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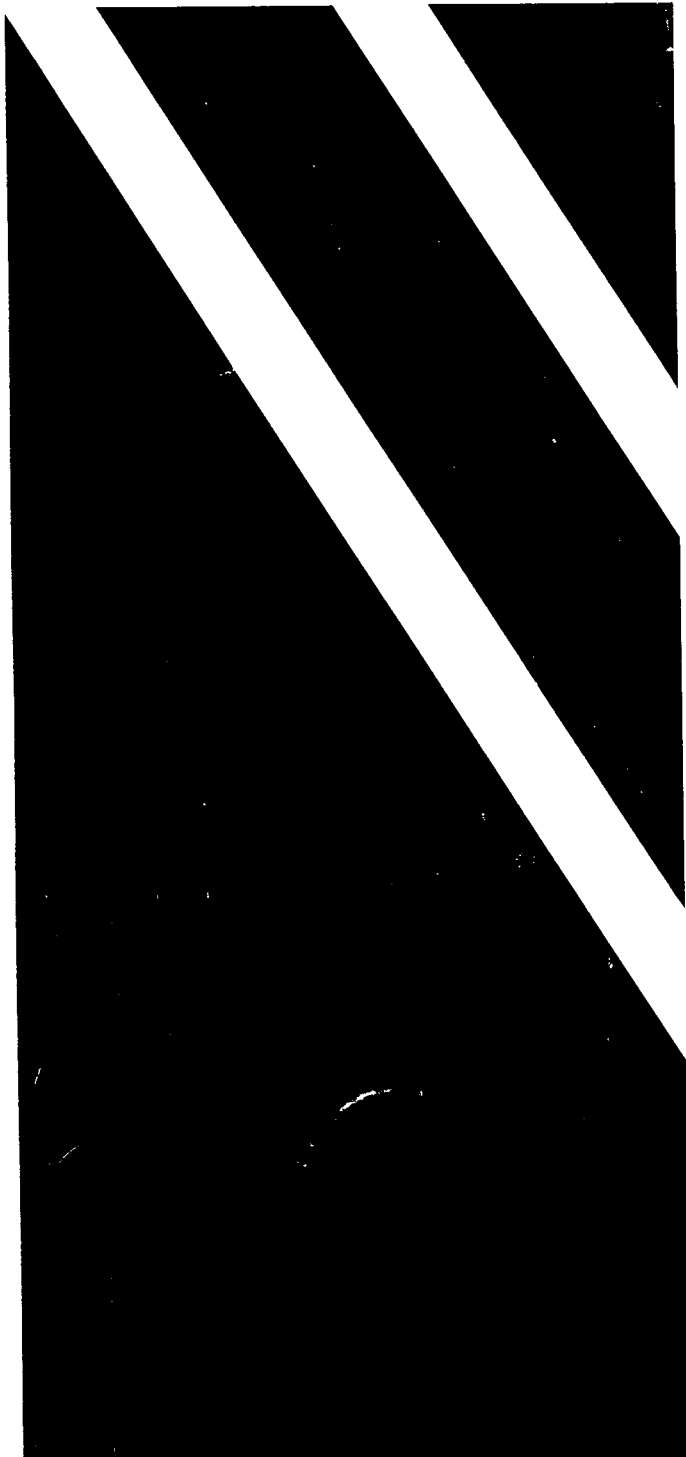
Natives and Outsiders: Pluralism in the Mackenzie River Delta, Northwest Territories

by Derek G. Smith

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by
Derek G. Smith

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Foreword

The Mackenzie Delta Research Project is an attempt to describe and **analyse** the social and economic factors of development in the Mackenzie Delta. Particular emphasis has been 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 follows earlier work by Dr. Smith, reported in MDRP-3 "The Mackenzie Delta-Domestic Economy of the Native Peoples." Returning to the Delta for an extended period of field work as a participant observer, he was able to greatly extend his knowledge base and his understanding of social relations in the area. The present volume represents his analysis of this data using the pluralism concept as a framework.

The result is a study which provides a good basis for understanding many observable elements in Delta social life which would not otherwise be explicable, and for rendering more sophisticated our understanding of many others only dimly perceived before. The unfortunate delay in publishing this report makes it no less useful as a contribution to our knowledge of the North.

As Dr. Smith points out in his preface, almost ten years have passed since he did the field work on which this study is based. The Northwest Territories, and the Mackenzie Delta area in particular, have undergone many changes in the interim: there has been a marked advance in native participation in the development of territorial and local government; articulate native associations, such as the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement, have arisen; and native people generally have become more involved in local political and socio-economic structures. Many problems remain, of course, but we believe that Natives and Outsiders can work together, as the North evolves, to create a better life for all.

H. Morrissette,
Chief,
Northern Research Division.

Preface

Originally presented as a doctoral dissertation in Anthropology at Harvard University, this study is based principally on data recovered during intensive fieldwork in the Mackenzie River Delta between 1965 and 1967. Since this study is being published nearly ten years after the events it describes, the question whether it is "dated" must inevitably arise, particularly in light of some of the rapid socioeconomic developments in the Mackenzie area since 1967.

Ongoing research in the Mackenzie Delta has brought me into repeated contact with the situation. I am persuaded that the basic structure of social relationships between Native people and Outsiders remains as it was in 1965 to 1967, with the qualification that the patterns described in this study have intensified rather than ameliorated. This intensification on the plural relationship was anticipated in Chapter VI 1.

The most striking changes since 1967 among Native people have been the advent of powerful Native political organizations demanding, among other things, settlement of land and aboriginal rights claims. On the side of Outsiders there has been rapid and intensive development of oil and gas exploration, with an attendant influx of Outsiders, money, and economic infrastructural changes such as the building of all-weather roads into the area. There has been a further polarization of Native and Outsiders interests which mark an intensification of the pluralistic relationship between them.

Native people have become politically more powerful and economically more affluent in the cash economy. They have risen on the socioeconomic ladder, but so have the Outsiders. There is an apparent trend in upward mobility for Native people, but it is largely illusory, because while they have risen on the socioeconomic ladder, the proportionate "distance" between them and Outsiders has remained essentially of the same scale-as it was in 1967.

Other changes have taken place in the Native sector. Fewer people maintain a primarily land-oriented way of life. Snowmobiles have almost completely replaced the dogsled as a means of transport. More people are

engaged in casual labour and are living in the settlements in improved housing. But this does not mean that the land and its resources have become less significant for Native people. There is less fishing, since there are fewer dogs to feed, but there is more hunting (and more effective hunting) for meat for human consumption. Our 1965-1967 data on the use of land resources (Chapter V and Appendix F) estimated Native peoples' reliance on these resources in terms of cash-equivalent values. This showed that land activities were very significant. There are other more powerful ways of estimating the relationship to the land. For example, a quick re-examination of our 1965-1967 data shows that *over 75% of the protein demand of Native people was met by land resources.* An equally quick calculation based on more recent figures shows that *this scale of reliance on land resources has remained essentially the same.* Technological change, which is very visible, should not be allowed to obscure the less visible, but very important, continuities in reliance upon traditional resources. Facts such as these ought to be considered in any discussion of land and aboriginal rights claims, let alone in any discussion of apparent social change in the Native sector.

