

Introduction:

Let us suppose that a southern Canadian writer -- an independent citizen living in liberty -- decides to go to Pond Inlet, at the northern end of Baffin Island in the Northwest Territories, to live permanently in a quiet, peaceful atmosphere helpful to his muse. Being a wise man, aware of the needs of his wife and three small children, he begins to investigate costs. Eventually he abandons his plan. The capital cost of building even the simplest three bedroom house at Pond Inlet is more than he can possibly afford.

A Southern Canadian moving his family from one city to another thinks nothing of doing business with a real estate company to the tune of \$12,000 to \$35,000 for a three bedroom house. Moreover he can do this with only a few thousands dollars in cash. But let him try to get a house built in the north for this kind of money and let him try to get it built on twenty or thirty year financing.

He will find that to get into the north even for a visit requires quite a financial outlay and settling there as a private citizen to live in a manner approaching that to which he is accustomed in the south, is out of the question (except perhaps at Yellowknife, Fort Smith or Hay River) unless he is sponsored by the Government or by a company.

If he does visit, he will find private citizens but he will find most of them living in tumbledown buildings, even shacks, and he will be appalled at the way the Eskimos and Indians live (unless of course he fails to realize that they are Canadian citizens too).

If the north is to be settled (and surely it cannot be satisfactorily developed unless it is settled), encouragement must be given to settlers as well as the transients it now has. The barrier formed by the high capital cost of housing must be overcome, even assuming that high wages will overcome the high cost of operating and maintaining housing, once it is provided.

If the Eskimos and Indians are to live as first class citizens -- not simply be called first class citizens by well meaning fellow Canadians -- they must have decent housing, comparable with that enjoyed by other Canadians. The present "status system", by which the majority of Canadians judge each other, makes this mandatory. Anything less than "average" southern Canadian housing for the Eskimos and Indians automatically brands them and their children as less than "average" Canadians. Making high sounding statements at conferences and writing glowing accounts in the press about the attributes of these "first Canadians" will not erase the fact that many of them are not housed as well as many Canadian cattle.

#### What are the Minimal Standards for Northern Housing?

The Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association has declared (1) the following fundamental standards for healthful housing:

##### A. Fundamental Physiological Needs:

1. Maintenance of a thermal environment which will avoid undue heat loss from the human body;



2. Maintenance of a thermal environment which will permit adequate heat loss from the human body;
3. Provision of an atmosphere of reasonable chemical purity;
4. Provision of adequate daylight illumination and avoidance of undue daylight glare;
5. Provision of admission of direct sunlight;
6. Provision of adequate artificial illumination and avoidance of glare;
7. Protection against excessive noise;
8. Provision of adequate space for exercise and for the play of children.

B. Fundamental Psychological Needs:

9. Provision of adequate privacy for the individual;
10. Provision of opportunities for normal family life;
11. Provision of opportunities for normal community life;
12. Provision of facilities which make possible the performance of the tasks of the household, without undue physical and mental fatigue;
13. Provision of facilities for maintenance of cleanliness of the dwelling and of the person;
14. Provision of possibilities for aesthetic satisfaction in the home and its surroundings;
15. Concordance with prevailing social standards of the local community.

C. Protection Against Contagion:

16. Provision of a water supply of safe sanitary quality, available to the dwelling.
17. Protection of the water supply system against pollution within the dwelling.

18. Provision of toilet facilities of such a character as to minimize the danger of transmitting disease;
19. Protection against sewage contamination of the interior surfaces of the dwelling;
20. Avoidance of insanitary conditions in the vicinity of the dwelling;
21. Exclusion from the dwelling of vermin which may play a part in the transmission of disease;
22. Provision of facilities for keeping milk and food undecomposed;
23. Provision of sufficient space in sleeping-rooms to minimize the danger of contact infection.

D. Protection Against Accidents:

24. Erection of the dwelling with such materials and methods of construction as to minimize danger of accidents due to collapse of any part of the structure;
25. Control of conditions likely to cause fires or to promote their spread;
26. Provision of adequate facilities for escape in case of fire;
27. Protection against danger of electrical shocks and burns;
28. Protection against gas poisonings;
29. Protection against falls and other mechanical injuries in the home;
30. Protection of the neighborhood against the hazards of automobile traffic.

Protection from dogs must obviously be added to this list when thinking of housing for Northern Canada. Should any single item be removed from this list? Are these standards too good for northern citizens? Rather let it be admitted that northern housing should be better and larger

than in the south because so much more time must be spent indoors, particularly by children.

