
39. *Ibid.* p. 120.
40. Peter Gard. "Outport resettlement- 20 years later." in *Canadian Geographic*. (Vol. 105(3). June/July 1985. 8-18.), p. 17.
41. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 65.
42. Hefferton, p. 7.
43. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 99.
44. Wadel, p. 120.
45. Pottle, p. 61.
46. Gard, p. 13.
47. Wadel, p. 126.
48. Iverson and Ralph Matthews, p. 28.
49. Wadel, p. 130.
50. Iverson and Matthews, p. 37.
51. Frederick W. Rowe. "Since 1949- The Social Story." in *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador*. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980. 509-525), p. 520.
52. Iverson and Matthews, p. 139.
53. Pottle, p. 58.
54. Wadel, p. 115.
55. *Ibid.* p. 114.
56. *Ibid.* p. 118.
57. Iverson and Matthews, p. 22.
58. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 114.
59. Gard, p. 9.
60. Iverson and Matthews, p. 138.
61. Wadel, p. 5.
62. *Ibid.* p. 145.
63. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 78.
64. Iverson and Matthews, p. 115.
65. *Ibid.* p. 70.
66. *Ibid.* p. 103.

67. Ralph Matthews, "Ethical Issues in Policy Research: The Investigation of community Resettlement in Newfoundland," in *Canadian Public Policy*. (Spring 1975, pgs. 204-218), p. 208.
68. "Summary Description: Isolation Criteria Program, Newfoundland and Labrador Unincorporated Communities." (Canada: Department of Regional Economic Expansion. Ottawa, November 1970), p. 1.
69. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 48.
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82. Pottle, p. 61.
83. Wadel, p. 33.
84. Ralph Matthews, "Ethical Issues in Policy Research: The Investigation of community Resettlement in Newfoundland." p. 206.
85. Wadel, p. 3.
86. Gard, p. 10.
87. Thurston and Homer, p. 65.
88. Wadel, p. 34.
89. *Ibid.* p. 112.
90. *Ibid.* p. 110.
91. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 79.
92. Pottle, p. 57.
93. Iverson and Matthews, p. 136.
94. Pottle, p. 62.
95. Gard, p. 16.
96. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 121.
97. Wadel, p. 148.
98. *Ibid.* p. 122.
99. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 76.
100. Pottle, p. 67.
101. Wadel, p. 135.

102. *Ibid.* p. 71.
103. Pius Power, quoted in Peter Gard. "Outport resettlement- 20 years later," in *Canadian Geographic*. (Vol. 105(3). June/July 1985, pgs. 8-18), p. 15.
104. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 103.
105. *Ibid.* p. 80.
106. Hoggart, p. 218.
107. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, p. 48.
108. Wadel, p. 127.
109. *Ibid.* p. 127.

Chapter Four: Conclusion

The concept of community is, at best, difficult to define. It has been used to describe everything from a primitive tribal society to a biological ecosystem to the increasing interconnection of the world as a result of globalization. Community as a concept has been adopted across a variety of disciplines to describe a multitude of interactions. As Barry Checkoway noted; “The concept of community is often used, but less often defined.”¹ The wide use of community has resulted in a diversity of definitions with each having its own connotations and implications. In a sociological examination of the concept of community, George Hillery identified ninety-four different definitions ranging along three dimensions with seven sub-classifications.² Hillery noted;

...there is no agreement over the object that the term ‘community’ is supposed to describe, except perhaps that community refers to something living. Certainly, however, a diligent search would destroy even that apparent unanimity.³

Similarly, in an exploration of community development in Canada, Jim Lotz noted that, as a conceptual category, ‘community’ is; “...like music and electricity, you can see what it does, and describe its effects. But it’s hard to say what it is.”⁴ In defining community, assumptions of value, worth, and meaning are invoked as it describes a full complement of activities and relations of importance in people’s lives.⁵ The diversity of associations with which the concept of community has been linked has further complicated its definition. As an expression of general utility, the concept of community has been appropriated across a variety of fields within a multitude of perspectives. However, the frequency and diversity of the use of a concept, indicates Murray Edelman, further dilutes its meaning.