This study is essentially a community study, but at every opportunity relationships to the larger economy and polity are indicated. This raises substantial.. theoretical and methodological difficulties for the application of the pluralism model. The model was originally designed for the study of society-wide plural relationships; we have applied it at a more local, regional level. Not all of the problems raised by such a shift in levels of reference are resolved in this study, nor could they be. However, the pluralism model has been effective in characterizing the quality of relationships between the ethnic groups of the Mackenzie Delta. This "quality of relationship" is what the study is all about.

Derek G. Smith,
Carleton University,
Ottawa, January 1975.

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Abstract

An anthropological concept of social and cultural pluralism is applied to the Mackenzie River Delta utilizing data collected between 1965 and 1967. The plural concept is used to describe and analyze patterns of relationship between northern Native people and "Outsiders", or Eurocanadians. The relationship between these ethnic categories is shown to be marked by a vertical pattern of stratification. The conjunction of ethnic, class, and culture boundaries which constitutes the plural relationship is explored in various dimensions (e.g., political, occupational, educational, economic). An attempt is made to outline the conditions of social well-being characterizing the Native way of life. Parameters (cultural, political, and economic) of optimal conditions for ameliorating the well-being of Native people by the facilitation of a reduction in their pluralistic relationship with Outsiders are outlined. This work is primarily a study in ethnic relations and applied Anthropology.

Acknowledgements

My deepest debts and gratitude are to the Native people of the Mackenzie Delta for their cooperation in assisting me to recover data for this study. Above all I must formally note my thanks to several people, inadequate as such a tribute must be, for their tolerance, patience, and very warm friendship. I hesitate to make a list of names because lists tell so little of the depth of relationships and because I fear to leave out anyone. There were so many, but I must mention Archie Headpoint, his wife Mary, and members of his family—Andrew, Arnold, James, Bessie, Rosie and Wayne; Chief Andrew Stewart and his wife Martha; Heber, Emma, and Noel Dick; Victor and Bertha Allen; Owen Allen; Big Jim Rogers and his family; Tom Elanik; Rev. Charlie Gordon and Thea; Fred and Lucy Joe; Harry Gordon; Eddie McLeod; and Rev. James Edward Sittichinli. Some have since passed away, but they can never be forgotten. Among them I remember especially Laughing Joe Inglangasuk, James Archie, Ida, Sherman Dick, Alex Stefansson, John Pascal, Owen Allan, and Charlie Gordon. May they rest in peace.

Among the Outsiders, for technical assistance, cooperation, and hospitality I remember especially Mr. and Mrs. Tim Timmins; the schools staffs—particularly Jim Maher, Ray Burrton, Wayne Hampel, Glenna Blakey, Eileen Peach, and Mr. and Mrs. Art Wiebe; Dick and Cynthia Hill; Dave Molstad; Stan Mackie; Clem and Roberta Pigeon; Const. L. S. Jerritt, R. C.M.P. and Mrs. Jerritt; Cpl. Robin, R. C.M.P. and Mrs. Robin; and Cpl. Bart Hawkins, R. C.M. P.

My colleagues in the Mackenzie Delta Research Project have offered advice and criticism. I thank especially John Wolforth, Prof. Joseph Lubart, Sandy Ervin, and Jose Mailhot. Above all I am deeply indebted to A. J. Kerr, who has had constant contact with my work from the beginning, who has listened with the patience of Job under the plagues of boils and locusts, who has been generous with his time and assistance, and who always managed to temper my more intemperate observations with COOI criticism. Peter Usher and George Parsons have likewise offered sane advice and criticism. I have not always followed my colleagues' suggestions, so that any errors of interpretation remain my own responsibility.

The University of Victoria provided computer time free of charge, and the staff of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (now the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs) have been most generous with their assistance, both in the field and at headquarters in Ottawa.

Introduction

In 1888 a select committee of the Canadian Senate was appointed to enquire into the development of the Mackenzie River Basin. The chairman of that committee referred to this mighty watershed as "Canada's Great Reserve." A questionnaire of ninety items was circulated to missionaries, Arctic explorers, and officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. Eighty-eight of the ninety questions concerned navigation, geography, climatology, wildlife, and agricultural potential. Characteristically, questions about the Native people were appended almost as an afterthought to this list of questions which were primarily of commercial or government interest. Question 89 asks: "What effect would the opening up of the Mackenzie Basin to civilized men have upon the Indians of the region?" Question 90, with equal terseness and even more candour, asks: "Could their labour be employed much to the advantage of employers and employed, and how far would such employment tend to civilize and make them self-supporting?" Perhaps because they were fatigued by their long-winded essays on the availability of blueberries and the possibility of growing turnips and barley in the Arctic Islands, only one or two persons chose to say anything about the Native people. To question 89, one respondent answered that Indians "are not in large enough numbers to make them an important consideration," and as far as the effect of opening the Mackenzie Basin "some it may possibly improve, but others it makes worse," and further that, they are "the most miserable creatures I have ever seen. Most of them are eaten up with scrofula." Another felt that, "under proper regulations", opening the Mackenzie would have "a good effect." Yet another dismissed the two questions with the reply that the effect would be "the same probably as in every part of North America during 260 years. Their labour has never been of much value in civilized states. "

In a sense the same questions are being asked today in a more veiled form, and some of the answers are not much more enlightened than those of 1888.

By the 1950's the opening up of the Western Arctic was becoming very much a reality, and the dire consequences for Native people envisaged in 1888 were almost equally real. Particularly in areas of population concentration, social problems were of immense

dimension. The fur trade was going into a slump, boom and bust industrial, military, and building enterprises had come and gone leaving chaos in their wake. One of these problem areas was the Mackenzie River Delta where a new phenomenon, the designed Arctic town, the show-place of modern Arctic technology, Inuvik, was slated to be built.

The Mackenzie Delta Research Project, a multi-disciplinary social science research project, was designed to document some of the main social problems in this region. An initial pilot project was underway in 1965 to point up major problems for further consideration. In 1966 intensive research began and has been continued. The project is **problem-oriented**, and is intended to provide social data inputs to government decision-making on northern policy. The final phase of its activities, information feedback to government and the public, is now being designed.

Although members of the project have had a large degree of freedom in their selection of research strategies, the fact that nearly every researcher came into the project *after* its initial formulation has tended to direct his enquiries within a broad regional and topical framework that has been as much of administrative origin as an expression of social scientific convictions about the regional and topical boundaries so specified. The present study is an example.