Fire is a much more serious matter in a northern settlement because of the cost of replacing buildings and equipment. Therefore buildings built of wood must be adequately spaced from each other. This lengthens utility service lines and raises costs. Yet southern citizens accustomed to modern conveniences will not go to the north for long unless modern public utility services or reasonable facsimiles thereof are available.

In the larger settlements such as Inuvik, Yellowknife or Frobisher Bay, community power, water and sewerage have been provided or are being planned. In the smaller settlements, because of the nature of their development by various agencies of Government (or the Hudson's Bay Company or Missions), it is not uncommon to find several small generating stations providing power, a variety of toilet and water supply systems, various methods -- from the crude and effective to the dangerous -- for the disposal of waste water and excreta, and various methods of heating. With some planning and "getting together", some settlements are beginning to share their resources, but much remains to be done.

#### The Need for Better Housing for Eskimos, Indians and Metis:

The relationship between poor housing and the 23% mortality of Eskimo infants was demonstrated empirically in the book "Eskimo Mortality and Housing" (2). Death certificates of Eskimo infants show that about half died of acute diseases of the respiratory system. For most of the remaining half the stated cause of death was recorded as being "unknown". There is



good reason to believe that many of these were also due to acute diseases of the respiratory system (and this excludes tuberculosis, which killed only six Eskimos in 1959). There is ample evidence from nurses, missionaries and members of the R.C.M.P. that lack of adequate warmth and shelter during the critical first year of life killed some babies and hastened the deaths of many more. The fact that more than half of all Eskimo deaths from all causes occur during the first year of life supports this argument.

It is interesting that Mr. Abraham Ogpik, an Eskimo from Aklavik, in addressing the Second Conference on The Canadian Eskimo, sponsored by the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada in Toronto in early 1960, at least twice made the point that what the Eskimos need most is good food, warmth, shelter and education.

Statistics for Indians and Metis living in the Northwest Territories are not as readily available as for the Eskimos. The Indian infant mortality rate was about 9% in 1958. That for the Metis is not known. The all-Canada rate is 3%. The lower Indian rate can probably be explained by the availability of timber for log cabin construction and for fuel, longer association with the white man and therefore emulation of his ways, greater availability of medical and nursing care, and the fact that more Indian families exist on a wage economy or can augment their hunting and trapping by part time or seasonal wage employment.

A serious attempt is being made by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to institute a housing program for Eskimos. The

"rigid frame house", a single room about 16 feet square, is to be erected in quantity in the north. This house was developed by the Building Research Division of the National Research Council working with members of the Northern Administration Branch. Structurally it is probably the strongest and best insulated house that can be built for the materials and effort expended. But is this the best that can be done to meet the Eskimos' need for warmth and shelter? Are warmth and shelter all that are needed in housing the Eskimo? Is "better than he had before" good enough? Will it save him from dragging through a generation of the "slum" stage of "development" that can be seen in Africa, in India, in South America or even on the fringes of some of our own cities? If this "rigid frame house" is not provided with adequate sanitary facilities, is there not a possibility that the pneumonia that now kills so many Eskimo babies may simply be exchanged for death from infant diarrhoea -- a common cause of infant deaths wherever insanitary living conditions prevail? Or are we counting on the fact that the north is naturally refrigerated for most of each year?

Under the public health legislation of the Northwest Territories "a building used for human habitation shall be deemed to be insanitary if there is not in all sleeping rooms an air space of 400 cubic feet for each occupant 10 years of age or over and 200 cubic feet for each occupant under 10 and over 1 year of age". Providing scarcely more than 1,500 cubic feet of air space, the "rigid frame house" allows barely enough sleeping space for two adults and four children under 10 years of age (if one ignores the cubic capacity of all the bedding, the stove, meat supplies, clothing, hunting gear,

the family's bag of flour and all the other items that take up "air space" in the average Eskimo "home").

One hears criticisms that the Eskimo would not use a larger house and could not heat it if he had one. Yet one can see two and three roomed "houses" of wood and canvas occupied by eskimos at Tuktoyaktuk, Clyde River, Frobisher Bay and Resolute Bay. There is ample evidence to prove that, where the Eskimo has been able to get the materials, he has built houses containing more than one room and more than 256 square feet (the minimum area of the "rigid frame house").

