DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 031 332 RC 003 530

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New Northern Townsmen in Inuvik.

Canadian Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa (Ontario).
Report No-MDRP-5
Pub Date May 68
Note-30p.
Available from-Chief, Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, Canada
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.60
Descriptors-*Acculturation, Adult Education, Alcoholism, *American Indians, *Culture Conflict, *Educational Disadvantagement, Employment Qualifications, *Eskimos, Folk Culture, Housing Deficiencies, Relocation, Social Status, Status Need, Summer Programs, Values
Identifiers-Canada, Metis

A study was conducted in Inuvik, a planned settlement in the Mackenzie Delta region of the Northwest Territories in Canada, to study the factors which work against adaptation among the Indians, Eskimos, and Metis to the "urban milieu" of Inuvik. Field techniques included informal observation and intensive interviews with selected native and white informers. Factors examined were the educational, job-skill, and housing needs which affect the natives; their bush culture which includes sharing and consumption ethics and a derogatory attitude toward status seeking; and heavy drinking, a predominant problem among the natives. Some recommendations were: (1) an adult education program stressing the value systems of town life should be established; (2) the Trappers Association should be revived to provide equipment and encouragement to natives more suited to trapping than town life; and (3) a summer's work program should be instituted for teenage native males. A related document is RC 003 532. (RH)

New Northern Townsmen in Inuvik

By A. M. Ervin

MDRP 5

NEW NORTHERN TOWNSMEN IN INUVIK

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A.M. Ervin

This report is based on research carried out while the author was employed by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, now the Northern Science Research Group of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It is reproduced here as a contribution to our knowledge of the North. The opinions expressed however are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to Chief, Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

Northern Science Research Group,
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
Ottawa, May, 1968

ABSTRACT

Using as analytical devices several social variables which include ethnicity, life-style, age, sex, and social stratification, the social life of the native people of the Delta, and of Inuvik in particular, is studied. Through analysis of these components the degree of success enjoyed by native people in adapting to the new urban environment of Inuvik is assessed. It is found that ethnicity is no longer the prime factor in determining the nature of social interaction in the Delta. A new grouping, in which people from all ethnic groups are included, is emerging. The emergence of this – the "Northerner" grouping – can be understood as a response by its members to a feeling of domination by "Southerners". Analysis also identifies several factors which hinder the successful acculturation of the "Northerner" population to the new town environment. While some of these come from outside, others derive from elements inherent in the pre-urban life ways of the native people. In the former category are to be included the needs of these people for improved economic opportunities, education, job skills, and housing, all of which are necessary for better adaptation to the new town environment. In the latter category are several deeply rooted attitudes about what is good and bad. Notable here are the "sharing ethic" and the "consumption ethic", both vital elements in the "bush" culture.

Accepting all these difficulties, and acknowledging that some involve deeply rooted feelings, it is concluded that many problems may be solved if the "Northerner" grouping becomes more powerful, and if its members can develop greater awareness and pride in their identity.

FOREWORD

The Mackenzie Delta Research Project is an attempt to describe and analyze the social and economic factors related to development in the Mackenzie Delta. Particular emphasis is being directed toward the participation of the native people of the area, and the extent to which they are making effective adjustments to changes brought about by government and commercial expansion in the north.

This study, MDRP 5 by A.M. Ervin, follows the work done by José Mailhot, whose report has been published as MDRP 4 *(Inuvik Community Structure – Summer 1965)*

Mr. Ervin's research is directed toward some of the problems of adaptation which native people experience in Inuvik, and it explores the problems they experience in finding a satisfying identify in the new town setting. Recommendations for action to ameliorate some of their difficulties are also presented.

A.J. Kerr,
Co-ordinator,
Mackenzie Delta
Research Project.

PREFACE

This report is based on my three and one-half months of field work among the residents of the Mackenzie Delta (principally in the settlement of Inuvik), Northwest Territories, Canada. Field work began on June 21 and ended on October 5, 1966. The work was done for the Northern Coordination and Research Center of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, as a component study of the Mackenzie Delta Research Project. This report is intended primarily as a continuation of J. Mailhot's study *(Inuvik Community Structure – Summer 1965)* and should be read in conjunction with it.

I would like to thank Dr. D.B. Shimkin of the University of Illinois for his advice and encouragement in the writing of this report. However, responsibility for the views and opinions expressed is my own. I am also indebted to my colleagues in the field: Dr. J. Lubart, J. Wolforth, D. Smith, and A.J. Kerr, for their helpful cooperation. I wish to express particular thanks to the residents of the Delta for their hospitality and advice, especially to Victor and Bertha Allen, Johnny Banksland, William and Rebecca Chicksee, John Pascal, Suzy and Peter Sidney, Big Jim and Ida Rogers, Sandy Stefansson, and Dave Sutherland.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE PROBLEM, AND FIELD METHODOLOGY

As a researcher on the Mackenzie Delta Research Project, my task was two-fold. First of all, I was to conduct an anthropological survey of 'significant social sub-groupings' as part of Phase II in the Project's program of research. Secondly, I was to concentrate on the native population of Inuvik, as a continuation of J. Mailhot's (1966) community study of Inuvik.

Field techniques in this research included informal observation, and intensive interviews with selected native and white informants. The bulk of the fieldwork was done in Inuvik, as this was to be the focus of the problem. However, all of the Delta settlements (except the Arctic Red River) were visited, and several journeys were made to fishing and whaling camps. These trips proved useful in that they provided contrasts which illuminated many of the features of Inuvik.

This report represents the findings from the field research. Two main descriptive sections are presented. The first (Section 2.0: Cultural and Structural Features of Inuvik and the 'Regional Community') is an attempt to view the social life of the Delta, and more specifically that of Inuvik, in the light of certain significant social variables. It includes the factors of ethnicity, life styles, age, sex, settlement patterns, social stratification, and formal community organizations. All of these variables are intended to demonstrate the theme of native adaptation to the new 'urban milieu' of Inuvik, or the degree of successful transition from bush life to that of the town. In this section an attempt has been made to formulate some of the more important social sub-groupings (e.g., factors of ethnicity and styles of life).

The second descriptive section (3.0, Individual and Community Problems) refers directly to Inuvik, describing some rather serious adjustment difficulties and responses for native people, arising from the 'urban' structure of Inuvik.

Inuvik's urban life is summarized in section 4.0, drawing from the material of the two descriptive sections (2.0 and 3.0). Finally, suggestions for the alleviation of some of the problems brought forward in this report are presented in the last section (5.0, Recommendations).

1.2 THE SETTING

Six permanent settlements (Aklavik, Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk, Fort McPherson, Arctic Red River, and Reindeer Station) constitute the main population centers of the Delta. These communities may be considered as forming a single 'regional community', since they are linked by such economic and political ties as transportation, commerce, administration, health, and education. Migration to and from the various Delta settlements is common, and inter-community kinship bonds are very important for the native people.

Table I

Settlements	Total	White	Métis	Indian	Eskimo
Mackenzie Delta Settlements (Total)	4728	1918		1148	1662
Arctic Red River	109	5	21	83	–
Ft. McPherson	706	70	80	550	6
Aklavik	635	145	60	150	280
Inuvik	2258	1367		245	646
(Hostels)	(486)	(102)		(114)	(270)
Reindeer Station	69	9	–	–	60
Tuktoyaktuk	465	40	19	6	400

Populations of Inuvik Regional Settlements, 1965

Source: Cooper: 9

The inhabitants of Reindeer Station, with the exception of two families, are Eskimo, and are engaged in reindeer herding. Aklavik, a fur-trade town, is ethnically heterogeneous (Eskimo, Indian, Métis, White). Arctic Red River and Fort McPherson, located on the Arctic Red and Peel Rivers respectively, are traditional fur-trade towns, with the populations consisting primarily of Loucheux (Kutchin) Indians. Tuktoyaktuk, located on the coast of the Beaufort Sea to the east of the Delta is predominantely Eskimo, and is the site of a Distant Early Warning Line station.

Inuvik is located on the East Channel of the Mackenzie River Delta. It contains over half of the regional population, dominates the Delta, and is a service community, being the administrative center for the Western Canadian Arctic. It contains various government agencies, a large hospital, a school and hostel complex, a Navy radio station, and an airport with suitable facilities for handling large transport planes from southern Canada.

Inuvik's construction arose out of a decision made in 1952 to replace Aklavik with a new town, since Aklavik was considered unsuitable for further expansion, being subject to floods. As well as providing for the expansion of government facilities, the new settlement was planned to be an area which would have improved educational, health, and welfare facilities. This was to be a model Arctic town, proof that living facilities of southern Canada were viable in the Arctic. Construction began in 1954, and was virtually completed in 1959 (Pritchard: 145 - 152).

There is still much indignation among the permanent residents of the Delta over the fact that they were not consulted to any great extent in the selection of the Inuvik site, nor in the actual planning of the town. I was told that the residents of Aklavik received their first news of the choice of the town's location from an American radio station in Fairbanks, Alaska. The site seems to have been selected more on the basis of technological and engineering feasibilities than on considerations of the needs which the native population felt were important. Many still feel that the move would have been more acceptable to the local people if Inuvik had been located on the West Channel near adequate fish, game, and fur resources. The present location of Inuvik creates transition problems for the native people, since such resources are inadequate, thus forcing them to depend for subsistence upon either wage-labour or welfare assistance.