The sponsoring agency, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (later the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and now the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs) of the Government of Canada, of the conviction that social anthropologists must be involved since presumably "culture" is important in any consideration of Indians and Eskimos. This concern with culture was specified in the original commission of this study as an enquiry into social aspirations and the means of achieving them among Native people. This provided an intensive focus for the field research conducted during the three summer months of 1965 and for most of the field work conducted in a year-long session from August 1966 to August 1967. Nevertheless, it became increasingly obvious that this focus on special features of the Native sector was obscuring an understanding of the wider social processes shaping Native life in

Canada. This study attempts to delineate some of these wider social processes, but the initial narrow focus meant that only the latter half of the fieldwork was devoted specifically to the collection of data directly appropriate to this type of study. What began as a regional study of a relatively narrowly defined topical field has gradually widened into an attempt to understand some of the processes relevant to Native/non-Native interaction virtually on a national scale. Further refinement is most certainly required in the analysis, but some of the most basic structural principles seem to have been uncovered. Some of the analytical problems relate to the fact that most studies of Indians and Eskimos are community studies, or at least are studies confined to relatively narrow geographic regions. Inter-regional comparisons are difficult to make, and the community-study orientation has not facilitated the analytical understanding of inter-relationships between Native populations and the national social structure. Even more community studies with their unique, intensive ethnographic contribution are required; but it seems time to consider some of the wider social processes of stratification, social mobility, "ethnic relations," access to power, and social and political marginality, which structure Indian and Eskimo community life from outside.

In most basic terms, this study attempts to discover what processes underlie the vertical stratification of culturally differentiated groups, resulting in what we here call a plural social system. It asks what "social integration" (in the sense of value consensus) can mean in such a case, and attempts to trace the implications of this societal form for the way of life and the quality of life for Canada's Native people, as locally manifested in the Mackenzie River Delta. Consequently, the relevance of variants of the culture concept to Delta Native people is examined, and an attempt is made to place such features of the Native way of life into perspective among the external socio-cultural conditions which impinge upon them. The role of Native cultural features in maintaining the plural relation to non-Native people is substantial but does not occupy the sole or primary locus of control.

The study concludes with a consideration of suitable criteria for recognizing the relative presence or absence of social welfare (or social well-being) amongst Native people. Traditional measures of well-being focus upon economic poverty, literacy rates, demographic characteristics (such as mortality and morbidity rates), and other similar gross measures. This study attempts to uncover, with reference to a specific case, the underlying social structure conditions of which these are simply signs or symptoms. Recommendations for action, as specified by the original commission, are formulated on this basis. As such, this study belongs to the broad sub-discipline of "applied anthropology," or what in Canada is often known as "developmental

anthropology." This essential goal of the Mackenzie Delta Research Project determined the course of the study even before it began.

Field work was carried out in the Mackenzie Delta from June to September 1965, and from August 1966 to August 1967, and in several brief visits to the Delta, in the course of other duties, during 1968 and 1969. The basic research technique was participant observation, almost exclusively among Native people. Traditional note-taking techniques were virtually impossible, because note-taking is associated by Native people with the barrage of social workers, community development officers, anthropologists, and other professional note-takers who have saturated the area in recent years, bringing on "informant fatigue" among Native people. Anthropologists are familiar to them, and are often called "spies," which in local terminology indicates any stranger likely to indulge in tale-telling or gossip, especially to government authorities. Consequently, note-taking was confined to moments of privacy in my own rented Native-style cabin in the settlement of Aklavik. Extensive periods of three or four weeks at a time were spent traveling, hunting, and fishing with close Native friends in the Delta and in the hills west of Aklavik. I kept a team of dogs and lived, as far as possible, in the Native style with Native people, eventually developing some very close friendships with young men of my own age-group and extensive exchange relationships throughout the settlement. Involvement in brewing and drinking parties, "visiting," and mischief-making were an essential, although not always pleasant, part of such fieldwork.

Like many Outsiders, I found it easier to learn some of the Eskimo language, sufficient to follow conversation, rather than the difficult tonal Athabaskan language spoken by the Delta Indians. This may indicate a slight Eskimo-bias in my observations, although I have attempted to minimize it. Most Native people speak reasonably fluent English in a distinctive local dialect which I have called "Bush English."

The age/sex categorization among Native people meant that most of my contacts were with young unmarried men of my own age. Women were a relatively closed category, for virtually any sign of interest in women or women's affairs is interpreted as sexual, and Outsider men who show sexual interest in Native women are hated by Native men with a burning passion (unless marriage is intended).

Questionnaire data were recovered in the schools on my behalf, mostly by teachers and administrative officers in the educational system. They performed this task very competently. Direct, structured interviewing was used on very few other occasions except with selected informants who took an active and enlightened interest in the research enterprise.

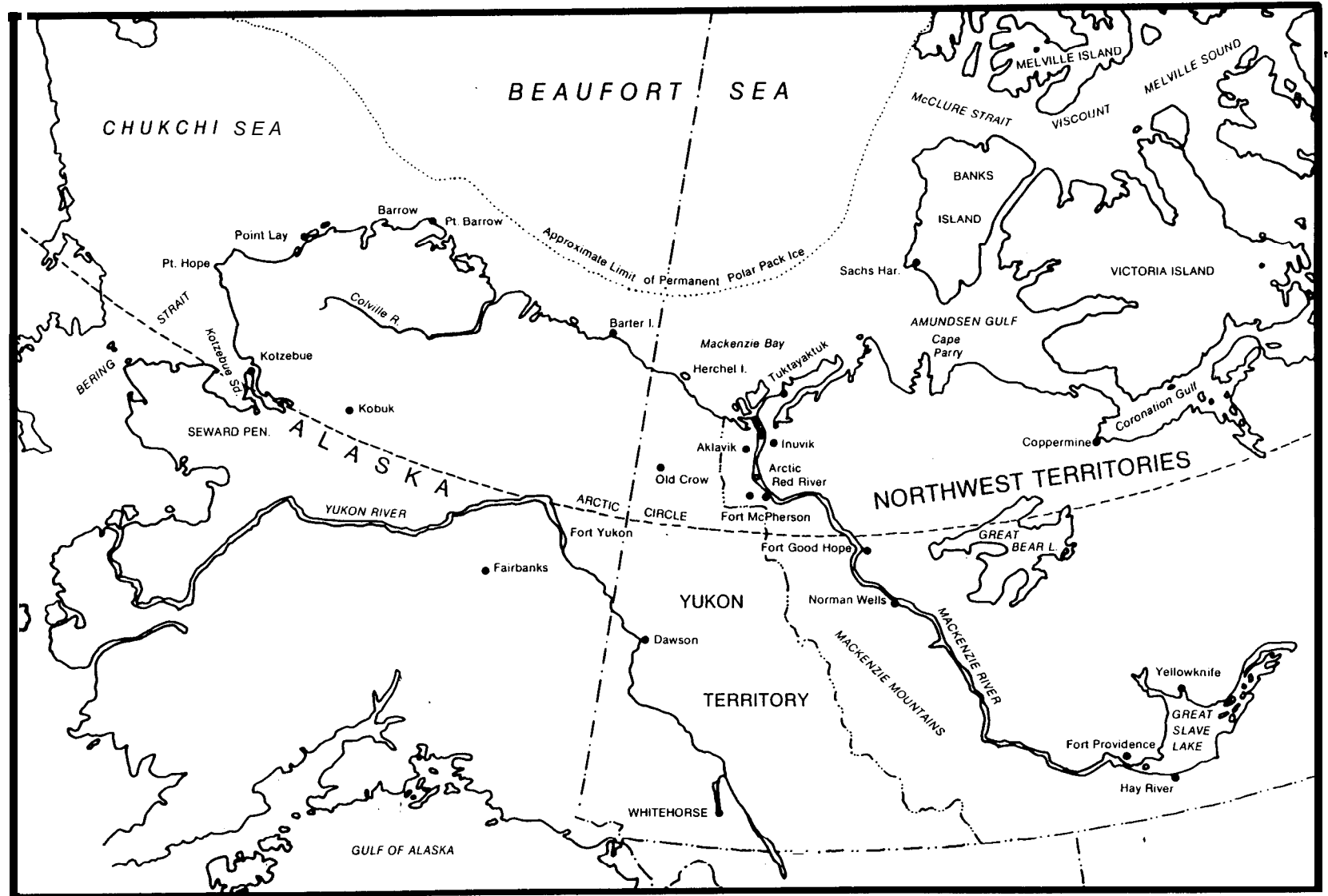
Of no small implication was my virtual exclusion from Outsider activities by the distrust and distaste so many feel toward Whites who associate closely with Native people. "Native-lovers" are believed to have "gone Native," to have lost their credibility, and most likely their morals. Interestingly, Outsiders often translate association with Native people as a sure sign of sexual involvement.