#### Sanitation and Personal Dignity:

Whether we like to admit it or not, personal cleanliness and freedom from noticeable body odour have become status symbols in our society. Broadly speaking, Canadians may be divided into those who smell and those who do not smell -- those who have the means and the knowledge to use soap and deodorants (the white collar "class" and most of the labouring "class" -- after 6 p.m.) and those who cannot obtain a bath or shower without great difficulty or expense or who do not realize how important bathing and deodorants are to job-getting and job-keeping. To the average Canadian the importance of not smelling (except to his dog) has been magnified out of all proportion, through the insidious propaganda of the cosmetic industry, to the point where a man cannot stand with dignity amongst his fellows if he smells of sweat.

The Canadian adolescent is becoming acutely aware of the importance of looking clean and smelling sweet or not smelling at all. This status symbol is glorified for its own sake in advertisements, in the movies



and even in school health textbooks. Perhaps one of the reasons young Canadians seem to prefer urban to rural living is because close proximity housing provides the necessary sanitary facilities at a minimum of expense, for use with a minimum of effort. In our towns and cities the day when a bath every Saturday night was all that middle class society demanded is nearly gone. To hold up one's head and look people in the eye the daily bath or shower is now essential.

The Eskimo male who does not bathe is still a man amongst men. His eye is clear, his head is high and his dignity remains intact, even if he sometimes smells. So long as he remains with his own people and they all smell together, this state of dignity will remain. But is he not already regarded by visitors to this tent with pity as one of the last remnant of "the great unwashed"? Is it not partly on the basis of his lack of sanitary facilities and knowledge of personal hygiene that most Canadians -- shame-facedly perhaps -- would have to admit that they think of him (if they think of him at all) as a "second class citizen"? And yet it is instructive to observe how readily those Eskimos who have been brought to Southern Canada for medical treatment, education or employment have taken to bathing, clean clothes and deodorants. It would be interesting to find out whether or not any of those who have returned to the old ways ever miss the hot and cold running water and the feeling of almost total immersion in soap suds.

Another status symbol is the flush toilet. Canadians may be divided into those who sit on flush toilets and those who put up with "chemical" (?) toilets or the old fashioned pit privy. When you have hot and cold running water, a washing machine and a flush toilet in your home you have arrived. Anything less puts you into Class B right away.

The Eskimo's world is changing. Over 700 have come to Frobisher Bay, to live alongside the white man and watch his ways. The Eskimo is starting to compete for jobs with his white fellow Canadians. Is he going to be able to cross this sanitary status barrier unless he is provided with facilities for cleanliness, laundering of clothes and for the disposal of excreta equal to those available to his white fellow Canadian? And can one expect as many of his children to survive and grow up feeling equal to their white fellows unless adequate sanitary facilities are provided in their homes? Only northern school teachers and nurses really appreciate the degree to which our northern native children are afflicted by skin disease and head lice.

Surely in planning a housing program for Eskimos (and for Indians and metis), it is not enough merely to provide warmth and shelter. There must be enough space for sleeping, food preparation and cooking, eating and recreation. There must be privacy for adults and especially for adolescents (particularly those who need peace and quiet to study). It is no use saying that the Eskimo adolescent is quite accustomed to dressing and undressing and sleeping in the same room with his parents and his younger brothers and sisters. This may still be true in 1960 but it is doubtful that it will be true for very much longer in Frobisher Bay, Aklavik or even Rankin Inlet. Planning a housing program takes time and it is suggested that before a program planned in 1960 could be put into effect (say over a five year period), many Eskimo families will know about and want to have the same standards of living, of privacy, of sanitation and of decency that most other Canadians regard as vital to their

dignity and way of life.

The Philosophy of Attack on the Problems of Cost:

All this is very well, but how can typical Canadian housing, even by rural standards in the south, be made available to northern people who have scarcely any money to pay for it? How could it be provided free or heavily subsidised without setting dangerous precedents and "spoiling" the recipients of such benefits? Even if the capital costs were met, how would the housing be heated, lighted and kept in repair?

It is true that the average Canadian citizen owns his own home or is in process of acquiring it and this means a detached house with several rooms, with hot and cold running water, a flush toilet, a separate kitchen, living room and sleeping accommodation sufficient to allow the adults to sleep apart from the children and usually the males from the females. However, there are many Canadians living in urban areas who have been forced to live in semi-detached, row housing or in apartments. Apartment house living is becoming quite common. The same is true in other countries and there is ample evidence in other countries to show that one of the ways to provide low cost housing in quantity is by apartment style housing.