Aklavik was expected to die a natural death. Indeed, it seemed that this was going to be the case, since at first many people left the settlement to participate in the construction of Inuvik, and very little government capital remained operative in Aklavik. However, after the initial construction phase at Inuvik, many of the previous residents returned. The government seems now to have recognized that Aklavik is there to stay. Recently, considerable investment money has begun to flow into the area, and construction has picked up in this older town.

On the positive side, many useful and welcome results have come from the construction of Inuvik. With the building of the Sir Alexander Mackenzie School together with its hostel complex, educational opportunities have been increased, most notably in vocational and high school training. The expanded facilities of the hospital complex are a definite asset to the immediate and surrounding area. Natives who are seriously ill (especially T.B. patients) do not have to be removed to Camsell Hospital in Edmonton. Most important, Inuvik provides wage-labour opportunities for the native people. Such employment is critical, since the fur-trading industry cannot support many people to-day, and fur prices tend to fluctuate drastically according to the unreliability of highly competive world markets, themselves dominated by public taste and fads.

In the future, natural gas, oil, and other mineral resources may be exploited in the Delta region. This suggests future employment opportunities for native persons, but at present, assessments of both the extent of these resources and of the demands from the southern market are unknown (Wolforth: 72).

Consequently, the present economy is a highly artificial one, not dependent on the exportation of natural resources or on manufactured products. Government services and construction, supported by heavy financial 'underwriting" from the south, form the basis of this artificial economy. Most of the permanent and native population are now supported through subsidized seasonal wage-labour and welfare payments.

Inuvik must be viewed in terms of a reference frame based on these economic realities. Furthermore, although many errors were made in the planning and construction of this town, it is there to stay, and it illustrates trends of centralization and urbanization which are becoming increasingly important in the Canadian North.

Jacob Fried has pointed out most succinctly the importance of the time factor in the problems of maladaptation confronting new northern towns such as Inuvik:

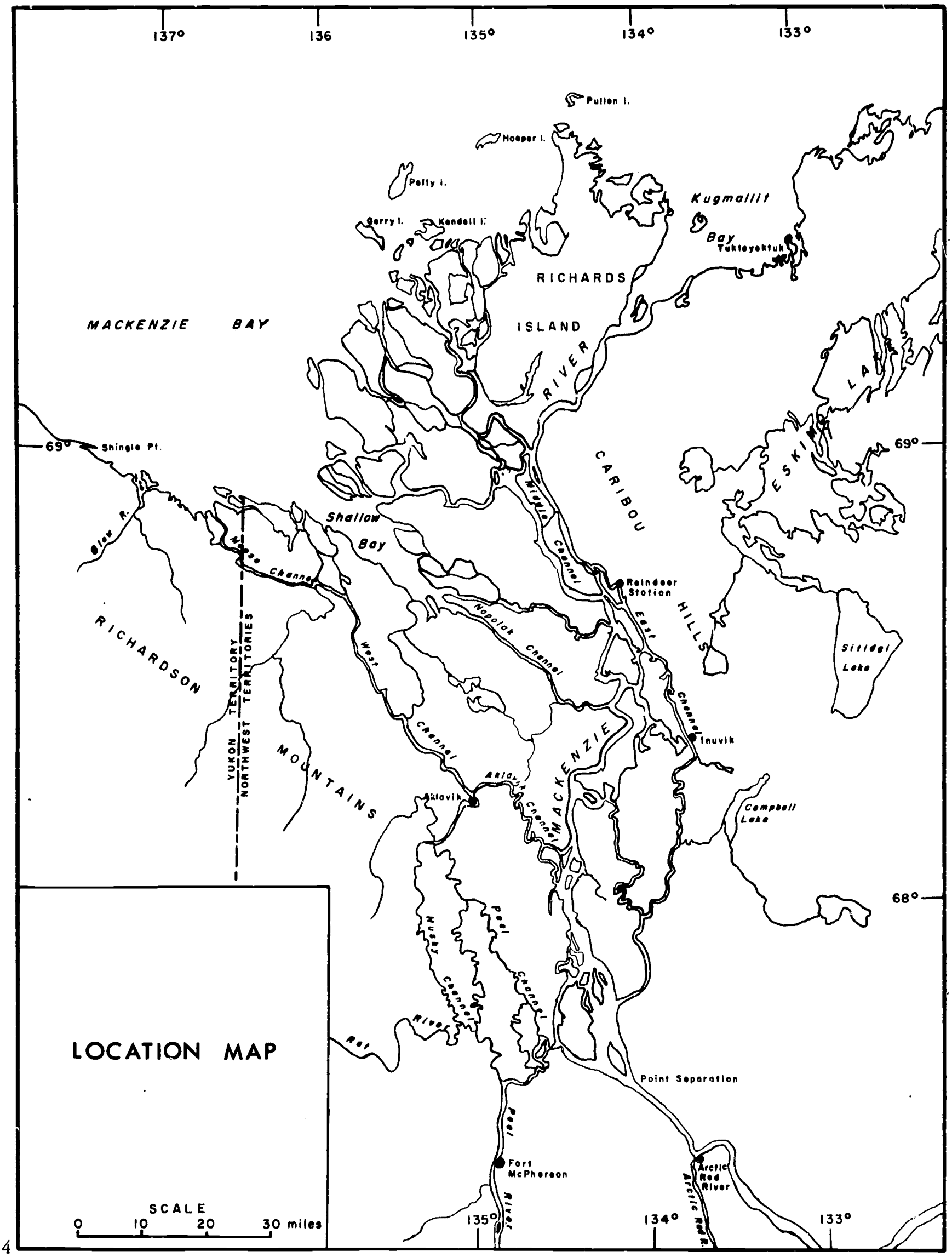
> "The culture of new Northern settlements then is not necessarily derived by experience, and does not reflect a historical process of adaptation by settlers . . . In this early stage of commun-

ity development there is a marked lack of innovation because there has not been enough time to develop the slow and immediate exchange between man and his environment and so create a local culture or style."

(Fried: 94)

The following sections, describing the social life of Inuvik and the Delta, should reflect the validity of the above statements.

MACKENZIE DELTA



LOCATION MAP

SCALE
0 10 20 30 miles

2.0 CULTURAL AND STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF INUVIK AND THE DELTA "REGIONAL COMMUNITY"

2.1 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ETHNIC ORIGIN

Groupings in Aklavik and Inuvik are not so strongly based on ethnic lines as they are reported to be in other Northern communities (e.g., Great Whale River: see Honigmann 1962). At one time, this was not the case, for hostilities and avoidance-behaviour were quite common between the Indians and Eskimos of the Delta. To-day these differences have largely evaporated because of the common position in which the Métis, the descendants of white trappers, the Indians, and the Eskimos, find themselves in the new town-setting of Inuvik. Furthermore, since Aklavik has been quite heterogeneous from its founding, strong ethnic identity has been reduced because of shared interests developing through common residence and participation in the fur-trade.

A growing basis of grouping is that of Northerner versus Southerner, or long-time resident of the Delta, versus the transients from the provinces of Canada. 'Northerner' is a social category which includes Indians, Eskimos, Métis, white trappers, some entrepreneurs, and a few civil servants. The basic criterion for membership in this grouping is that of permanent residence, or, for those born outside of the Territory, a stated commitment to settle in the North, and to have close social ties with the native people. Thus, the category, 'Northerner,' is an emergent phenomenon. It is a local social response to the recent and rapid influx of many transients (including civil service people, navy personnel, construction workers, and so on).

In the eyes of the Northerners, the 'Southerners' fall into various categories. At worst, the Northerners view the Southerners as opportunists and selfish intruders who are a threat to the well-being of the North, coming there to exploit, to exercise power over local people, and to create little or nothing of positive value in or for the area. At best, the Northerners see the Southerners as rather impersonal and disinterested persons, apparently not willing, or giving much indication of trying, to interact with or understand the native peoples.

The latter stereotype would seem the more correct according to the writer's observations of behavioural patterns. At public places and events there seems to be little intermingling or conversation between members of the two groups. Southern transients (except for construction workers) drink almost exclusively in the quiet atmosphere of the Mackenzie Hotel's cocktail lounge, while the groups of native peoples drink in the one beer parlour, or 'zoo,'[1] as it is called by the Southerners. At church assemblies, most of the natives segregate themselves, usually sitting in the back pews; and there are special services given in the Loucheux, or Eskimo languages. This theme of separateness is apparent also at the Hudson's Bay Store, at baseball games and sports events, and such public events as 'Inuvik Sports Day.'

In addition, in comparison with the Northerners, the Southerners have job advantages, and command higher salaries and better housing (see section 2.5). This is normally due to the fact that they have greater and more valued skills and have had the advantage of more extensive education. Northerners (mainly of the native category) lack these housing and job advantages, since they do not possess the educational requisites needed to attain them. They view themselves as having been conditioned by the bush-life, and as being possessed of the Northern values and greater honesty in their relationships. Some Northerners feel that these latter qualities often put them at a disadvantage in the unfamiliar town-setting of Inuvik.