The labels "Native" and "Outsider," which give their name to this study, indicate two exclusive, clearly-defined statuses. Circumlocutions, such as "Amerindian" or "Eurocanadian," while favoured by some northernists, are rejected here. The ideas "Native" and "Outsider" are charged with emotional and social significance in daily life in the Delta. Hopefully, the dimensions of their meaning will emerge throughout this study, for to understand them as they are understood by people in the Delta is to possess a most important key to the social structure.

Examination of the meaning of these exclusive status terms is focused, in this study, on crucial features of the internal structure of the status groups to which they refer, and on crucial features which relate them and sustain their exclusiveness in a continuing distinctive system of relations. On the one hand, specific historical features which differentiate the status groups is examined following leads provided by Vogt (1955) in his study *subcultural continua in the American Southwest*. More importantly, perhaps, the analysis seeks to specify: (1) how the two status groups in the Mackenzie Delta are significantly related to Canadian national economic, political, and social order; (2) how the two status groups are localized manifestations of socio-cultural systems which have significant extensions outside the Mackenzie River Delta; and most especially, (3) how these two groups are conjoined in a mode of relations having distinct connotations of social stratification. These three points derive specifically from Vogt's (1966) analysis of intercultural relations and intercultural hierarchies in *People of Rimrock*. Vogt's work, and that of Vallee (1967) in the Canadian Eastern Arctic, provided the basic directions for this analysis.

MAP 1 : NORTHWESTERN NORTH AMERICA

APPROXIMATE SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400





CHAPTER I

The People

Every social or cultural system has its foundation in an aggregate of biological organisms who undergo the universal processes of reproduction, growth, and death. These processes do not occur at random, but are intimately tied up with the historical (genetic) roots of the people, the size of the group to which they belong, and the particular sex and age distributions of its members. The population as a whole grows and diminishes, or undergoes distinct transformations, just as does any animal population. It is with the biological "facts of life" (among other kinds of imperatives) – babies to bear, mouths to feed, and the sick and dying to care for that any socio-cultural system must come to grips. The socio-cultural system itself can strongly influence the size and shape of the biological population and the transformations through which it must proceed. Preferential mating behaviour, dietary practices, ideas about birth control or family planning, suicide, infanticide, and polygamy, are just some of the social ways which influence the biological group.

It becomes very important to examine the characteristics of the Mackenzie Delta population, since with other groups of Canadian Native people it has suffered traumatic depopulation directly after contact with the Whites. It has experienced the decline of old dietary ways and their replacement with others of a radically different order. It has also suffered mightily under such diseases as tuberculosis, and in later years has felt the benefits of medicine and come to know about birth control.

Who are the people of the Mackenzie Delta? Where did they come from? What patterned or systematic processes underlie the existence and continuity of the people as we know them? These are some of the questions to which this chapter addresses itself.

The population of the Mackenzie Delta today displays considerable racial heterogeneity. Most of the people can be traced to Eskimo, Indian, or European ancestry. European, African Negro, Fijian, and other racial elements have come into the population since the time of the fur trade and the later 19th century whalers.

At least a large part of the population is a mixture of various combinations of these racial elements. The appellation "Eskimo", "Indian", "Metis", so widely used in the Delta, are ambiguous in their reference. They are applied in both a strict, legal sense by the administration and in a more flexible, basically linguistic sense by the Native people. The legal and folk usages of these terms do not coincide, and neither usage agrees with a technical definition of race. The matter is further complicated by the difficulty in assigning any individual to one of these racial categories on the basis of physical characteristics, or increasingly so, on the basis of cultural-linguistic characteristics now that the Native languages and other traditional group indicators are disappearing particularly among younger people.

Indian, Eskimo, Metis—The Legal Definition
The terms "Eskimo", "Indian", and "Metis" should be understood in their present usage more as *social* than racial categories. The social definition of these categories will then be seen to differ according to the position of the speaker in the social system of the Delta. For our ensuing discussion of population characteristics, we depend largely upon the *legal* definitions of race as seen from the point of view of the administration. It is with these legal definitions that most, although not all, of the vital statistics of the area have been collected. Our concern in the rest of this study is not with a *racial* definition of the Native people, but with a *sociological* definition deriving from the identification of individuals as Native persons: (a) by the category to which an individual assigns himself, (b) from the special customs or traits which he adheres to and the social networks with which he is bound up, and (c) the special legal definition of his status in the Canadian polity.

The legal concept "Indian" is the least ambiguous of all Native legal statuses, although even government agencies disagree to an extent as to who should be considered Indian. It is worthwhile at this point to examine briefly the development of the legal definition. The most recent major revision of the *Indian Act (Rev. Statutes of Canada 1952, Ch. 149, See's 11-1 2)* defines as an Indian any person:

- (a) Considered to "hold, use or enjoy lands and other immovable property belonging to or appropriated to the use of various tribes, bands or bodies of Indians in Canada" as of 26 May, 1874.
- (b) Who belongs to a band holding such land or property.
- (c) Who is "a male person who is a direct descendant in the male line of a male person" entitled to hold such lands.
- (d) Who is the legitimate child, wife, or widow of a man entitled to such lands..
- (e) Who is the illegitimate child of a woman subject to the Indian Act, so long as the father is not known to be a non-Indian.

The Act specifically excludes from Indian status:

- (a) A person or his descendant who has been allotted "half-breed lands or money scrip."
- (b) A person who is enfranchised.
- (c) The wife or child of a person not entitled to be registered.

In addition, section 4 of the *Indian Act* specifically excludes "the aboriginal race of people known as Eskimos." It is easily seen that genetically "full-blood" Indians can be excluded from the legal status of Indian. Likewise, people not even remotely connected racially to Indians may be admitted to the status (for

example, any woman of any race who marries an Indian is considered to be an Indian for the purpose of law, as are their children;. Similarly, people who are exclusively Indian racially may leave the legal status by becoming enfranchised, or, in the case of a woman, by marrying a person legally defined as non-Indian.