In short, each action or term carries the trace of others, constructing an exploding set of scenes and signs that move in unpredictable directions and that radiate endlessly, actions and the language that defines their meaning evoking still other acts and terms that are supplementary, contradictory, or logically irrelevant.”⁶

The diversity and frequency of the use of the term community has eroded any central or universally applicable definition; its meaning has become malleable, reflecting the needs of those employing it. As a result, the various meanings attributed to the concept of 'community' primarily relate to the subject matter of concern within the parameters of each approach itself. The characteristics used to define community often describe its traits without capturing the essence of community as an entity of wholeness or totality. Community as a concept infuses all aspects of a person's life. It is the absence of consideration of this totality which fosters difficulties of both the definition of community and in the implementation of policy initiatives designed to shape or affect a community.

Definitions advance the creation of conceptual categories to identify what the 'definers' think worthy and necessary to their pursuit.⁷ As Joseph Gusfield noted;

[Definitions]...become ways of representing and thinking about the world from some standpoint, from the perspective of some problem which enables the analyst to heighten those aspects of the world which are relevant to his concerns and interests.⁸

Approaches utilizing the concept of community thus define it in the absence of universal agreement about its definition, emphasizing functional traits or characteristics of direct relevance to the approach.

For example, discussions of speech communities highlight the use of a common language; the social implications of the linguistic usage are secondary to the existence of this underlying linguistic commonality within the speech community. Similarly, discussions involving political communities draw attention to the inherent sentiments of nationality and loyalty which underlie citizenship within a designated geographical territory. In this, the definition of community is directly related to its capacity to characterize the people living within the political community. Community as an entity of wholeness is secondary to the political or corporate entity which occupies the central focus of the approach.

In functional approaches, obscure references to the totality or essence of a community are replaced with practical or manifest qualities which may more easily be assessed, described, and defined. For example, in her examination of community and human rights, Rhoda Howard defines community as ‘a group of individuals who have a sense of obligation toward one another’.⁹ Here, Howard underlines the importance of obligation to a community as the source of adherence to individual rights. The emphasis on obligation supercedes references to patterns of interaction and relations which also contribute to the interdependence in a community.

The accentuation of specific elements or traits within a community often highlights manifest geographical or territorial characteristics. Such a conceptualization provides a set of parameters to the approach. For example, a community may be defined in terms of the population living within ‘legally established city limits’.¹⁰ Geographical boundaries lend support to political distinctions and characterizations. The population within a territorially defined space is assumed to share qualities and characteristics. Similarly, economic considerations provide precise categories through which the manifestly functional characteristics of a community may be examined. For example, in The Human Community, Hassinger and Pinkerton examine the evolution of urban development. Here, it is noted that; “The story of community can be told in broad strokes in terms of the economies and the settlement patterns associated with them.”¹¹ In this, the precise data and information provided from an examination of a community’s economy and settlement pattern are given precedence for the categorization of the community over an exploration of the full complement of activities in which the community members participate.

The functional emphasis on particular traits or characteristics of direct relevance to the approach provides a more manageable and comprehensive depiction of these elements within a community. Such an emphasis, however, often generates a misleading sentiment of comprehensiveness and obscures the understanding of the broader implications of community membership. For example, according to R. A. Hudson;

...the word ‘community’ implies more than the existence of some common property; after all, nobody would talk of the ‘community’ of all the people

whose names begin with the letter 'h' or who have overdrawn bank accounts.¹²

Beyond the specific traits or characteristics under examination by a particular approach, however, communities exist as entities comprising a full complement of interrelated activities and relations. The ontological and sociological implications of community membership point to this totality. They do not, however, lend themselves to universal descriptions or definitions. The elusiveness of a definition which depicts these inherent ontological and sociological qualities has fostered a greater acceptance of functional definitions which, although limited, provide legitimacy supported by concrete data and expertise.