Returning to the question of ethnicity proper, there are of course the legal ethnic classifications: Indian, Eskimo, and 'Other'. (referring to whites and people of mixed ancestry, not classified as Indian or Eskimo). Yet these terms are often meaningless from a biological standpoint, or in considering the style of life of the individual. Strikingly Caucasoid features are frequently found among persons with native legal status, living an Eskimo or Indian trapping style of life. There are also a few native people in town (plus a growing number of adolescents) who have gone through the school-hostel system, whose native ethnic origins are becoming increasingly remote as they become more oriented to town life and the white man's ways. Probably styles of life (see section 2.2) will become more important for group identification in the future.

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[1] One time while I was sitting in the cocktail lounge I overheard a waiter say to a navy couple, "Have you ever looked into the 'zoo'? It's quite a wild sight. Come on and see. I'll open the door for you." The man went, but his wife declined. Also it is interesting to note that many native people themselves now refer to the beer parlour as the 'zoo'. To me this indicates a rather distressing sign of feelings of self-consciousness and inferiority on the part of native people.

Ethnic awareness among the permanent population tends to be situational. Indians, Eskimos, or Métis will often speak of 'we natives' or 'we Northerners' in opposition to whites or Southerners. Derogatory references to other ethnic groups within the Northerner population will be displayed in heated moments. For example, an Indian complaining about the government might refer to those 'damn Huskies' (Eskimos) as getting more welfare benefits than Indians; a young Eskimo girl might complain of Indian girls 'ganging up' on her in the school hostel.

Also, it is noticeable that in everyday behaviour, Eskimos tend to associate mostly with Eskimos, Métis with Métis, Indians with Indians, and white Northerners with white Northerners. Phenomena which reflect this include visiting behaviour, drinking and partying, cliques in the work situation, etc. But it should be pointed out that these relationships are based more on kinship or place of former residence than on any specific reference to ethnic origin, as early childhood friendship-ties last long into adulthood. At the same time friendships and marriages frequently cross ethnic lines.

Transient whites appear to favour Eskimos over Indians, considering them to be more amiable and cheerful and reliable on the job. This is probably a preconditioning which they have received even before they arrive in the North, by the popular image of the 'smiling Eskimo.' White stereotyping of different native peoples and the natives' concurrent awareness of these biases have some effect in structuring social relationships, particularly the nature of initial contacts. But there do not appear to be any essential behavioural differences between Indians and Eskimos.

Instead, when placed in the relatively urban setting of Inuvik, Indians, Eskimos, and Métis merge as an indigenous people subordinate in occupation and socio-economic status to the transient whites who are more attuned to the ways and means of urban life. And as was pointed out earlier, this distinction is expressed by the Southerner and Northerner categories. However, as will be seen in the discussion of Inuvik's formal organizations, the Northerner category has not yet jelled into a grouping powerful enough to counteract the influence of Southern transients.

2.2 CONFLICTING NORTHERNER LIFE STYLES

Vallee, in his descriptions of the Eastern Arctic, has suggested the Nunamiut-Kabloonamiut continuum. The Nunamiut are people oriented towards Eskimo land-life, and the Kabloonamiut are drawn to the settlements and the white man's ways (Vallee: 139). The difference, with reference to the Delta, is that the whole scale has to be shifted towards the Kabloonamiut pole. This is so because the inhabitants of the Delta have participated in the Canadian economy, through the fur-trade, for over fifty years. Furthermore, Smith estimates that there are only 150 native people still engaged in bush-life, who are full-time trappers (Smith: 22). Ten years ago the large majority of native people in the Delta were 'bush-oriented,' and active fur trappers. But since the D.E.W. Line construction era, the majority have become dependent on wage-labour.

2.21 The "Bush" or Trapping Style of Life

The economic life of bush Indians and Eskimos revolves around fur trapping, mainly muskrat, with lynx, martin, mink, and beaver of secondary importance. There are a few differences in the Indian and Eskimo patterns of bush life. The Indians tend to be more settlement-oriented, either operating directly from a settlement (Ft. McPherson, Arctic Red River, and Aklavik), or spending several months of every year in one of these settlements. The bush-oriented Eskimos spend almost all of their time either on the coast or in the Delta, with occasional visits to the settlements for supplies and the selling of furs. In both groups, store-bought food is supplemented with game food including caribou, fish, geese, ducks, and whales (the last only in the case of Eskimos). (Smith (11-17) discusses the seasonal cycle more fully than is feasible for this report.

Cash income from trapping is low. Based on 1963-1964 estimates, Wolforth estimates that one third of the Delta's trappers (including part-time) had incomes of less than $100, with only fifteen having incomes over $2000

(Wolforth: 13). Yet at the same time, these full-time trappers often feel that the economic disadvantage is compensated for by the psychic well-being of autonomy in the work situation. Many in fact contrast their position with that of the people in the town who are 'pushed around' by 'bosses,' and have to work when they are told. Townspeople often mention how much better off they were in the bush, because they were their own bosses. All the natives I spoke to in the town agreed that they were now more comfortable, economically; but they all referred nostalgically to the bush life, and many said that they would like to go back if they had the equipment.

However, it is doubtful that they would actually return. There has been a recent move among certain native leaders to rehabilitate the virtually-defunct Trapper's Association, with the idea of better equipping trappers already on the land, and of resettling some town natives back into the trapping economy. There are a few in the town who might be better off if they did return to the bush, since their lack of education limits their job potential. When I was about to leave the field, an Eskimo was planning to return to Sach's Harbour to try one more trapping season. But he was going to run into difficulties because he had neither the equipment nor the necessary capital.

Kin ties are very important with bush-people. The usual pattern is for a three-generation unit to be supported by one male (Smith: 20). Children are highly valued, and parents become very lonely in the fall when the children are sent away to the school hostels. In fact, one of the main reasons that so many trappers moved into Inuvik was so that they could be with their children.

Generosity in the sharing of equipment and food resources, as well as indulgence in consumption, are quite prevalent in the bush life. These patterns are, of course, quite functional in the trapping culture as sudden misfortunes may result in starvation for some families. Native sharing which amounts to native 'welfare', is a very personal thing without a cost-accounting. However, such native patterns of indulgence and generosity have created problems in town adjustment.

2.22 Town Life

On the whole, the native people in the bush and the other Delta settlements view Inuvik negatively. To them, Inuvik is an impersonalized, white man's government town. To be fully employed, one usually has to take an 'eight to five job' with the government and in a subordinate position. They also feel that the beverage room of the Mackenzie Hotel ruins native people. As one Aklavik Eskimo put it, "When a person moves to Inuvik, he is as good as dead."

However, there are certain features of town life viewed positively by native people, which help to explain the lure of Inuvik. Jobs or welfare payments insure that they will be well fed, as compared with the uncertainties of the bush. Native people recognize the convenience of the health facilities of the town, especially since disease and accidents have always been central problems in the North. For many it is of intense emotional importance to have their children living at home, rather than being separated from the family life for months in school hostels. Loneliness and fears of alienation are recurrent themes among Northern peoples, especially during the long winter months. Thus, even visiting bush people look for security through companionship. In other words, people attract people to the town. Novelty and excitement is sought through movies, dances, the bars, bingo games, and other forms of entertainment.

Yet the town-dwelling native people have feelings of 'relative deprivation' when they compare their living conditions with the living conditions of the transients, for whom urban services are provided with comparative liberality. The vast majority of natives live in the unserviced end of the town, where housing is crowded and living costs are higher than in the subsidized serviced area (see section 2.5 for a fuller discussion). Also, since the native people are unskilled for the most part, large numbers of transients have been introduced into the area to fill administrative and skilled construction jobs. A native person, having at most quasi-vocational training (not fully useful in the bush or in the town), rarely achieves a position other than one of unskilled labour. Wolforth (44) lists 320 whites, 50 Indians, 83 Eskimos, and 36 'Others' as holding steady jobs in July 1965. During that period, 90.3% of the Eskimos, 72.7% of the Indians, and 86.3% of the Métis on the payroll of the Department of Northern Affairs earned between $300 and $350 a month; while 81.3% of the whites on the same payroll earned more than this (*Ibid:* 45). Most of the native people on the job market have at best an eighth grade education, since they grew up in a period when formal education was de-emphasized because it was not essential in a fur-trapping economy.

Because of the lack of previous education and town experience, native people are generally unaware of certain values that are associated with town life, as well as the opportunities which might be available to them. Saving is minimal. The ethics of consumption and sharing, appropriate to bush-life, persist in the town. Pressures of kinship and friendship are placed on wage-earners for loans, most frequently for the buying and consumption of alcoholic beverages. Coupled with this, gossip is likely to be employed against those who too eagerly seek material acquisitions and status. Not infrequently too, the holding of certain responsible jobs by natives causes difficulties in relationships with kinsmen and friends. For example, native welfare assistants are sometimes placed in the awkward position of having to decide whether fellow natives applying for welfare help are in actual need of it.

Welfare itself puts the people at a disadvantage. Because of a growing dependence on relief payments, and a corresponding loss of bush skills, some of these people are tending to lose self-reliance, motivation, and basic self-esteem. More seriously, there are many in the younger generation who are growing up knowing only a 'welfare culture,' unlike their parents who at one time or another were engaged in esteemed work. Unless this situation is remedied, these younger people may have little chance to gain any satisfying basis for identity.