The separateness of the Indian legal status has ancient precedent in Canadian history. The first reference to Indians in Canadian legal history is contained in the *Articles of Capitulation* signed in Montreal in 1761. This document states that:

The savages or Indian allies of His Most Christian Majesty shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit if they so choose to reside there; they shall not be molested on any pretense whatsoever, for having carried arms and served His Most Christian Majesty. . .

The next known reference (the *Royal Proclamation, 1763*) reaffirms certain rights, mostly concerning land, of the Indian people:

And whereas, it is just and reasonable, and essential to Our Interest and the Security of Our Colonies, that the Nations or Tribes of Indians with Whom We are connected, and who live under Our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds.

The Proclamation goes on to give specific rights of usufruct over all lands not included in the Hudson's Bay Company grant or explicitly set aside for government use (cf. *Revised Statutes of Canada 1952, Vol. 6, App. III p. 3*).

Continuing in this tradition, a system of treaties seeking to extinguish Indian title to specific parcels of land was initiated in 1850. The "Robinson Treaties" of that year saw most of northwestern Ontario ceded to the Crown. These early treaties in turn served as the model for the several post-Confederation treaties which ceded to the Crown large tracts of land in the Western Provinces and the Northwest Territories. It is to one of these treaties, Treaty Number 11, concluded in 1921, that most of the Indians of the Mackenzie Delta are subject. The *British North America Act, 1867* (sec. 24, subset. 91) explicitly allocates to the Federal Government the power to legislate with regard to Indians. It is under this Act that the Federal Government is empowered to take Indian treaties, and to enact such legislation as *The Indian Act*. Canada's Indians are her only ethnic group assigned a special status by law.

Although the legal definition given in the *Indian Act* is used for virtually all administrative purposes, Statistics

Canada has used a different set of criteria. In the census of 1961, each person was asked "To what cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong" In the published census data of 1961, no consistent distinction is made between "Native Indians" and Eskimos, nor are they treated as separate ethnic categories. In addition, these figures are said to exclude "Half-Breeds." The difference between the legal and the census definitions is dramatically brought out by Table 1.1.

In administrative documents concerning the Mackenzie Delta, one frequently encounters question items regarding ethnic status. Since Indians have a legal status distinct from all other people, they must be kept separate for certain administrative and legal purposes, including the collection of vital statistics. The three main categories are "Indian," "Eskimo," "Other." The latter category, which includes all other persons of any racial origin whatever, also includes those persons of "mixed" Indian ancestry ineligible for Indian status and usually referred to by administration as "Metis," "Half -Blood," or "Half -Breed." These persons, many of whom in the Mackenzie Delta speak Indian languages and otherwise follow an Indian way of life, and often have strongly marked Indian physical features, are an amorphous and fluid category. The term "Metis," although used by Whites in the Mackenzie Delta, does not properly apply to these Northern persons of mixed ancestry. As Slobodin (1966) points out, it properly refers to a relatively cohesive ethnic group, historically centred in the Red River Settlement region of Manitoba, who have received formal recognition by the Canadian Government in the "Half-Breed" land and money scrip allotments made after the Riel Rebellions. I have heard the name "Metis" used by only one person in the Mackenzie Delta. He applied it to himself. I used the term in conversation with other Native people, none of whom claimed to have heard it or to know its meaning. In this study we shall retain it since it is used by many northern Outsiders to mean those persons of mixed Indian ancestry--excluded from the legal status of Indian but who follow Indian ways of life, and by those who explicitly think of themselves in this way and are so thought of by other Native people of the Delta. It is a residual category, which may also include persons of mixed Eskimo ancestry specifically excluded from recognition by the administration as being of Eskimo status. Ironically, the formal categories of Indian and Eskimo contain numerous people of just as mixed ancestry as those allocated to the Metis category but who have satisfied other legal criteria.

The term Eskimo has traditionally been applied to persons of that racial ancestry and cultural heritage. This is not a specific legal status as is "Indian." The *Indian Act* specifically requires that all persons meeting the legal qualifications to be designated as Indians be registered with the Federal Government. Their names are placed either on a "Band List" or on

TABLE 1.1: Indians as Defined by the Indian Act and as Defined by the Census of 1961, by **Province for the Year 1961**

Definition	Canada	Nfld.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.
Indian Act ¹	191,709	—	348	3,746	3,397	21,793	44,942
1961 Census ²	208,286	596	236	3,267	2,921	18,876	47,862

Definition	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Indian Act ¹	25,681	25,334	20,931	38,616	—	—
1961 Census ²	29,219	30,628	28,469	38,789	2,167	5,256

¹Source: *Annual Report, 1961*, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1962.

²Source: 1961 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.2-5, Table 35-2. Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

the "General List." In band lists each family is assigned an identification number. A person whose name does not appear on a band list or on the General List is not an Indian for purposes of law and administration. No similar registration system with the sanction of law exists for the Metis or Eskimo.

At the present time, all Eskimos are registered on "Disc Lists" such that each individual is assigned a number indicating district of registry and personal identification number. Today in administrative practice and in public opinion in the Mackenzie Delta, a person who does not have a Disc List Number is not considered to be a "full Eskimo." It is therefore worthwhile to survey the history of the Disc List system as indicated in Federal Government files. It is superficially similar to the Indian Band List registry.

In 1933 discussion arose amongst some officials of the Department of the Interior. The Chairman of the Dominion Lands Administration of that department suggested that a "universal form of identification of the Eskimo population" be adopted. Specifically, he suggested the adoption of a finger print file which had been proposed by the R. C.M. P. The difficulty arose since Eskimos often had more than one name. These names were extremely difficult for non-Eskimos to pronounce correctly, and seldom were they spelled the same twice in administrative records. Approval was given for a trial run of a fingerprint identification system. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police with the Eastern Arctic Expedition of 1933 proceeded to take fingerprints, although this practice "... in many cases frightened the natives quite noticeably." Nevertheless, by 1935 the system was considered to be "an unqualified success," and it was recommended for implementation among all of Canada's Eskimos, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were instructed to carry it out.

In 1935, a medical officer in the Eastern Arctic complained of the difficulty in sorting out individual Eskimos. In his letter to the Director of Lands of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch he states,

My humble suggestion would be, that at each registration the child be given an identity disk on the same lines as the army identity (sic) disk and the same insistence (sic) that it be worn (sic) at all times. The novelty of it would appeal to the natives.