While such functional definitions highlight specific and specialized elements of community, they impede the capacity to comprehend the broader embedded connotations inherently involved in its ontological sense. Ontologically premised depictions of community often attempt to personify or describe sentiments of interdependence and cohesion by emphasizing innate meanings or symbolic implications. The unity and interdependence used in ontological depictions to characterize communities are held up as standards for imitation. For example, according to Jim Lotz; "The concept of community is tied up with the ideal of perfect harmony in human relationships."¹³ Such idealized depictions and representations of community express a sentiment of totality to characterize the essence of community. It is a social whole which is expressed not in the needs of an individual, but rather through the sharing of common needs by community residents. In his examination of rural communities in America, Kenneth Wilkinson noted; "[Community]...is a more or less complete common life, a holistic structure, and a complete table of organization."¹⁴ Ontological definitions of community highlight the quality and totality of human relations rather than a particular or defining specialized element;

A group is a community to the extent that it encompasses a broad range of activities and interests, and to the extent that participation implicates whole persons rather than segmental interests or activities.¹⁵

The exploration of the totality or essence of community attempts to provide a more thorough understanding of the implications of community life and relations to its members.

Definitions highlighting such ontological and sociological qualities, however, are often dismissed as overly sentimental or romanticized notions of community. For example, "Many invest community concepts with a nostalgic regret for some imaginary long-vanished golden age."¹⁶ Ontological and sociological manifestations are also dismissed as a result of their inability to be categorized. In a study of community and economics, Jonathan Boswell asserts; "...if community cannot be defined or measured, and above all if it is unexplainable, there is little point in discussing the specifics of its pursuit."¹⁷ Even anthropological examinations of communities, which often acknowledge and examine such intangible elements, complain of the lack of objective qualifications for its measurement; "In comparing communities or cultures we need standard measures, even though quality and quantity are ultimately incompatible."¹⁸ The compulsion to establish a standardized, universal approach for the concept of community has lent credibility and support to functional presentations to the detriment of ontological and sociological considerations.

The primary features which characterize ontological depictions of community are not measurable or quantifiable. The quality of human relationships, a distinctive feature of ontological-sociological depictions of community, emphasizes the capacity of these relations to shape and affect each community member's identity and sense of belonging. Collective values and beliefs, including the sharing of a community-specific language, foster an underlying sense of commonality. Direct and multidimensional interactions encourage cooperation and participation at an immediate, local level. Sentiments of reciprocity are central in the promotion of trust and interdependence among members of the community.

In the absence of quantifiable categorizations, however, functional definitions provide concrete exemplifications of community which may be generalized and uniformly applied across a variety of contexts and situations. These definitions attempt to contextualize the community and its members in quantitative terms of their

manifest traits or characteristics, such as population density or the provision of services within a definable, geographical territory.

The application of functional depictions of community was prominent in both the 1953 relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic and the 1965 Household Resettlement initiative in Newfoundland. These policy initiatives represent opposite responses to similar challenges. In each, government perceptions of poverty and desolation sponsored policy initiatives aimed at improving the life opportunities of populations who appeared unable to make rational decisions concerning their own welfare. The 1953 relocation of Inuit was a policy designed to decentralize a population into a largely uninhabited area in order to improve self-sufficiency and traditional Inuit lifestyles. The 1965 Household Resettlement Program, conversely, was designed to centralize Newfoundland's coastal population into larger growth centres. Attempts to modernize and industrialize the province were dependent upon the abandonment of traditional outport lifestyles. Despite the contrary objectives of the 1953 relocation of Inuit and the 1965 resettlement of Newfoundland outports, each depicts a similar dichotomy in the presentation of community.

In both the relocation of Inuit and the resettlement of outport residents, government sponsored policy initiatives were premised on a functional exploration of community deficiencies and their rational solutions. The ideal community, under such functional assessments, was constructed to accentuate the specific policy reflective needs of its residents. Community needs or 'functional requisites' were to be served by the 'functional subsystems' of institutions and community inhabitants.¹⁹ In both the Inuit community of Inukjuak and the outport settlements, such functional assessments pointed to fundamental flaws which could be reconciled most effectively and efficiently by relocation and resettlement.