On the whole, one gets the feeling that few of the native people have a strong sense of personal identity. The majority were raised in the bush, but now find that most of their former values, skills, and behaviour patterns are obsolete in the town. Associated with this is a confusion as to goals, and how to pursue them successfully. Although identification with the bush life is still strong, and most people, including some of the more successful wage earners, talk of returning, few actually do. This leaves them in the town, but without a total commitment to town life. As a result, such decisions as to getting better jobs, buying a larger house for an expanding family, saving, etc., are difficult to make, let alone to plan.

This report has presented many of the characteristics of town life in a negative way. There are some natives who have achieved quite noteworthy successes in the town, through steady job-holding and the acquisition of certain material luxuries. But these adaptations are remarkable in the light of how the 'cards are stacked' against native people, because of certain features in the town life of Inuvik, and because of certain elements of the old fur-trapping culture which tend to restrain an easy adjustment into town life.

2.3 AGE, THE GENERATION GAP, AND CONTACT EXPERIENCE

Their history of contact with Canadian culture has contributed greatly toward the shaping of the attitudes and the achieving of adaptability to town life, for the native people in the Delta. Partly because of the differences in the intensity of social change over the last fifty years, a rather serious 'generation gap' has developed. Aside from the fact that few of the younger people can identify with the bush culture or speak the native languages, a severe lack of continuity in ordinary communication and attitudes has developed between the generations.

Table II

Age	0-14	14-25	25-50	50+	Not Recorded	Total
Number	383	153	154	45	97	832

Age Structure of Inuvik's Northerner Population, residing in the Unserviced Area, June 1966

Source: Industrial Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

It can be seen from Table II that over half of Inuvik's Northerner population is under the age of fourteen. This of course results in profound problems for the welfare and educational administrative authorities, both for now and for the future. However, little of the field work was focused on this generation. Age will be discussed according to the three older categories, in connection with differences in behaviour and attitudes. It should be noted that there

will be some overlap because of certain life-chances that have affected individuals within these generations. But, on the whole, the following generalizations are valid.

2.31 The Old Folks 50 years and Over

This generation is almost entirely bush-oriented. They passed their formative years during the height of the fur trade, and many at one time achieved lucrative returns from trapping. Most of them now depend upon old-age pensions and other government assistance. Understandably, they are confused by the recent and rapid changes. Consequently, they are somewhat on the fringes of town society, and do not occupy as revered a position in their family and community as they might have occupied in the past. This is sad in light of the fact that the bonds of affection used to be especially strong between alternate generations (grandparents and grandchildren). I have been told of instances in which teen-age natives have turned on the radio when old men attempted to tell stories about the traditional culture.

The town has very little to offer the old people, except security in the form of material comforts and health facilities. I recall how animated two elderly Eskimo men became while watching for whales on a hill at Kendall Island. They became rather excited at the prospects of the hunt, and of course recalled many happy memories of the time when they were young men. But in the town, they seemed rather lonely and fatalistic about life.

2.32 The Generation 25 - 50 Years of Age

This generation grew up during the ending of the fur-trade era. Their values were formed in a bush milieu. It is this generation who have the greatest difficulty in adapting, and who represent the crux of the adjustment problem in Inuvik.

With the decline of fur-prices and the introduction of high paying D.E.W. Line construction jobs in the early 1950's, many of these people abandoned their trap-lines and equipment to seek wage-labour. The D.E.W. Line was finished in the late 1950's, but the building of Inuvik had begun, and there was a continuation of construction work. Although a few returned to Aklavik and the bush, the majority remained in Inuvik.

The members of this generation are frustrated because of their lack of education, and because they feel that they are not fully equipped to participate in town life. They resent 'eight to five jobs' and being ordered about in seemingly trivial tasks, missing the independence of the bush. One of them complained to me, "There are too damn many foreman around; they're always pushing us around. Now they've got us working under the pilings at the school, taking out dirt. It's hard, hot work, and we have to crawl on our knees," he said.

Few native people have any desire to become foremen, because it would set them apart from their friends. Furthermore, they can make $2.05 an hour as labourers, and only $2.15 as foremen. As a result, the majority of the foremen are whites or Métis.

Job-absenteeism is a chronic problem. This can be partly attributed to the desire for autonomy. But also, many feel that they can live on their pay-checks for a month, perhaps supplemented by welfare assistance, and then return for another job.

The indulgence patterns of the bush have remained, most notably in drinking behaviour. Because of these problems, it is difficult for such people to advise their children who are growing up in a totally different setting, and to provide behaviour models for them. However, a few remarkable individuals have made good adjustments (although they, too, miss many of the features of bush-life). These people were fortunate in that their successes were stimulated by unique life-chances. One Eskimo was given special attention by his foreman, who encouraged and advanced him. An Indian told me of his experiences as a T.B. patient in Edmonton. While convalescing, he attended a local high school and achieved a grade ten education. He was encouraged by a remarkable and compassionate teacher who gave him confidence, showing respect for his bush way of life, and at the same time showing

him how he could succeed in an administrative position. Both of these men now hold steady jobs, and are prominent in native organizations. Deeply personal patronage by white men towards native people can have very rewarding consequences.

2.33 The Young Generation 14 - 25 Years of Age

Most of the members of this generation have experienced little of the trapping way of life, having been brought up in the new town. But since their parents' values are bush-oriented, many of these same values are being passed on to them. Children are still raised in a rather indulgent manner as was the custom in the bush. But in the case of bush life, the environment was the disciplinarian, since the harshness of living conditions forced self-discipline. It is difficult for the present generation to turn to their parents for advice, since many of the parents are ill-prepared to give advice having any application to town life. As a result the children's respect for their parents tends to be low. Similarly, many are ashamed, or at least confused, about their native origins and identities. Few indicated any desire to become trappers.

There is considerable confusion with reference to goals, especially where occupational aspirations are concerned. One pretty and very feminine eighteen-year-old Eskimo girl, entering grade twelve, told me that her desire was to become a lady-wrestler. When I asked her where she got that idea, she replied, "From men's magazines." At a time when the Canadian army was setting up a recruiting station in Inuvik, a twenty-year-old Métis boy told me that he had decided to join the army. He said, "I'm a bum. I'm not doing much good around here. I might as well join up, and go over to Viet Nam and get killed."

As with most adolescents, the young natives direct their attention to activities, such as movies and the latest dances, which generate excitement. Lately, too, there has been considerable drinking among this group, and the occurence of some juvenile delinquency in the form of petty thefts and assaults.

These problems with the younger generation are further intensified by the lack of continuity existing between the home and the school system. It is with this generation that true social stratification may develop, since only a few will have education and work values reinforced at home, while many others may become 'dependency-oriented.'

2.4 SEX AS A SOURCE OF CONFLICT AMONG NORTHERNERS

Conflict between the sexes is not too noticeable in the two older generations, but has very serious disruptive consequences among young people. The young girls appear to be the most acculturated of all age-sex categories in the Delta. They have made more of their educations, many holding steady jobs (as nursing aides, store clerks, waitresses, baby sitters, etc.). Most are comparatively sophisticated in terms of style-consciousness and general knowledge of urban life, valuing the excitement of Inuvik. This may be a search for emancipation from the hard life implicit in the feminine bush-role.[1] Also, the young girls have an advantage in that the types of occupations they can hold are not in conflict with skilled labour from Southern Canada, as is the case with the males.

The 'Ice Worms' present the most striking and interesting example of this phenomenon. The 'Ice Worms' is the name of a sorority-like association, involving white nurses and native girls hired as nursing aides, and as other hospital help. Most live in the comparatively luxurious hospital residence at low rents. Secret 'initiation rites' are involved, and a softball team is supported. Native girls in the 'Ice Worms' are seen frequently with white males (predominately Navy men), and rarely with native boys. They do most of their drinking in the cocktail lounge of the Mackenzie Hotel, rather than in the beer parlour with the rest of the native people. Less sophisticated girls envy them, but of course also resent them as members of a clique.

Clairmont's statement (1963: 7-11) concerning rejection of native males as mates, and infrequent and late marriages for the girls, holds true, according to my observations. Several girls told me that they wanted to marry white men, especially Navy boys. The attitude towards native boys is neatly expressed by one girl's response,

[1] As a graphic example of this, I had an occasion to watch Eskimo women butcher and dry whale meat on Kendall Island. This appeared to be no mean task.

"We look upon them as little brothers." At a dance, I saw an Indian boy attempt to speak to a Métis girl. She replied, "Get away from me; you can't even speak English right."

This rejection of native males, and the valuing of transient white males, results in a situation of mutual exploitation between the transients and the girls. The girls will go so far as to seek out Navy men, construction and barge workers (both single and married[1]), gaining presents from them, most notably in the form of beer. Generally speaking, the girls do not profit in the long run from this mutual sexual exploitation. Many of them are burdened with illegitimate children and contract venereal diseases which are especially prevalent.[2] Very few of the transients marry native girls.

Surprisingly, the young native males rarely show direct resentment or aggression towards the transients. More often, resentment is indirect, as expressed in this sort of statement, "What the hell do they need all of those sailors for? Where is their ship?" Complaints about the native girls come more often from the older people, who sometimes severely chastize them, even to the point of de-emphasizing the role taken by the transient males.