The specific suggestion of discs to be worn around the neck or wrist was rejected by various officials since "Indians do not wear them," "misunderstandings might easily arise if Eskimos wore chains," and "the wards of other Dominions do not wear identification discs." The suggestion of a small linen or metal tag for attachment to clothing was made and approved in 1940, and in 1941 this was implemented with an accompanying census by a motion of the Northwest Territories Council (11 th February, 1941). Census enumerators were armed with specially designed plastic discs in the summer of 1941. Although these were issued in the Eastern Arctic, an oversight in shipping prevented their immediate distribution in the Mackenzie Delta. This system effectively linked personal identifications with vital statistics collection, and the administration of law, medical services, and social assistance. However, confusion arose when there were "children of White men with disc numbers and children of Eskimo without," and Eskimo when children born in southern Canada (an increasing occurrence after 1945) had no way of being assigned numbers. Through time, the system has become sufficiently entrenched that ownership of a disc number marks one as Eskimo to the extent that a person without a number is not eligible for the provisions or protections of such administrative enactments as the Eskimo rental housing program. While one inter-office memorandum states that "ownership of a disc number defines a person of Eskimo status. . ." As far as "Eskimos" are concerned, those to be protected by the proposed legislation [Eskimo housing] are those who have been issued disc numbers, and the regulations under the Family Allowances Act defined an Eskimo as "a person to whom a disc number had been issued." Legal advisers have gone to some length to demonstrate that no statutory or

constitutional definition of Eskimo status exists. The closest thing to a formal definition of Eskimo is the Supreme Court decision of 1939 which ruled that the formulators of the B.N.A. Act intended Eskimos to be included with Indians under Section 91 as belonging to Federal Government jurisdiction. Contrary to Diamond Jenness (1964:40) this did *not* establish Eskimos as having Indian status, it simply affirmed that they were the responsibility of the Federal Government in the same way as were Indians.

What began as a system designed for efficient identification of individual Eskimos has become *de facto*, if not *de jure* a mark of Eskimo status. In practice, membership in the disc list has come to be modelled directly on the criteria for membership in Indian band lists. For example, Section 2 of the Game Ordinance of the Northwest Territories, almost identical in wording to sections 11 and 12 of the *Indian Act*, states:

(a) *Eskimo means:*

- (i) A male person who is a direct descendant in the male line of a male person who is or was of the race of aborigines commonly referred to as Eskimos,
- (ii) the legitimate child of a person described in paragraph (i),
- (iii) the illegitimate child of a female person described in paragraph (i), and
- (iv) the wife or widow of a person described in paragraph (i), (ii) or (iii).

So closely modelled is the Disc List on the Indian band list system that a woman of any race marrying an Eskimo male is assigned an Eskimo disc number and becomes an Eskimo for administrative purposes. Such cases exist in the Mackenzie Delta, where several European and Indian women are now registered as Eskimos. Likewise, an Eskimo woman with a disc number who marries a person without a disc number (such as an Indian or a European) has her name struck from the Eskimo Disc List. If she marries a legal Indian, she becomes Indian for purposes of law and her name is entered on the Indian lists.

If the preceding discussion demonstrates that the labels "Indian," "Metis," and "Eskimo" current among the non-Natives of the Mackenzie Delta are legal and social definitions, bearing minimal reference to the technical definitions of race and cultural affiliation, it has achieved its aim. These labels are administrative conveniences which have unfortunately become enshrined with a mystique of precision far beyond what they actually possess. This is "who the Eskimos, Indians, and Metis are" *to the administration*.

Who are they to the anthropologist? This question may be answered in at least two ways. One answer would deal with the genetic, biological, *racial* aspect of the population. The second would seek to identify

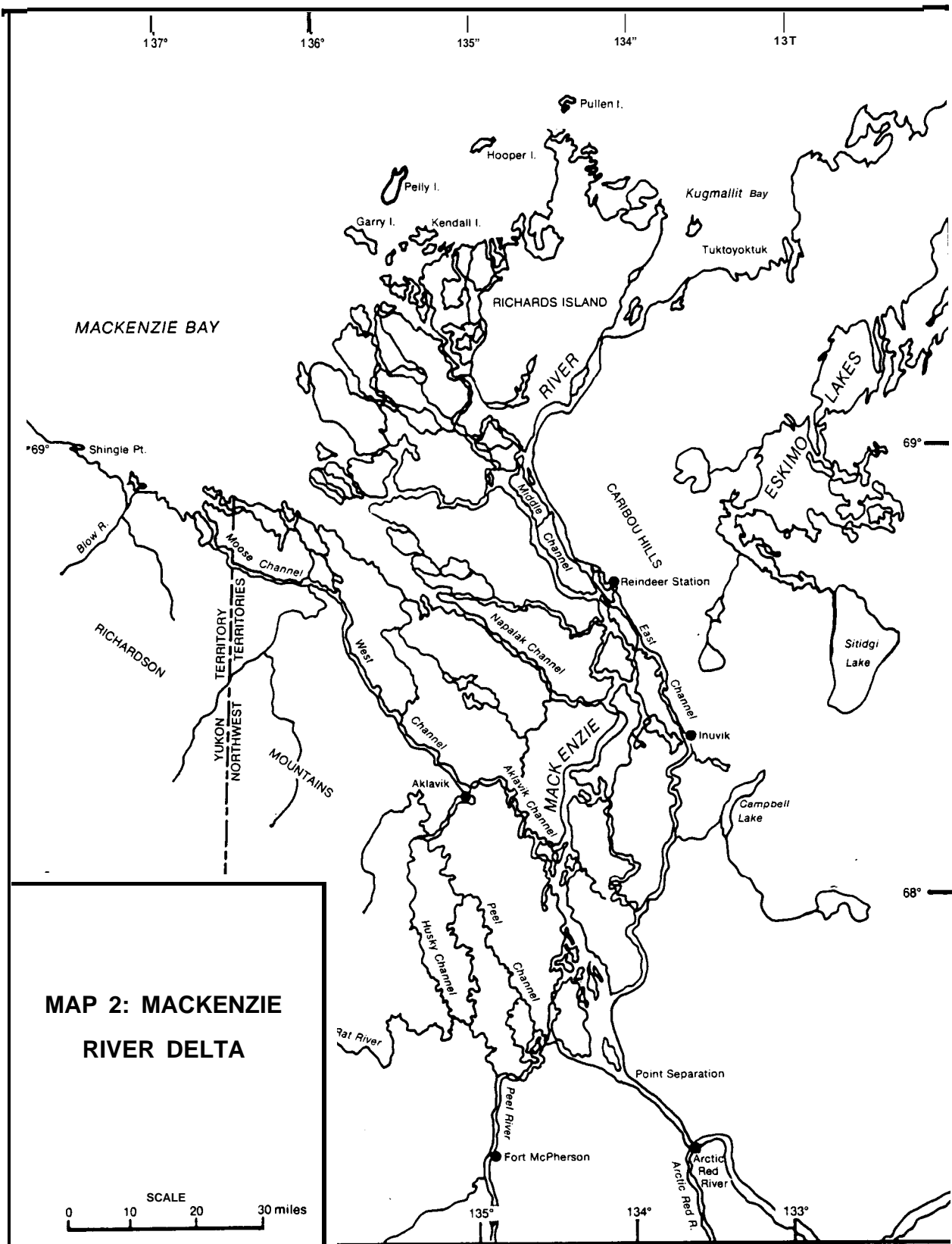
the social and cultural affiliations of the people as we know them historically and as they occupy a social position in modern Canadian society.