It was noted at the last meeting of the Eskimo Affairs Committee (1960) that the Eskimos present rejected the idea of living in apartments. That is all very fine if they can afford detached houses. Obviously the average first class Canadian citizen, given the means, would prefer his own detached house standing in its own grounds. But beggars cannot be choosers. Many first class Canadians have found out that they must compromise to live



within their means. Perhaps the Eskimo, if he were to see a typical middle income level apartment in southern Canada would also be willing to compromise. Has he ever been given the chance to decide? The "rigid frame house" may be a miniature "detached house standing in its own grounds", but it is a poor imitation of the real thing.

The average first class Canadian citizen tries to buy his own home. The normal thing in Canada is to buy rather than to rent. Somehow renting seems to be regarded with mild scorn. But is this a good reason for deciding that the Eskimos must buy their houses? It was pointed out at the Eskimo Affairs Committee (1960) that one of the reasons the "rigid frame house" costs the Eskimo so much is that it must be paid for within ten years. How many other Canadians pay for their houses in ten years? Would it not be better to design a house for Eskimos providing more space plus essential sanitary facilities, built soundly enough to stand an amortization plan covering 20, 30 or even 50 years?

This is easier said than done, particularly with respect to the provision of adequate sanitary facilities. Probably on a "detached house" basis, it is impossible within what the average Eskimo family will be able to pay for some time to come. Many metis and whites would not be able to afford to buy such a house outright (in the Northwest Territories) and what company would lend the money on a 20 or 30 year mortgage?

A further point is that the detached house with all four of its walls and its roof exposed to the weather is surely the most expensive type of house to heat, other things such as size and insulation values being

equal. The apartment house, on the other hand, brings many of the benefits of urban close proximity housing such as shared utility services and lower heating costs per cubic foot, and may even cost little more per cubic foot to build, if carefully designed. But apartments are usually rented not sold. Is this why we seem to have shied away from a careful examination of this approach to the Eskimo housing problem? Renting is perfectly respectable in many parts of the world, particularly for poorer citizens. It could be respectable in the north for the Eskimo if we make it so. Nearly all civil servants working in the north rent their homes. Why should not the Eskimo do the same?

#### Proposal:

It is suggested that a careful examination should be made of the costs of erecting and maintaining apartment type housing blocks in northern settlements, for rent to any family, native or white, self-employed, company-employed or Government-employed. To give them a chance to enjoy better housing and in particular modern sanitary facilities, Eskimos, Indians, and metis unable to afford the rent for a whole apartment would be permitted to form "syndicates" of several families, each "syndicate" renting a whole apartment, each family in the "syndicate" occupying one or more rooms according to its contribution towards the rent. Rents for individual rooms would be fixed by the renting agency and occupancy would be subject to the scrutiny of welfare and health officers to prevent gross overcrowding.

A suggested design for such an apartment house complex is attached. Apartment "A" is labelled as if occupied by a "syndicate" of families, sharing the modern bathroom and kitchen. Apartment "B" is labelled as if occupied by a single family (which could be Eskimo, Indian, metis or white, providing it could afford the rent).

The features of this apartment house complex are as follows:

- (a) It consists of twelve three-bedroom apartments arranged in three blocks of four, two storeys, with two apartments below and two above. In some areas basements could be provided.
- (b) All twelve apartments are served by a centrally located utility building providing heating, electric power, a water supply system, hot water supply, laundry and workshop. Services pass to the apartment blocks in utiliders under connecting passageways. Where basements cannot be provided, waste water holding tanks would have to be added to the utility building.
- (c) The apartment blocks are spaced so as to minimize the spread of fire from one block to another or from the utility building. All cooking, lighting and other services in the apartment blocks would be by electricity. Primus stoves, gasoline lanterns and the seal oil lamp



would be forbidden, but it is believed the change to electricity would not prove too difficult for the Eskimo if a special effort were made to explain the merits of the change to him.

- (d) The apartments in each block are placed one on either side of a common hallway, where the connecting staircase to the second storey is located. The passage connecting each apartment block to the utility building leads off the rear of this hallway, as do doors to the outside enclosed children's playing areas.
- (e) The apartments are placed at an angle to each other in each block to provide a more interesting overall plan and to minimize direct overlooking from one apartment into another.
- (f) The rooms in each apartment are based on 12 foot spans to permit a maximum of prefabrication in construction. Rooms are unusually large because
  - (i) more time must be spent indoors in the north;
  - (ii) bedrooms must be able to accommodate whole families. Thus the smallest bedroom is 12' x 16' x 9' or 1,728 cubic feet. Such a room could be used legally by 4 adults or 2 adults and 4 children under 10 years of age. It provides about the same space as a "rigid frame house" but of course bathroom, kitchen

space, hallway space for children to play in bad weather, and closet space are extra.