2.5 INUVIK'S SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

As Mailhot (I. p. 1) points out, the division into 'serviced' versus 'unserviced' areas of town strongly structures the social organization of Inuvik. She further suggests that Inuvik is not a single community, but two communities with differing interests.

There is a shortage of housing at both ends of town, and priority for serviced housing is given to transients. It is argued, with some validity no doubt, that transients can be attracted north only if they are assured the comforts of southern Canada. These services include furnished apartments and housing units at low rents. These are attached to the utilidor system, which consists of running water and a sewage system, enclosed in insulating materials and raised above the ground. Furthermore, many of the transients have rations allowances, permitting them to buy food at wholesale prices from Edmonton outlets.

Most of the facilities used by all of the town's residents (churches, the theatre, hospital, the stores, etc.) are hooked onto the utilidor system, and therefore concentrated mainly in the transient end of town. During the summer of 1966, there was a controversy over the proposed site of the Y.W.C.A. residence for women. The approved location was well within the serviced area. However, the residence was meant primarily for young native girls, to ease the situation of over-crowding in the unserviced area, and to assure the girls better living conditions. Some of the girls objected to the proposed site, asking that the building be placed near the unserviced or native section, where they felt more at ease being near friends and relatives. They started a petition to gain support for their own proposal.

Because the native component consists largely of unskilled people without government jobs, it occupies the unserviced and overcrowded section of town. Here, dwelling units consist of a few arctic-adapted ranch-style houses, of '512's' (prefabricated homes with floor spaces of 512 square feet), of welfare cabins, and of some tar-paper shacks. Few of the occupants have rations allowances, and all must pay heavy oil, water, and electric bills. Sanitary facilities are primitive in comparison with the serviced area. Sewage is disposed of at scattered stations, in the same structures where water also can be obtained in buckets. The absence of a utilidor system in the unserviced area symbolizes racial discrimination for many Northerners.

During June, 1966, there were 414 Eskimos, 130 Indians, and 288 'Others' (a large percentage being Métis and people of Eskimo-white intermixtures) living in the unserviced area.[3] Within the unserviced area, ethnic clustering is not rigid. However, taking this region block by block, we find a few interesting clusterings (both ethnic and social) which reflect some common-interest groupings and greater frequency of social interaction. Overlap is much greater within this region than is the overlap of interests between the serviced and unserviced ends of town.

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[1] One of the most popular songs among native girls is a Country and Western Song entitled, "Married men who think they are single ... Have broke many a poor girl's heart."

[2] A local health officer informed me that the venereal disease cycle can be neatly traced to the arrival of the barges during the spring ice break-up. By mid-winter the disease is usually under control.

[3] Taken from the census data, compiled from the Housing Survey done by the Industrial Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Taken block by block the distribution of household heads showing ethnic origin and other social characteristics looks like this:

(i) 'Co-op Hill' (Block 32) is located on a rise of land in the northeast section of Inuvik. Houses are ranch-style. Sixteen Eskimo and one 'Other' households are located on the hill. All but five are *Pentecostal.* The majority of the town's *Pentecostals* live on the Hill, and they constitute the tighest of Northerner sub-groupings. One of the *Pentecostals* and four of the rest are very prominent in community affairs, providing the bulk of the native leadership and overlap of community interest with the serviced end of town (Town Advisory Committee, Community Council etc.).

(ii) Two blocks (14 and 19) consisting entirely of 'Others' (ten households) living in 512's near the serviced end of town. Most of these people are rather prominent in the commercial and political affairs of the town.

(iii) A large number of blocks that are ethnically mixed, with '512's' being the predominant house type.

	Indians	Eskimos	Others
Block 1	–	–	3
Block 2	1	–	2
Block 4	1	3	7
Block 5	2	2	4
Block 6	2	1	2
Block 8	2	6	9
Block 9	–	6	3
Block 10	–	4	1
Block 11	1	1	12
Block 12	1	6	3
Block 13	2	3	4

(iv) There are two areas of government-owned welfare housing. One (Block 17) is located at the center of the unserviced area, the log-cabin being the standard house type. There are 19 Eskimo and 2 'Other' households.

A second welfare area of prefabricated cabins is located below Franklin Street near the waterfront. The population of this area is temporary. At the time of the survey, it consisted of 3 Eskimo, 2 'Other', and 5 Indian households.

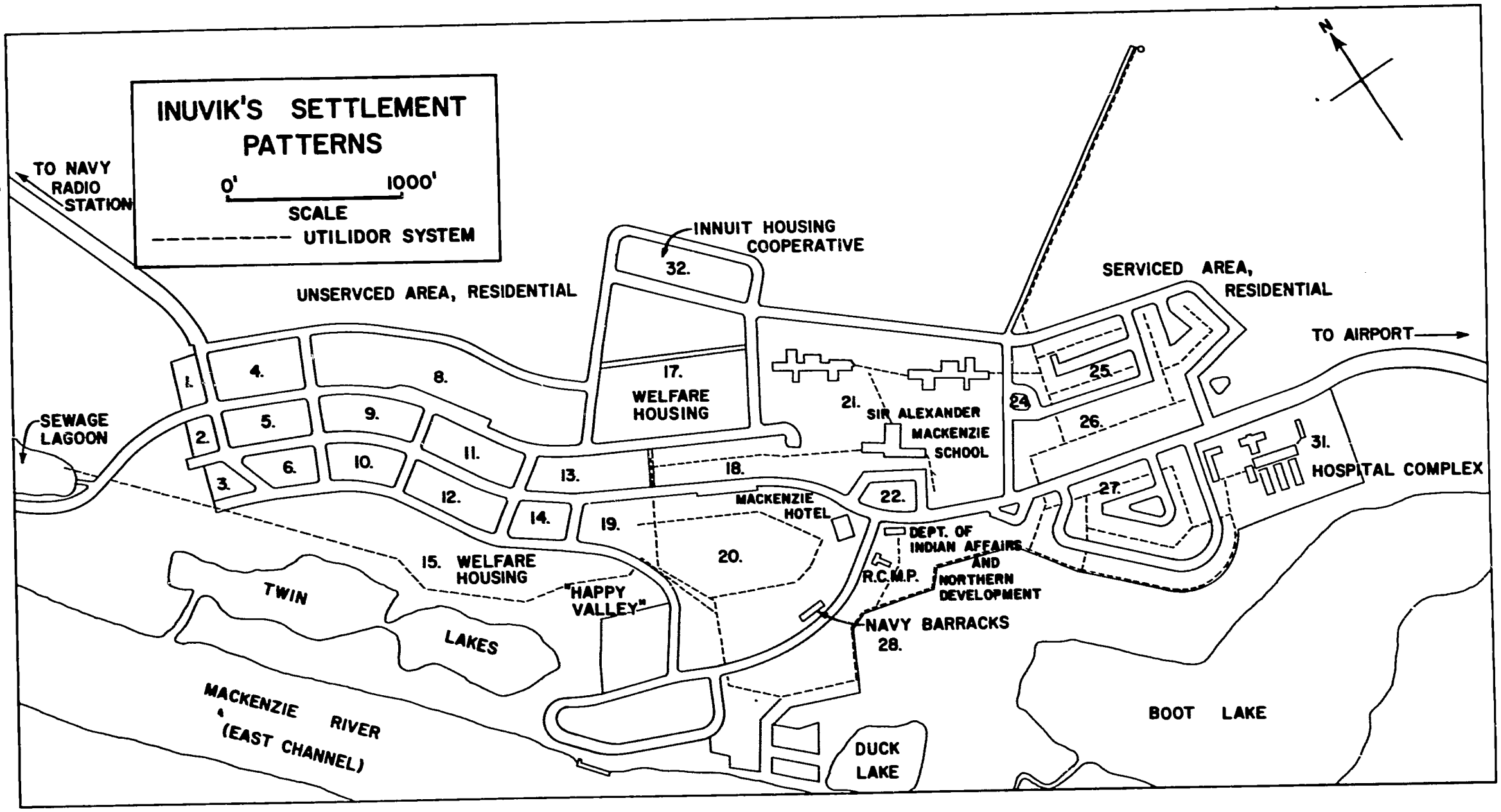
(v) 'Happy Valley' is located near the waterfront in the vicinty of Twin-Lakes. In the summer of 1966, it was occupied by four households of migrant Indian workers from Arctic Red River, living in temporary tar-papers shacks.

(iv) The waterfront is occupied by bush-oriented Eskimos in their short visits to Inuvik. During the summer of 1966, the number of tents in this area varied from 2 to 6.

2.6 SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Social stratification among Northerners is difficult to assess. One runs the risk of applying southern Canadian criteria, based largely on material symbols of success. The desire for material acquisitions and high status seems to be low. However, some native individuals have gained respect and prominence for their occupational successes and roles as 'spokesmen' for native interests in formal organizations. Conversely, those able-bodied people who rely consistently on welfare are held in low-esteem. Yet these criteria for status are quite loose, and there is certainly no tight class-structuring among Northerners.

Although social stratification, within the Northerner grouping, is not of operational importance now, it will undoubtedly be so in the future. Very different attitudes towards education, success, and status will be transmitted to the children of steady job-holders from those handed down to the children of people consistently living on welfare and of the bush-oriented people.