Population History

Racially, we know that the Indians of North America represent an ancient division of the general Mongoloid stock. The arrival of these ancient ancestors of the Indians in North America probably took place in the Bering Sea area some 30,000 to 40,000 years ago. The virtual absence of archaeological and physical anthropological studies on recent prehistoric times in far northwestern North America makes it impossible to trace in detail the connection of the modern Mackenzie Delta Indian population with these ancient people. Racially, the Eskimos must be considered as distinct from the Indians. Eskimos are descended from a Mongoloid stock, but not from the same branch as that of the Indians. Eskimos are a specialized Arctic branch of the Mongoloid stock and have a circumpolar distribution. Their presence in the North American Arctic extends back only some 4,000 years. The lack of archaeological and physical anthropological studies of the modern Mackenzie Delta Eskimo population makes it impossible to trace their ancestry in detail. In any case, this study is not particularly concerned with racial categories, but rather with the social and cultural affiliations of the Mackenzie Delta Native people.

Linguistically and culturally, most of the Indians of the Mackenzie Delta historically belong to the group of Kutchin "tribes." The Kutchin are the most northerly representatives of the Athapaskan linguistic stock. Their language can be shown to have historical connections with many of the "tribes" of Alaska (e.g., Koyukon, Tanaina), of northern British Columbia (e.g., Kaska, Carrier, Sekani), and with other Athapaskans extending as far south as Arizona and New Mexico (e.g., Navaho) (cf. Slobodin 1962; Osgood 1936). Most of the Mackenzie Delta Indians state their connections to be with the Peel River Kutchin, also known as the Tetlit Kutchin, and with the Vunta Kutchin of the Old Crow region in Yukon Territory.

Oral tradition amongst the Kutchin of the Delta suggests that their wintering territory before White contact was in the northern part of the Ogilvie Mountains, the western Richardson, and the mountainous upper Peel drainage. The summer territory seems to have centred around a convenient fishing locality located some 100 to 110 miles from the mouth of the Peel River. Travelers' observations during the 19th century speak of the state of hostility maintained between the Peel River Kutchin and the Eskimos occupying the flat lands of the Mackenzie Delta. Present traditions of both the Kutchin and the



Eskimo speak of a neutral ground between the two racial-cultural groups covering the lower Peel River and the northern portion of the Delta (Slobodin 1962:16-19).

At the present time the Delta Indians refer to themselves as "Tetlit," or "Tetlit Kutchin," but more commonly as "Loucheux." The latter name is also used by Outsiders and Eskimos in referring to the Indians. The name in French means "squint-eyed", hardly a flattering name. The people are aware of its meaning but use it with pride.

Although the greatest number of Delta Indians are of Kutchin origin, some legal band members belong to Alaskan divisions of the Kutchin and to northern British Columbian Athapaskan groups. The social unrest following White contact and the trading and traveling patterns of the fur-trade era seem to have given occasion for wide intergroup contact. Several people in the Delta today contracted their marriages with persons in bands of the Yukon Territory (particularly the Moosehide band of the Dawson region, closely related to the Delta Loucheux). A few women from the Kaska groups are married to Loucheux men. In addition, several Indians technically members of other Mackenzie Basin bands are now resident in the Delta. In particular, Slaveys, Hare, and Chippewyan are represented. One Tlingit woman from northern coastal British Columbia has been a resident of the Delta for some years.

In short the Indian population of the Mackenzie Delta, although basically derived from Tetlit and Vunta Kutchin, also contains representatives of other neighboring groups. Inter-marriage with these groups and with Scots and French fur traders suggest that the Delta Indians should best be thought of as a racially and culturally mixed population built around a Tetlit and Vunta Kutchin core. The population is not nearly as homogeneous as most White observers think or the Indians themselves generally imply.

Likewise, the Metis, as the name implies are a racially mixed population, although most follow an Indian way of life and speak one of the Loucheux dialects. As Slobodin (1966:158) observed of Northern Metis in general, the Metis of the area are the product of relatively recent miscegenation between lower Mackenzie—middle Yukon women and European men (predominantly Scottish, secondarily Scandinavian and English). In fact, several local Metis jokingly refer to themselves as "improved Scots". These possess little autonomous Metis identity and sense of Metis group cohesion. In general, they are culturally aligned with the aboriginal groups to which they are related, and among whom they still recognize many kin. People descended from unions between Scots and American whalers or their Negro and Fijian sailors and Eskimo women, to the extent that they feel themselves somewhat different from the majority of

Eskimos (and this is by no means always the case), should probably also be included in the Metis category. Children of Eskimo-Indian unions, licit and otherwise, are commonly encountered in the Delta. Delta Metis, then, differ fundamentally from the 'Red River Metis of the prairie provinces (cf. Slobodin 1966:158), who are descendants of remote miscegenation between French, Algonkians, Iroquoisans, and Athapaskans, among whom an autonomous Metis cultural tradition and strong sense of identity prevails. The Red River Metis acknowledge few Indian kinsmen, and derive their cultural tradition from old Upper Canada, the Metis "nation" of the 19th century northwest, and from the tradition of the old voyageurs. Whereas the Red River Metis have emerged as a more or less stable, identifiable group, the Mackenzie Delta Metis are still in the process of development. In the Delta, families consisting of a Native woman and a White trapper of British or European birth are still commonly encountered. Many of these women have lost their Indian or Eskimo legal status on marriage. Their children are excluded from Eskimo and Indian lists, although the way of life of these children differs little from their Eskimo and Indian kinsmen and neighbors.

The aboriginal group known as the Mackenzie Eskimos occupied the stretch of Arctic coast between Shingle Point in the West and Cape Bathurst in the East. There were five subgroups, one of which occupied the northern portion of the Mackenzie Delta. Their main settlement was at Kittigazuit. Usher (1968: personal communication) has reviewed the population estimates for the Western Arctic region. He concludes that the total Mackenzie Eskimo population was a minimum of 2500 in aboriginal times, and that 1000 of these constituted the group most closely aligned with the Delta. Jenness (1964:422) implies a drop from 2500 persons in aboriginal times to a mere dozen about the year 1900. Although the effects of disease and social disruption in the latter part of the 19th century had undoubtedly taken a staggering toll among the original Mackenzie Eskimos, Jenness' estimate of a dozen survivors seems unwarranted. If he were referring to the number of people still displaying traits of the aboriginal Mackenzie Eskimo culture, his estimate may not be too far out of line, but genealogical data collected by myself in the Delta and by Usher on Banks Island contain many references to specifically Mackenzie Eskimo parents. Racially, the Mackenzie Eskimo have contributed to the modern population of the Delta, although their culture seems to have been submergered by that of the Alaskan Eskimos who filled the vacuum left by the decimation of the Mackenzie Eskimo population about the turn of the century. Alaskan Eskimos predominate in the present Delta Eskimo population racially and culturally.