Ontological considerations of community, however, were absent in the planning and execution of both policy initiatives. Common values and beliefs within the communities were negated when assumptions of similarity superceded specific ontological aspects which distinguished community life and participation. Direct and

multidimensional relations were fundamentally disrupted as the systems of reciprocity which had sustained the communities for centuries were dissolved. According to Kenneth Wilkinson, community membership also contributes to the social definition of self.²⁰ For both the Inuit and the outport residents, such identities and identifications were lost as residents were removed from their communities and placed in foreign contexts. Without consideration of the centrality of community, both the Inuit and the outport residents suffered as a result of relocation and resettlement. In both case studies, impairments to the ontological and sociological benefits of community membership must be weighed against functional gains.

The 1953 relocation of Inuit and the 1965 resettlement of Newfoundland outport residents, however, are not isolated examples of functional policy initiatives which may adversely affect the lives of community members. For example, in Mike Harris' amalgamation of the Greater Toronto Area in 1997, the electoral jurisdictions of the megacity's councillors were no longer to be premised on the boundaries of any distinct or visible communities. According to Sid Noel;

As if to emphasize the revolutionary intent of the [megacity] legislation, the new councillors would not represent any recognizable local communities; instead, their new wards would be based on the city's twenty-two federal electoral ridings...²¹

Here, community boundaries are determined by population density and urban spatial patterning rather than natural parameters which reflect the needs and relations of the community members. The representation of an artificially created population does not serve as an effective expression of community needs and concerns. Such an imposition of synthetic boundaries encourages relations and interactions premised on artificial rather than actual parameters realized in the course of daily life and activity. The importance of examining the relocation of the Inuit and the resettlement of outports, therefore, is not as isolated exemplifications of a functional presentation of policy initiatives. Instead, these case studies provide lessons concerning the important negative implications which result from an omission of ontological-sociological considerations in the exploration and implementation of community based policy initiatives.

The proliferation and standardization of functional depictions of community in policy initiatives, exemplified in the relocation of the Inuit and the resettlement of Newfoundland outports, have had damaging implications for the communities that they affect. Community members have been marginalized, their knowledge and experiences dismissed in the face of increased reliance on expertise. Functional specialization promotes the utilization of expertise; these experts, in turn, promote further concentration and specialization in specific areas of interest or concern. As Murray Edelman asserts; "People with credentials accordingly have a vested interest in specific problems and in specific origins for them."²² Emphasis on expertise has led to a specialization in the approach to community. Some fields, for example, examine security and policing while others look to the spatial and social organization of human populations. The difference of approach taken by community members and government officials reveals emphasis on differing components of community. According to Ralph Matthews; "While developers tend to assess rural areas from economic perspectives, the residents themselves frequently emphasize social and cultural considerations."²³ As well;

...social learning that begins and ends in action differs sharply from the policy analysis tradition practiced by state and institutional planners, who focus on the processes of rational decision-making, which are more linear and are directed from above and involve the examination of anticipated and unanticipated results.²⁴

Problems and concerns affecting communities, however, involve an entire complement of the daily activities around which people's lives are organized rather than specific or isolated elements under consideration. As government bureaucrats administer policy initiatives, community members become 'clients' in need of advice and assistance.²⁵ This transfer of community problems and concerns into arenas of government expertise removes community members from participation in the activities which shape and determine their own lives. According to Brian Wharf;

“The paradox is that while responsibility for social policy has largely been passed to senior levels of government, social problems are experienced and played out in local communities.”²⁶ The application of functional expertise to community problems is often a highly concentrated approach to a specific concern. Community issues, however, rarely exist in isolation that would point to a single cause or remedy. Examination of community concerns requires a more thorough understanding of the ontological-sociological structures and institutions which, often informally, govern the activities and relations within the community. Only with an understanding of the intricacies and implications of community membership may an adequate and therefore substantial image of the needs of the community be presented.