INUVIK'S SETTLEMENT PATTERNS
0'
1000'
SCALE
UTILIDOR SYSTEM
N
TO NAVY RADIO STATION
UNSERVCED AREA, RESIDENTIAL
INNUIT HOUSING COOPERATIVE
SERVICED AREA, RESIDENTIAL
TO AIRPORT
SEWAGE LAGOON
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15. WELFARE HOUSING
17. WELFARE HOUSING
18.
19.
20.
21. SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE SCHOOL
22.
24
25.
26.
27.
31. HOSPITAL COMPLEX
32.
MACKENZIE HOTEL
DEPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT
R.C.M.P.
NAVY BARRACKS
28.
"HAPPY VALLEY"
TWIN LAKES
MACKENZIE RIVER (EAST CHANNEL)
DUCK LAKE
BOOT LAKE

Vallee (125) points out that at Baker Lake the local 'Kabloona' (whites) hold all of the important positions of power, and have the bulk of material wealth in contrast to the Eskimos. Yet this is not a true caste situation, since there are no rules denying Eskimos access to certain occupations, nor are there rules limiting marriages across ethnic lines.

For similar reasons, a true caste situation does not exist in Inuvik and the Delta as a whole. However, there are 'caste-like' feelings developing among members of the native population. Some people feel that they are being prevented from having free access to jobs and other benefits because they are native. One Indian told me, "I lost my job with the Geodetic Survey and they brought a white man in from the south to replace me. It's because I'm black, because I'm an Indian."

This distressing situation forecasts difficulties for integration within the Delta and certainly with regard to moving colonies of Indians and Eskimos south into the industrial cities of Canada (see Jenness: 166-183).

2.7 THE POTENTIAL OF NORTHERNER ASSOCIATIONS

The formal organizations of the native people of the Delta are somewhat weak. As the Honigmanns noted at Frobisher Bay (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1965: 120) a 'vacuum of leadership', so a similar situation exists in Inuvik. Mailhot has reported the proliferation of southern middle class organizations and clubs in Inuvik (Mailhot Chapter II, Table 88). The membership and viable leadership in these organizations is essentially transient white. Native people are found in both the membership and executive lists of these organizations; but as Mailhot has pointed out, they constitute a small minority. They are spread throughout, and not concentrated in any one organization. Thus, the potential for native leadership is spread too thinly for any effective action toward attaining power, and even those organizations which have predominately native memberships suffer from a lack of concentrated attention.

Four organizations will be discussed: Ing-a-mo, the Innuit Housing Cooperative, Advisory Committees, and the Loucheux Band Councils.

2.71 Ing – A – Mo.

Ing-a-mo, the year-old native recreation organization is still in the formative stages, in spite of a sharp rise in membership (presently 256, compared to 51 in the summer of 1965). The effective leadership, before the summer of 1966, was carried out by two white civil servants of 'Northerner' inclinations. However, both these men have been subsequently transferred to other settlements. This winter (1966-67) should reveal whether a native response will meet the challenge of the 'leadership vacuum.' The potential is there, but as previously noted, it is diffuse.

Ing-a-mo was formed with the more traditional native culture in mind, and with a focus on the older people. Ing-a-mo Hall was to be a place where Eskimo drum dances, Loucheux 'tea dances,' and story-telling sessions were to be organized. However, the old people have not responded as hoped. Up until now, Ing-a-mo Hall has been primarily a centre for teen-age dances. The facilities were shut down briefly last summer by the executive because of complaints of drunken rowdiness. During the summer, Ing-a-mo conducted a few playground activities for children. Also, the newly formed 'Inuvik Drummers' (Eskimo Drum Dancers) were planning to use the facilities. Plans have been made to expand the building facilities and the recreation lounges.

Ing-a-mo is far from realizing its full potential. Aside from its primary role as a recreational center, it could serve as an educational outlet in helping new migrants adjust to town life. Most important of all, it is a potential training ground for Northerner leadership and could provide for the emergence of Northerners as an effective power group.

2.72 The Innuit Housing Co-Operative

In some ways, the Innuit Housing Co-operative, predominantely Eskimo, can be considered the most successful example of Northerner assimilation to Canadian town life. Seventeen modern houses have been completed, all but one owned by Eskimos. However, the organization is running into some difficulties. Since Mailhot's investigations, there have been no further additions of native-owned or occupied houses. During the summer of 1966, three houses were being constructed, but all of these were being built by whites who had decided to settle in the North. Furthermore, two of the houses were not on 'Co-op Hill,' but were plugged into the utilidor system at great private expense.

So far, no more native poeple have recently shown much interest in building Co-op Houses. Enthusiasm within the organization has waned since the original spurt of building activity took up so much time. As a result, the executive has found it difficult to organize the group into buying secondary materials and into constructing further interior work. Also, since the building of the houses was expensive, many of the members are deeply in debt, finding it difficult to buy much in the way of furniture and appliances.

2.73 Advisory Committees

The Advisory Committees in settlements in the Delta assist the government in the administration of the settlements. They are usually made up of elected and appointed local people. Advisory Committees are becoming important in that they are considered to be training activities for future self-government in the Territories. Each community in the Delta, except for Reindeer Station and Arctic Red River (where the Loucheux Band Council fills this role), has an Advisory Committee. The following table indicates the ethnic backgrounds of the Advisory Committees in the various Delta settlements.

TABLE III

	Indian	Eskimo	White	Métis
Inuvik	–	1	4	1
Aklavik	1	–	3	2
Ft. McPherson	3	–	3	1
Tuktoyaktuk	–	4	–	–

Ethnic Composition of Settlement Advisory Committees in the Inuvik Region.

The Inuvik Advisory Committee consists of six members with voting powers, with the area administrator acting as secretary. All but one member reside in the unserviced area. However, the exception is a Northerner of long standing. 'Bonafide' native membership in the Inuvik Committee is low in comparison with the other settlements, but the orientations and interests of the Inuvik Committee are Northern.

On April 12, 1967, Inuvik is to be granted true village status, with a village council which will gain greater powers, and also more responsibility. Other settlements have rejected village status because they feel that the advantages of increased self-government do not offset the burdens of increased taxation.

One of the options of control and financing that a village council has is the responsibility for sewage and water facilities. Of course, in Inuvik, the greatest expense in this regard would be the maintainence of the utilidor system, which benefits only the non-permanent population of the town. It was decided at a committee meeting

to leave this responsibility with the government, but with the option of the village's taking over responsibility later (presumably when the utilidor system is extended through the whole settlement).

Advisory Committees have the advantage of providing training for self-government in the Territories. They also help to maintain some continuity of administration in the settlements in view of the fact that there is a considerable turn-over of government personnel. The members of these committees are able to inform new civil servants of both individual and community needs.

2.74 Loucheux Band Councils

Inuvik does not have an Indian band council, but the Loucheux residents of that settlement fall under the indirect jurisdiction of the Arctic Red River, Fort McPherson, and Aklavik Band Councils of the Aklavik Agency. In 1921, treaties were signed with the Loucheux people forming the Arctic Red River and Fort McPherson Bands. As a result, the Canadian government received rights to the lands of the Loucheux. Band councils were formed with elected councillors and chiefs. Annual treaty payments were given in the form of $25 per chief, $15 per councillor, and $5 per band member, plus ammunition and fishing allowances (Slobodin, 1962: 40).

Some feel that the roles of the band councils are becoming obsolete today. As there are no reservations in the Territories, the responsibilities of village jurisdiction are minimal. This function has been taken by the government with the assistance of local Advisory Committees. The band councils have some say in the administration of the Indian Housing Programme and in Treaty payments. However, with reference to the latter, many Loucheux feel that these payments are useless, since they were determined by 1921 costs of living. Also, local interest in council functioning tends to be low. Probably in the future, band councils will continue to decrease in importance and Advisory Committees will become increasingly significant.

The recent amalgamation of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources with the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration has created a great deal of optimism among the Loucheux chiefs and councillors. Now Indians and Eskimos will come under the jurisdiction of the same Department (Indian Affairs and Northern Development). Because of this, the Loucheux feel that the discrepancies in benefits (welfare and housing), formerly to the advantage of the Eskimos, will be eliminated.

3.0 INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

3.1 HEAVY DRINKING AS INUVIK'S 'NUMBER ONE' SOCIAL PROBLEM

There can be little doubt but that heavy drinking presents the most serious adjustment problem confronting Northerner townspeople. Campaigns (largely futile) are constantly being directed against drinking by the local churches and the town's newspaper. The greater part of the local R.C.M.P. contingent's activities is directed toward misdemeanours arising from intoxication.

As has been stated, few native people drink in the cocktail lounge of the Mackenzie Hotel, since this is primarily a white man's bar. Those who do drink there on occasion feel rather ill-at-ease, and are usually evicted at the first signs of intoxication. The management seems to have a covert policy of discouraging native drinking there, both by the high price of beer, and by a cold and no-nonsense attitude towards native clientele.

Instead, most native drinking is done in the beer parlour (or the 'zoo'), which is about the only consistent source of native public entertainment. This applies by vicarious extension to the under-age youths who linger on the front porch hoping to take part in the excitement that results from the adults' drinking. Inside, the bar is normally crowded with Indians, Eskimos, and Métis of both sexes, plus male transient construction workers, and an occasional young enlisted Navy man. Friday and Saturday nights, plus the often unscheduled days when long over-due government paychecks arrive, are the times when the drinking is heaviest. Waiters frequently cut off those who have had too much. This usually results in much hassling and protest, but the recalcitrant customer eventually complies with eviction force and retreats to the porch, where he may wait for an opportunity to return. When drinking is heavy, the stage is set for combustible behaviour.