(g) Each apartment contains the following basic arrangements:-

- (1) A large entrance room in which parkas can be removed, boots and children's sleighs and skis, etc. stored - where the mess that is made on coming indoors from the northern outdoors can be made without tracking up the rest of the apartment.
- (ii) A small hall on to which all the other rooms open.
- (iii) A large living-dining room combination.
- (iv) A large kitchen adjacent to the living-dining room.
- (v) Three bedrooms.
- (vi) An oversize bathroom with hot and cold running water, using the plastic-liner-in-metal-container type of "dry pan" toilet. This is obviously a compromise and it may be that a better type of toilet could be provided (such as the "Destrol" type of toilet being investigated by the Departments of Transport and National Health and Welfare).

(vii) Plenty of closet space built in.

Capital costs of such an apartment house complex are estimated as follows:-

Each apartment block (4 apartments, including hallways and allowing 25 ft. total height of two storeys)	-- 100,000 cubic ft.
Three blocks	-- 300,000 cubic ft.
Utility services building (15 ft. in height)	-- 36,000 cubic ft.
Allowances for passageways and utilidors	-- 9,000
Total cubic capacity of complex	-- 345,000 cubic ft.
Assuming \$1.20/cubic ft. for construction at average northern settlement, capital cost of complex	-- \$414,000
Cost for each apartment	-- \$34,500

Assuming that this capital cost could be amortized through a Housing Authority, without interest or with interest rates carried as a subsidy, over a period of 50 years, annual repayment would be only \$690

Assuming annual servicing and maintenance costs of \$600

Estimated total annual rent per apartment of \$1,290, or a monthly rental of -- \$107.50

Assuming that a "syndicate" rented a whole apartment for \$107.50 per month, rentals for individual rooms to families making up the "syndicate" would be estimated as follows:-

Areas of two smaller bedrooms, each 192 sq. ft., bath	-- 384 sq. ft.
Area of master bedroom	-- 267 sq. ft.
Area of living-dining room	-- 471 sq. ft.

Total rentable space, assuming that bathroom, kitchen, hallways are excluded because they are shared, -- 1,062 sq. ft.

1,062 sq. ft. rents at \$107.50/month or 10.12 cents/sq. ft.



Therefore,

- one of the small bedrooms should therefore rent for --\$19.43/month
- master bedroom should therefore rent for --\$20.95/month
- living-dining room should therefore rent for --\$17.67/month

Included in this rent would be the shared use of the bathroom, kitchen, hallways, and the use of one hall closet

Principle:

The Canadian Rents or Buys What He Can Afford:

Let us apply at this point the principle that the first class Canadian citizen rents or buys what he can afford in order to put a roof over the heads of his family. The affluent Canadian owns his own ten room house on Island Park Drive. The unmarried Canadian young man delivering coal may rent only one room in an urban boarding house. There are plenty of Canadian couples in Toronto and Montreal housekeeping in single rooms. Other Canadians occupy all types of accommodation in between these two extremes. Rents or mortgage payments may range from \$250.00 to \$350.00 for the plush apartment or fine multiroomed house to rents in the city as low as \$5.00 a week for a miserably small room without any special amenities.

Surely the Eskimo can be a first class citizen and still fit into such a scale. If he has the necessary \$107.50 to rent a whole apartment in the apartment house complex described above, because he happens to be working as a skilled bulldozer operator at Frobisher Bay, for example, so much the better. However, if he is employed only part time or even hunts and traps for a living, let him rent a single bedroom for \$19.43 a month.

His dogs could be accommodated in a section of a Stalco fenced compound, the equivalent of the southern "garage", and he could be charged an extra \$2.00 a month for this privilege. He could go on hunting trips for days at a time, knowing that his wife and children were warm and safe, his children going to the local school. While away he would use a tent or snow house -- a fine place for an adult hunter in good health but death to small babies.

Across the hall from a "squidieato" of Eskimo families renting an apartment, there could be a white teacher and his family, renting a whole apartment. Upstairs there might be an apartment rented between say two Eskimo families, perhaps sharing the living-dining room as well as the bathroom and kitchen, by means of appropriate adjustments in the rents.