The employment of functional expertise in policy initiatives is premised on the application of liberal democratic standards of worth and value in the modern technological sense. By these standards, both the Inuit and the outport residents were poor and uneducated. As a result of both geographic isolation and cultural marginalization, community members were largely devoid of political or economic influence. Through the use of such standards, which are often foreign to the communities themselves, such marginalization may be interpreted as an inability to adequately and rationally participate in their own life decisions. Such an assumption may then be applied as justification for governmental intervention. Joan Kuyek notes that government explorations of community problems are defined in terms of; “...a lack of local initiative and an underdevelopment of the local economy.”²⁷ The marginalization of the recipient populations and perceptions of their inability to rationally participate in necessary community innovations provided justification for the implementation of policy initiatives, designed in the ‘best interests’ of the community members themselves. In both the 1953 relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic and the 1965 household resettlement initiative in Newfoundland, the implementation of policy initiatives resulted in consequences in the absence of consideration to ontological aspects of community membership.

The application of functionally premised policy initiatives also reveals an inherent disregard for their impact on older generations of community members. A primary focus on the assimilation of young persons into a policy perspective results in the marginalization of older generations. For the Inuit, older generations had provided wisdom and guidance. After the relocation, however, wisdom concerning hunting, fishing, and general survival was no longer applicable to the new surroundings. Similarly, older generations of resettled outport residents had difficulty continuing to fish and were largely unprepared to enter into the industrial opportunities offered in growth centres. The primary emphasis on improvements to the accessibility of education did not benefit these older generations of outport residents. For many, a return to school would represent a fundamental loss of independence. As well, outport residents could not care for their families by attending school. Functional initiatives, consciously or not, often disregard the central role played by older generations within a community. Difficulties of adjustment and adaptation, primarily from the loss of central ontological features and relations of community membership, are felt most strongly by older generations. Failure to examine the implications of such inherent community qualities in both the 1953 relocation of Inuit and the 1965 resettlement of outport communities led to the marginalization of a generation and a subsequent generational split which undercut the capacity to continue or reestablish community relations.

This thesis has examined the limitations and implications of policy-making when confronted with a fundamental dichotomy in the conceptualization of community. The ontological benefits of community membership relate primarily to the provision of sentiments of security and belonging. Three central components, common values and beliefs, direct and multidimensional relations, and a system of reciprocity, foster these sentiments and provide the foundation upon which identity formation occurs. Each member becomes integral, contributing to and benefitting from membership in the community. Functional depictions of community, however, highlight specific traits or characteristics. Within this, community occupies an

ancillary role; the relationships and interactions of the community are secondary to the provision of the functional element under consideration. In functional depictions highlighting specific concerns or specialized interests, community represents a strategic attempt to provide legitimacy to the approach or project. The ancillary depiction of community allows it to be appropriated across a variety of approaches and disciplines. According to Jim Lotz, however, the proliferation of the use of community has increased confusion regarding its definition.

The constant invocation of community as a solution to the ills of our time has taken on aspects of a magic incantation to drive out evil from our midst. Slapping the word community on a project or adding the word to any and every collective venture has devalued it.²⁸

While functional approaches provide a highly specialized focus and concentration with regard to the primary quality under consideration, this focus prohibits a broader and more thorough understanding of the community itself.

The expertise underlying functional depictions of community lends support to the exclusion of ontological and sociological considerations. For example, cost-benefit analyses dismiss concerns such as the loss of contact between friends and relatives in a community as secondary to the implementation of development or modernization initiatives. Such reliance on cost-benefit analyses in community considerations, however, typically negates the importance of ontological attributes, labelling them irrational or irrelevant. As noted by Barnett Richling; "Cultural intangibles ordinarily find no place in the calculus of development."²⁹ The common acceptance of functional considerations presents an inherent difficulty in the presentation of ontological and sociological elements central to the well being and viability of a community. In the face of primary emphasis on economic factors, ontological-sociological considerations are often dismissed.

Sociologists who stress social considerations are accused of being 'pie-in-the-sky' dreamers, and are chastized for proposing solutions which are 'not realistic' simply because they may be somewhat more economically costly.³⁰

Complaints of the absence of localized ontological-sociological considerations are thus discarded as 'howling at the moon' without understanding the pervasive implications

of community membership on the lives of its members. In an analogy presented by David Maybury-Lewis, attempts to secure consideration of ontological contributions to community are dismissed with a similar disregard as nineteenth-century Luddites who went around smashing machines in a futile effort to halt the Industrial Revolution.³¹

As can be shown in the 1953 relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic and the 1965 Resettlement of outport residents in Newfoundland, the use of the term community in its functional sense has had profoundly negative impacts on the continuation of community in its ontological sense. The use of the same word in both contexts has masked this conflict and its deconstruction. The rationalized image presented in functional approaches to community fails to acknowledge the intricacies and implications of community life and activity. Without this, policy initiatives inevitably work to the detriment rather than the advantage of the community. This points to the need to readdress its use in policy documents.