If an individual fight starts, hostilities may flare quickly, stimulating further fights among other drinkers. One uproar I observed involved fifteen people (ten of whom were transient workers). Originally, the fight involved only two people, but others joined, ostensibly to help end the fight, and then found themselves fully involved.

At closing time, many of the bar's patrons arrange private parties in the unserviced end of town. Cases of beer are bought over the counter, and the customers then mingle on the porch, waiting for taxis to take them home.

Although heavy drinking can be attributed to a general 'frontier atmosphere,' and the search for good companionship, motivations and causes go much deeper. It is certainly clear that drinking is done for an explicit purpose, to reach a state of euphoria. Responses to my question, "Why do you drink?" included, "To get drunk," "Because when I drink, I feel good", "When I drink, I'm not scared of anybody, including the Mounties."

Underlying this seeking of the solaces of inebriation, are anxieties due to unfavourable conditions arising from the urban setting of Inuvik. Some people, in ascribing motivations to others, say that it is because of "generalized depression", that they feel they "could have been 'somebody' but are 'nobody.'" Therefore, depression, self-dissatisfaction, anomie, and economic frustration present valid explanations for certain group and personal aspects of the drinking (Clairmont, 1962 and 1963).

Also, the prevalence of excess drinking can be partly explained by the persistence of the bush theme of indulgence in consumption. In the bush, when food was plentiful, it was quickly consumed, since the future might not bring such plenty. This also applied to drinking behaviour before the arrival of licensed outlets. One Eskimo, who no longer drinks, told me: "When we used to have home-brew parties, there had to be more than one bottle, otherwise it was not worth our while, since the party would end too quickly." A rather prominent Aklavik Indian me, "When I have booze, I drink it all up, and I don't drink it slowly like white poeple. I damn well intend to go on drinking this way."

Whatever the causes and motivations, few native people ignore the heavy social costs involved. Social cost implies the sacrifice of certain values in order to satisfy those values associated with drinking, hurting both the individual and the society (Lemert: 367). Many native people in Inuvik very definitely relate the basic causes of their problems to their inability to avoid the Mackenzie Hotel and the Territorial liquor store.

Too, the economic cost is high for the liquor, and for the consequences of excessive consumption. Beer sells for 60 cents a bottle, one of the highest prices in Canada. Beer parties outside of the hotel are usually not planned. As a result, the usual pattern is to buy a case of two dozen bottles over the counter of the bar at $12.00, rather than at the liquor store, where the price would be $7.50. Obviously, economic frustration is compounded by these costs.

For example, one bush-oriented Eskimo told me of a schooner which he wanted to buy, costing $800, and which he felt would be invaluable to him. But he said that he could not purchase it because he had spent too much on liquor. A young town Eskimo felt that he made a very good salary ($2.50 an hour) but complained that he could not make better use of his money because he could not resist beer.

The sharing ethic holds most strongly in relation to drinking. Those holding steady jobs treat the unemployed. This is reciprocated when the others have the cash. In one sense, this custom can be considered as having positive social value, since it does help to cement social bonds through exchange. Yet many steady job-holders, trying to save money or to pay off debts, complained about this; but they find it difficult to avoid the 'obligation.' Furthermore, these steady job-holders find it necessary either to drink in small groups or to abstain altogether, because many of the local whites tend to equate a 'good' or 'progressive' native with an abstainer. This causes additional converse difficulties, since the steady ones are limited in their good fellowship with the drinking natives, and are often considered 'snobs' by the latter.

Most serious of all, the family suffers from heavy drinking. It is reported that family allowances and welfare payments are sometimes used for the purchase of liquor, with the undernourishment of children often resulting. Furthermore, trouble with the police seems almost entirely associated with drinking, through fights and the theft of liquor, and of money for its purchase.

How do some native people solve their drinking problems? One Eskimo returned to the bush several years ago because he felt that this was the only way that he could escape the hotel, the liquor store, and the associated problems. Others are able to abstain through their membership in the Pentecostal church, which has very strict taboos against drinking. However, very few have been able to solve the problem of heavy drinking through individual self-discipline. It is obvious that liquor has to be absent, or there has to be strong social support for abstention, since the social milieu of drinking is very hard for native people to avoid. In their frustration, several people told me that they wished the Hotel would burn down so they would not be able to drink anymore. Furthermore, many are confused about the liquor laws, and cannot identify with the morality supporting them. "The white man brought us booze, and then he turns around and arrests us for drinking it. It's not fair."

Although it has been pointed out that not all Northerners are heavy drinkers, heavy drinking is certainly the most dominant problem, and ultimately affects all the residents of Inuvik.

3.2 MARGINALITY

This section will discuss certain variables impinging from the outside that place individuals of the Northerner population in marginal positions. For the purposes of this report, a marginal position is defined as a situation which makes it difficult for an individual to interact consistently with any one group, in that he has some but not all of the qualifications for membership, some lack almost always negating complete acceptancy by any of these groups. This usually results in the marginal person having an ambivalent, if not hostile attitude towards the values of one or all of these groups.

There are, of course, people who have full criteria for membership in a specific group, but who are ostensibly rejected by that grouping because of certain personality attributes, or because of acts committed that are not group-approved. These individual attributes will not be discussed in this report. What will be emphasized are those conditions which create marginality situations for certain people as a result of recent contact and rapid culture change, in other words, the effect of white and southern Canadian culture upon Northerners.

In the town of Inuvik, there are the pulls of the bush versus the ties of the town that place people in a marginal position. This applies to steady job-holders who very often long for the freedom of the bush to which they realize they cannot return. Their association with relatives and friends, living either temporarily in the town or in the bush, has lessened. Some of these people run the risk of being victims of gossip, because of their closer ties with white transients. Of course, although there is a fair amount of friendly interaction with white transients in formal organizations, interaction is largely limited to this sphere.

Others can be placed in mariginal positions for the opposite reasons. I spoke to several young men who had come in from the bush and tried to take up wage-labour. They found it difficult to keep jobs, since they were frequently absent. Also, they did not like the kinds of manual work to which they were assigned, and they longed for

the autonomy of the bush. Most of them would linger around town, staying with one relative and then another, borrowing money and spending much time in the beer parlour. After a while many of the towns-people would begin to tire of their presence, especially if it did not seem likely that they would ever be able to repay their debts. Several of these young men told me that they were quite worried about their futures, since they lacked education. They felt that trapping was not a very secure way to make a living, that it held little if any future promise.

The most serious cases of marginality are often evident among those with a mixed racial heritage. Several people I know, living Eskimo bush roles, possess strikingly Caucasoid features. These people are frequently teased and on occasion called "Danig" (derogatory Eskimo term for "white man"). Other legally designated Indians and Eskimos with Caucasoid features frequently find it difficult to know with which group they should interact, often vacillating uncertainly between the Native and the white. This is especially true of younger natives who have spent the early years of their life in the bush, but then were later isolated from it in school hostels. I remember an occasion when one of these people was talking with some old native friends. One of the latter said, "Why don't you see us any more? You spend all of your time with the white people now." It is from people put in such marginal positions that one most often hears bitter remarks about white people, and how "they have ruined the North."

Young unmarried girls with children are the objects of gossip and ridicule by the native community. This is a comparatively recent phenomenon. At one time, especially with three-generation families, these children would easily have been accepted into the girls' families. This still occurs to a certain extent, but there is a growing stigma against illegitimacy, possibly as the result of an incorporation of Canadian middle-class values. Many of these girls at present live alone with their children, often considering themselves social outcasts, since their chances now for marriage seem quite slim.

Many of these factors, as illustrated above, may affect a single individual, and may place him simultaneously into several positions of marginality. Obviously, this results in a great deal of mental suffering, which in turn contributes materially to instability, both individual and social.

3.3 NATIVE RELATIONS WITH WHITE TRANSIENTS

The intensity of native interaction with transients is highest with seasonal construction workers. Since the greater part of native wage-labour is in construction and other manual labour jobs, this is natural. These job associations are continued on into the evenings in the beer parlour of the Mackenzie Hotel, at parties in the bunk-houses, and in homes in the unserviced end of town.

On the other hand, native interaction is minimal with transient white collar workers and agents of government who dominate the town, drinking at the cocktail lounge of the hotel and at private parties in the serviced end of town. There is inter-ethnic interaction on the job, but even here it is more often than not of an indirect nature, through directives delivered first to foremen. Some natives have more to do with these people through the formal organizations and clubs of the town. But, as was noted in the section on formal organizations, these contacts are limited in number.

This situation limits the range of behavioural models for individual native people to draw from in learning about European-Canadian culture. Because of more common interests, the native person is drawn to a working class culture in his daily activities. Interaction is low with the bureaucratic culture of the civil servant because the degree of common interest is presently low.

It is difficult to assess the quality of behaviour learned by the native people from the construction workers. Elements of culture introduced (or at least reinforced) by the construction workers include manual and technical job skills, perhaps certain aspects of material culture, country and western music, pulp magazines, and possibly certain aspects of drinking behaviour, etc. It would be impossible to attribute positive or negative values to these elements without careful and more extended research.