#### A Housing Authority:

Perhaps what is needed in the north is a Housing Authority, set up under the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation or established by special legislation as an agency of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources or the Department of Public Works. This agency would be given a large appropriation with which to build apartment house blocks in all the northern settlements, commencing with the places where better housing is obviously needed now, such as Rankin Inlet, Frobisher Bay, Fort Simpson, Fort Norman, Eskimo Point, and Cape Dorset. It would be a management agency renting apartments, but it could also build for sale to Government Departments. There is no reason why the actual building could not be done by private enterprise.

Is the idea of a Government sponsored agency getting into the apartment rental business for the benefit of private citizens so strange? In southern Canada, yes, but the north presents a different situation. If the Government wants to reduce the costs of its medical care, hospitalization and welfare programs in the north, let it improve housing for one thing. It is highly unlikely that private enterprise will take the necessary financial risks for the satisfaction of seeing Eskimos, Indians and metis in decent housing. Why should the Government not develop a scheme of this kind? If it doesn't spend the money solving the root problems, it will only spend it paying for the resulting sickness and welfare assistance.



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P.A.



CANADA

DEPUTY MINISTER  
OF  
NORTHERN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL RESOURCES

18 NOV 1960

OTTAWA, October 19, 1960.

Dr. John S. Willis,  
Indian & Northern Health Services,  
Department of National Health & Welfare,  
Booth Building,  
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear John:

Thank you very much for the loan of your paper on Northern Housing and Health. I read this with great interest and think you have advanced some interesting ideas as well as brought together a lot of detailed information. I would like to go into it in more detail with you in discussion rather than outline my comments in writing.

I am a little uneasy about several families sharing the same facilities, and I am not sure whether the Eskimos differ from the rest of us when it comes to being frustrated because of inconvenience. Let's talk about it.

Yours sincerely,

V.F. Valentine,  
Chief Research Officer,  
Northern Co-ordination  
and Research Centre.

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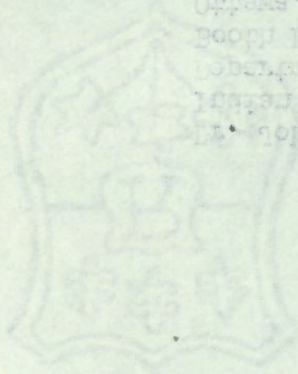
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JAN. 13, 1961

NORTHERN HOUSING AND HEALTH

John S. Willis

1. Indian infant mortality in the Northwest Territories - 9% of all live births, or 39% of total deaths of Indians from all causes.
2. Eskimo infant mortality in the Northwest Territories and Quebec - 23% of all live births, or 51% of total deaths of Eskimos from all causes.
3. Canadian infant mortality - 3% of all live births, or 11% of total deaths from all causes.
4. Four reasons suggested for these high native mortality rates:-
  - (a) Greater exposure, particularly because of more whites visiting the North and because of east-west communications provided by the DEW line, where communications used to be limited largely to south-north.
  - (b) Lack of reliable and continuous warmth and shelter and adequate nutrition.
  - (c) Aggravation of illness by poor environment and by parental neglect (because the parents themselves are often prostrated by the same illness - e.g. "influenza").
  - (d) Lack of quickly available medical care, because of sparseness of the population and the impossibility of having professional staff within easy reach of each native community.
5. The following points are amongst many that have a bearing on this subject:-
  - (a) Since with respect to spheres,
$$\frac{\text{Surface area}}{\text{Volume}} = \frac{3}{\text{radius}},$$
it is approximately true that a baby has a greater surface area in relation to its mass than an adult and therefore greater heat loss pound for pound.
  - (b) The 18 inches to 2 feet (in height) of space directly above the level of the floor of a native shack may be very cold, because of lack of adequate sub-floor insulation and inadequate heating. In his socks and boots the adult tends to forget that his youngsters live in in this "layer" when they crawl on the floor, and can get thoroughly chilled.
  - (c) Freedom from body odour, cleanliness and the possession in the home of a flush toilet, running water, a washing machine and a bath have become "status symbols" in our society. Anyone who does not have at least some of these may easily feel that he is a Class B citizen. The native child who is beginning to go to the "white" school may become self-conscious of his body odour and the "tattletale gray" of his shirt. The adolescent will feel this most. It is an angle on sanitation (quite apart from the obvious dangers of an inadequate and unsafe water supply and a bad toilet (or none at all) that should not be overlooked.
6. For these reasons (and others) good housing, including adequate sanitation, is needed for Indians and Eskimos -- "Canadian housing", not "Indian housing" or "Eskimo housing". It will take radical thinking, heavy subsidy and bold administrative effort to get it.