In a discussion of the marginalization of women from the mainstream epistemological terrain, Lorraine Code notes; “Only by taking the trouble to know other people well, in *their* circumstances, sensitive to what *their* circumstances mean *to them*, can people participate responsibly in each other’s lives.”³² Similarly, only with reference to the full spectrum of meaning found in human life and activity may policy initiatives genuinely offer improvements within a community. Policy initiatives must take into consideration the implications and life experiences of the recipients of these policy initiatives.

Reactions against various Native practices and rituals, for example, were launched without understanding their implications for status or spirituality. Such reactions, however, were not isolated to Native practices. As Jim Lotz noted; “Protests against seal hunting in Newfoundland did not appreciate that for many young men, ‘going to the ice’ formed part of a *rite de passage* that moved them from childhood to adult status in the community.”³³ By disrupting such a practice without an understanding of its importance and implications, detrimental consequences result across generations within a community.

Only with an understanding of community membership may a substantial and therefore adequate image of the needs of the community be presented. In promoting a synthesis of ontological and functional depictions of community, the opportunity for the successful enrichment of a quality of life through the implementation of policy initiatives is increased. Taking the time to understand and appreciate the community, and allowing members to actively participate in and contribute to decisions affecting their own lives are necessary steps towards the integration of functional and ontological depictions of community in policy initiatives.

Endnotes

1. Barry Checkoway, "Six strategies of community change," in *Community Development Journal*. (Vol. 30(1). January 1995. pgs. 2-20), p. 3.
2. Hillery's three primary categories were: group solidarity, geographic area, and sociogeographic structure. The seven sub-classifications included: self-sufficiency, common life, consciousness of homogeneity, common ends, means or norms, the sharing of a collection of institutions, geographically based local group, and finally, the community as an 'individuality', either in the sense of an entity or something greater than the sum of its parts. See, for example, George Hillery, *A Research Odyssey: Developing and Testing a Community Theory*. (London: Transaction Books, 1982), p. 18-20.
3. George A Hillery Jr. *A Research Odyssey: Developing and Testing a Community Theory*. (London: Transaction Books, 1982), p. 13.
4. Jim Lotz. *The Lichen Factor: The Quest for Community Development in Canada*. (Sydney: UCCB, 1998), p. 113.
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17. *Ibid.* p. 6.
18. Allen Johnson. "In search of the affluent society," in *Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives*. Seventh ed. Eds Phillip Whitten and David E. K. Hunter. (New York: Harper Collins, 1993. 202-208), p. 207.
19. "Community," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, p. 163.
20. Wilkinson, p. 3.
21. Sid Noel. *Revolution at Queen's Park*. (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1997), p. 4.
22. Edelman, p.20.
23. Ralph Matthews. *There's No Better Place Than Here*. (London: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1976), p. 120.

24. "International Review of Community Development: Theory and Practice." in *Community Development around the World: Practice, Theory, Research, Training*. Ed. Hubert Campfens. (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1997, pgs. 11-34), p. 33.
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26. Brian Wharf. "Introduction." in *Communities and Social Policy in Canada*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992. 11-35), p. 20.
27. Joan Newman Kuyek. *Fighting for Hope: Organizing to Realize Our Dreams*. (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990), p. 43.
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29. Barnett Richling. "Stuck Up on a Rock: Resettlement and Community Development in Hopedale, Labrador." in *Human Organization*. Vol. 44(4). (Winter 1985. 348-352), p. 348.
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31. David Maybury-Lewis. "Societies on the brink." in *Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives*. Seventh ed. Eds Phillip Whitten and David E. K. Hunter. (New York: Harper Collins, 1993. 264-267), p. 266.
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33. Lotz, p. 62.