However, since these workers are for the most part transient, and do not have a permanent stake in the North, there is quite naturally no conscious effort on their part purposely to help direct change for the Northern people. Furthermore, since these men come up for a short time only, they rarely bring their wives, and the culture they introduce is that of single working-class males.

There are a few people, not having manual labour occupations, who interact frequently with native people. These include a young doctor, an R.C.M.P. corporal, a few teachers, the editor of the local newspaper, and a few civil servants. Some of these attempt to champion the natives' rights through petitions, the writing of articles, and letters to members of Parliament. As yet, these activist efforts have had little effect, either through establishing reforms or in inducing native interest and participation. Those that gain the most respect from native people seem to achieve the most effectiveness through informal discussions which attempt to show the natives a wide range of alternatives and their probable outcomes, and by explaining values that are associated with Canadian town life.

Little can be said about this topic at this time because of the lack of intensive research. But it is certainly obvious that the make-up of the transient population strongly affects the nature of social change in Inuvik.

4.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Ethnic factors alone no longer have primary importance in determining the nature of social interaction, or in the defining of tight groupings in the Delta. Faced with the growing threat of dominant southern transients assuming positions of power, Eskimos, Indians, Métis, and long-time white residents are realizing that they all have interests in common. The 'Northerner' category has arisen as a response to this threat and as an opposition to the 'Southerner' category. Style of life has therefore become more important in determining social groupings. The Northerner town life style is akin to a working class one, in which Indians, Eskimos, Métis, and some descendants of white trappers merge together as subordinate in status and socio-economic position to the dominating Southerners. As yet, the Northerner category has not jelled into a grouping powerful enough to counteract Southerner dominance and power. Social stratification within the Northerner population at present is of minimal importance; but it will probably become of increasing significance in the future as differential attitudes towards success, status, and education are transferred to the younger generation.

There are several factors which tend to work against the achieving of a more rapid and successful acculturation of the Northerner population to the new town situation. Among these factors are some that have come in from the outside, and some which have resulted from the structuring of Inuvik. These include the economic, educational, job-skill, and housing lacks which affect the natives, and put them to such disadvantage vis-a-vis the white transients. Other conditions inherent in the former bush culture retard adaptation to the town. These include the sharing and consumption ethics, and a derogatory attitude towards conspicuous status-seeking.

An attempt has been made to demonstrate that the crux of these problems lies with the generation 25-50 years old. These people were raised in a bush milieu with bush values. However, they are now operating in a Euro-Canadian town-setting where these values seem detrimental in nature, at least to initial economic success. Their problems and attitudes are being naturally transferred to their children. It is naive to think that the problems will be solved in the future by considering the children as 'clean slates,' or that their education in the school and hostels will prepare them with job-skills and middle class attitudes.

A further problem is brought about by the more rapid acculturation of young women, resulting in heavy social costs accumulating from the sexual exploitation of these women by the whites, and by the virtual rejection on the women's part of native males as mates. Heavy drinking is the predominant problem in Inuvik. Heavy social and economic costs are apparent, affecting even the non-drinker.

Finally, numerous conflicting pulls act adversely upon individuals. These include 'caste feelings,' conflicts over style of life, mixed ancestries, and gossip brought about by changed values. These pulls bring about marginal situations and attendant mental anguish.

In conclusion, it may be stated that there is a great deal of room for further native adaptation to the Inuvik town culture. Inuvik's existence is still artificial, because of the fact that change was directed without foresighted planning, and the town itself does not blend well with the Northern culture. Also, because of the nature of the social structure of contact, the native population is largely restricted to one element of Canadian culture, that of the working class. This in turn narrows the range of possibilities in the selection of Canadian culture. In the future, many of these problems may be solved if the Northerner grouping becomes more powerful, and its members develop a greater awareness and pride in their identity, realizing that they have the most realistic and permanent stake in the North. This will be enhanced if organizations with Northern interests such as Ing-a-mo and the Advisory Committees become more powerful.

The following section presents recommendations of both a specific and a general nature that might possibly alleviate some of the problems of Inuvik and the Delta.

5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

Social change in the Mackenzie Delta has been largely directed, rather than undirected. This is so since the crucial and most obvious set of changes is focused around the construction of Inuvik, a planned town. Because of this fact, the native people of the Delta were exposed to a town setting, which thrives in the southern part of Canada. The evidence supports Fried's contentions that there has not been enough time for these natives either to assimilate successfully the behaviour patterns and values which are characteristic of Canadian town life, or to initiate the innovation of a new set of valves to which they could more fully adapt and which would meet their own needs and wants (see Fried: 94 and Introduction, page 2).

To be sure, there has been adaptation in respects. A native person can achieve a living by relying on part-time manual jobs, supplemented by relief payments. He can spend part of the time in the bush, part in the town. He can spend a great deal of time in the Mackenzie Hotel, enjoying the company of his friends. But, as the ethnographic sections of this report should have indicated, there is a great deal of general unhappiness contributing to mental and social instability. The native people are unsure of their personal futures, the futures of their children, and of native people as a whole. If the trend continues, they may come to see themselves as a 'caste,' unfavoured by education, missing out on economic benefits, and generally lacking in opportunities.

As a general policy recommendation, it is important that any future changes or policies be made with the idea of maximizing the range of choice available to the native person, that he can be prepared to make more decisions himself, that the means for making the choices are fully available to him, and that he is fully aware of the consequences.

At present, Northerners think of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development as the agency of a colonial power, with its basis of control in a distant office in Ottawa. Having this attitude, they quite naturally resent many of the government's directives, even though these may be well-intentioned. If only for the sake of good-will, it would be best to dispel the image of the government as a colonial power within its own national boundaries. Positive steps have been taken with the growing powers of the Territorial legislature. As a general policy, then, steps should be taken to maximize the range of choice offered to the Territories' native people. This would pay off in two ways. Northerners would be able to create a more realistic adaptation to the now very artificial setting of Inuvik; and internationally, Canada would gain greatly in prestige.

A set of recommendations will now be presented. They have been formed with the above general philosophy in mind, and attempt to relate to the ethnographic section of this report (sections 1 to 4). Some of these will suggest specific governmental policies; others will be of a more general nature. It is fully realized that some may not be realistic for perfectly valid administrative reasons (e.g., present policy guide-lines, financial considerations, etc.), or for other reasons presently unforeseen by the author.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. An intensive adult education program in Inuvik, stressing the values that accompany town life, should be established. Goal-orientation should be stressed. The program should not be massive in nature, and should be separate from the regular program at the Sir Alexander Mackenzie School; that is, it should be adult in format and include only adults. The teacher-student relationships should be very personal. It is my belief that the only way of assuring the successful adaptation of the children is through reinforcement by the adults at home (see sections 2.22 and 2.3).

2. The Delta Trappers' Association should receive the encouragement and possible financial support of the Delta. At present, the Association is rather dormant, but there has been renewed interest among the native population. The Association could provide a means of better equipping those already on the land, and possibly of rehabilitating a few in the town who are temperamentally more suited to trapping and bush life, but who are inhibited by lack of equipment (see sections 2.2, 2.3, and 3.2).

3. A summer's work program for teen-age native males, held in their home settlements under native leadership, could be instituted. Wages, in whole or in part, could be paid by the government. The program might be similar to

the highly successful Civilian Conservation Corps of the United States, active during the depression era. Work might be oriented to the concept of a community (e.g., building roads, clean-up projects,). This might be a means of insuring a continuity of the education received in the winter time at the schools. This recommendation was made to me by an Eskimo citizen of Aklavik (see section 2.33).

4. A concentrated study of the welfare program, with the view of eventually increasing the margin between welfare payments and wage-labour so that the pay-off of wage-labour would be more realistic, is very much in order. A serious problem is that many children are being brought up in a 'welfare culture,' and consequently may not be fully capable of adapting to a wider range of activities as adults (see section 2.2).

5. An examination of the current practices of hiring administratively capable natives should be undertaken. There is the possibility that some could be voluntarily transferred to other parts of the Arctic and sub-Arctic where they would not be in such anxiety-promoting relationships with kinsmen and friends, but would still have the advantage of being natives dealing with natives (see section 2.2).

6. Cooperation with the Navy and the Hudson's Bay establishments in training and in making more use of native labour should be initiated. Considering the size of these establishments, their present employment of locals is minimal.

7. Potential native leaders should be encouraged to concentrate their efforts in native organizations rather than in white-oriented and white-dominated clubs and organizations (see section 2.7).

8. Possibly band and disc numbers should be abandoned. They could be effectively replaced by Social Security numbers. This recommendation may not be crucial, but I found that some natives found these designations offensive, in that they implied discrimination and a lower status. Apparently, in the case of band numbers, they are useful in the payment of treaty benefits to the Loucheux Indians. A specific solution should be sought in consultation with the band chiefs and councils.

9. With reference to the amalgamation of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources with the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, it is highly advisable that the new Department should quickly eliminate the discrepencies between Indian and Eskimo administration (e.g., the handling of housing and welfare benefits). This is recommended since it was found that the Loucheux are highly optimistic over the establishing of the new Department. The failure to capitalize on this for future and continuing good faith and cooperation would be regrettable (see section 2.74).

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