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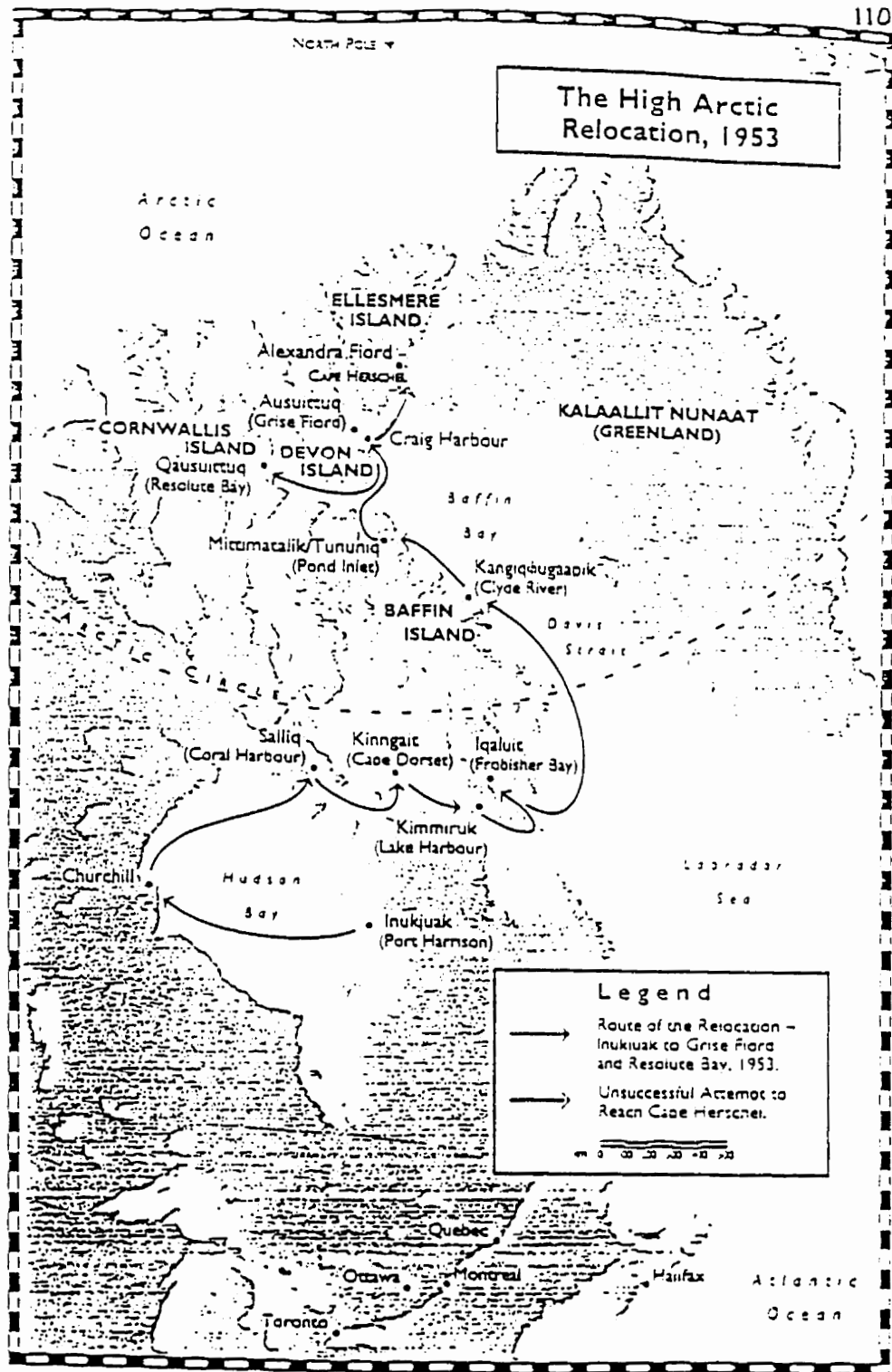
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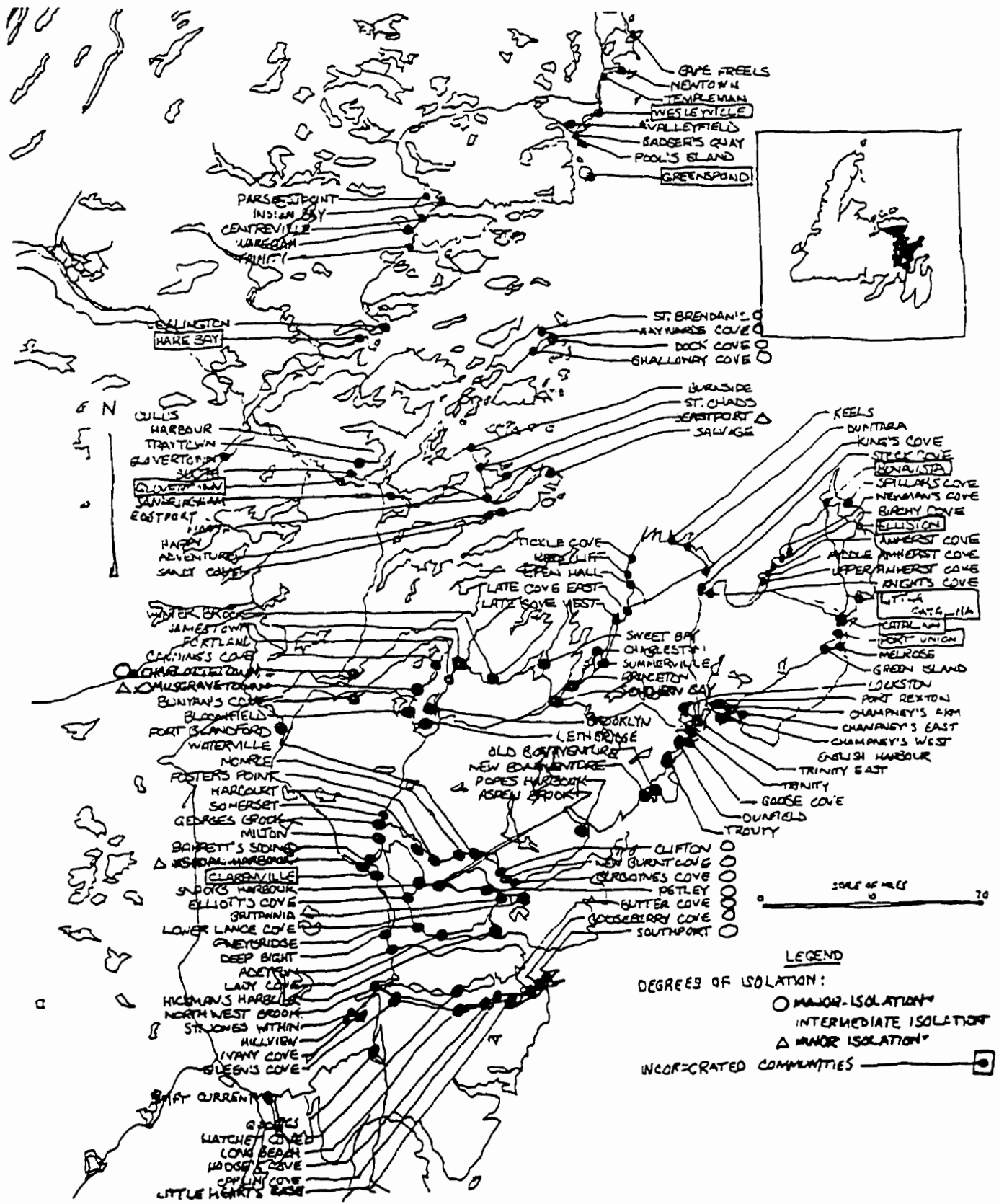
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Appendix A: Map of the 1953 Relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic. A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation. Royal Commission On Aboriginal Peoples. Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1994.



Appendix B: Map of Newfoundland Outports. "Isolation Criteria: Federal Census Division Number 7," in Newfoundland Resettlement Program: Socio-Economic Study of Newfoundland and Labrador Unincorporated Communities. March 1971, p. 10.