The Alaskan Eskimos seem to have arrived in the Delta in three main migrations, accounts of which

may still be recovered from Delta people. The first seems to have taken place between 1896/97 and 1910, consisting of inland 'Alaskan Eskimos. Originally they had resided in the Kobuk and Noatak valleys. After following the Colville drainage to the Arctic Coast with the hope of coming into closer contact with the fur trade and the coastal whalers, they moved east to the whaling and trading centre at Herschel Island. This easterly movement seems to have taken some five to ten years, during which the people followed a regime of winter trapping and hunting along the coast with at least some of the summer period spent hunting in the mountains between the Colville and Mackenzie Deltas. There was still, basically, a subsistence hunting way of life with trapping as a subsidiary activity. The rich trapping area of the Mackenzie Delta and the availability of caribou in the nearby hills, now almost vacant with the decimation of its aboriginal inhabitants, provided an ideal area for this activity. The decline of Herschel Island as a trading centre about the turn of the century and continuance of Fort McPherson, by this time the only fur-trading post in the Western Coast area, probably also contributed to the attraction of the area to the Alaskans. Although this first wave of Alaskan migration consisted mainly of Kobukmiut and other Nunamiut ("people of the land"), coastal Eskimos of the Point Barrow region involved in whaling were also represented. A number of these were offspring of Fijian and other South Pacific men of the whaling ships, as well as American whalers and traders. A number of Delta people at the present time show physical features of Polynesian and Negro origin. They are referred to in a derogatory manner as "Kanakas," "Portigiq" (Portugee) and "Taakshipaluq" ("big darkie") by other Eskimos.

The second wave of Alaskan Eskimos seems to have moved into the Delta between 1915 and 1923. These Eskimos, very much a racial and cultural blend of coastal and inland Eskimo groups from a vast area of Alaska (even from west of Bering Strait), many of them offspring of White trappers, appear to have worked their way east to the richer trapping areas of the Canadian Western Arctic after the decline of white fox populations on the Alaskan North Slope. These people were aggressive trappers much less oriented to subsistence hunting than the first wave of immigrants. During this time, although the white fox was in sharp decline in Alaska, the fox trade was beginning its major development in Canada. A number of Canadian fur traders recruited Alaskan Eskimos for trapping in Canada's Western Arctic. This became of sufficient concern that an Order was made by the Governor-General in Council to forestall the encroachment of these "foreign trappers" (12 March, 1920). Apparently the enforcement of this order was an important factor in terminating the second wave of Alaskan Eskimo immigration. Accounts of Eskimos confirm the date of termination as between 1920 and 1923 (cf. Usher 1970).

The third immigration, much smaller than the two previous ones, took place between 1946 and 1949 according to informants' accounts. This final wave was composed mainly of Eskimos from the stretch of coast between Point Barrow and Barter Island. Unlike their predecessors they were much less oriented to trapping and hunting than they were to wage employment. Although most of these speak the Point Barrow dialect, a number show evidence of considerable racial admixture.

In addition to the Alaskan Eskimos, a number of central Eskimos from as far away as the Coronation Gulf region are now resident in the Delta. Our discussion is intended to show once more the thorough racial and cultural mixture of the Delta people and to dispel the myth of a simple Eskimo and Indian ancestry (see Table 1.2).

TABLE 1.2: "The Delta Mosaic"—Racial and Cultural Groups which have Contributed to the Formation of the Modern Mackenzie Delta Native Population

1. <i>Indian Groups</i> (in order of importance)
(a) Tetlit Kutchin
(b) Vunta Kutchin
(c) Yukon and Upper Mackenzie Athapaskans
2. <i>Eskimo Groups</i> (in order of importance)
(a) Nunamiut—"land people" from Kobuk and Noatak drainage
(b) Tareokmiut—"coast people" mainly from Alaskan Coast, Point Barrow- Point Hope region, but also from Western Norton Sound- Bering Strait region.
(c) "Kugmallit"—central Eskimos from Amundsen Gulf-Coronation Gulf region
(d) Original Mackenzie Eskimos
3. <i>Other</i>
(a) Scots fur traders -
(b) American whalers
(c) South Pacific Islanders-whalers.
(d) Scandinavian trappers-traders.
(e) French trappers-traders.
(f) Cape Verde Negros (often petty officers in whaling crews).
(g) Laplanders-reindeer herders from Europe via Alaska, now intermarried in the Mackenzie Delta.

Population Characteristics

Vital statistics for the Mackenzie Delta area and the rest of the Canadian North are collected using the three administrative categories "Eskimo," "Indian," and "Other." It is apparent from our preceding discussion that these categories, contrary to public

opinion, have only the most ambiguous reference to race or cultural affiliation in the strict sense. The "Native" population of the Delta is made up of a core of people designated as Eskimo or Indian, their kinsmen who for various reasons do not meet the legal requirement for such designation and are included in the residual "Other" category, and the White trappers, traders, and others who have intermarried with people of Eskimo and Indian ancestry. Since vital statistics are compiled with these categories, we are compelled to use them. A composite picture of the Native population can then be built up from these sources with appropriate adjustments based on data recovered in the field. This picture is only an approximate one, for our data do not always meet the rigorous criteria for formal demographic analysis.

The *Indian Act* requires that a general register and a register for each band be maintained. In these registers are found data on births, deaths, marriages, adoptions, and officially recognized family units. These data conveniently lend themselves to demographic analysis, and are constantly updated. They serve as our basic data. Other documents, such as the annual registers of treaty payments, hospital records, and social welfare records, serve as checks. In addition, informant data were used in checking the accuracy and completeness of the official records.

It must be emphasized that the band registers and allied documents represent a legally defined population, and not a "natural" population. By this crude distinction, we mean to imply that in a "natural" population the way for a person to enter it is birth or immigration, and to leave it is death or emigration. These apply to the legally defined Indian population of the Delta, but in addition people enter the population by adoption and marriage, and may leave it by enfranchisement (i.e. may become "Indian" irrespective of racial origin by legal affiliation with a person of Indian status, or on the other hand, by legal means may leave the status of Indian). With these qualifications in mind, we now consider some of the demographic characteristics of the Delta Indian population.

The core group of legally defined Indians in the Mackenzie Delta derives from three bands: the Arctic Red River and Fort McPherson bands constituted at the time of treaty in 1921-1922, and the Aklavik band, which is an administrative division separated from these two parent bands in 1964. Since they are the predominant group (about 90% of the Delta Indian population), and since reasonably close control of vital statistical data is available only for them, they form the basis of our discussion and can be considered broadly representative of all Delta Indians. Persons who have established more or less permanent domicile (other than at schools, hospitals, jails) outside the Delta do not figure in our calculations. Persons who have established a home or have

chosen to live outside the Delta, and, as a consequence spent seven or more months of the year 1966 outside the area are considered to have established permanent domicile outside the Delta, although in many cases they remain registered in one of the three Delta bands.

Similarly, the data on life events contained in the Eskimo Disc List and allied documents, checked and amended by other documentary sources and informant data, allow us to determine with considerable certainty the size and general characteristics of the Delta Eskimo population. "Eskimo" in this case corresponds basically to administrative criteria.

The residual category of "half-breeds" or "multi-breeds" (Metis), who are excluded from Indian Band Lists and Eskimo Disc Lists present considerable difficulties for our demographic analysis. Unfortunately, data on vital events among this amorphous though relatively large group in the Delta are extremely difficult to ascertain with precision. A full-scale census of Metis in the Delta would be a prodigious task, and beyond the limits of this study. Data are presented here on the Metis population of the settlement of Aklavik and its environs, with full recognition of the difficulties in generalizing their characteristics to the Delta Metis population as a whole.

Figure I.1 graphically presents the age—sex distribution of Delta Indians, Delta Eskimos, and Aklavik Metis, in comparison with that of the Canadian population as a whole. Tables A.1, and A.3 present the numerical data from which the Delta graphs were constructed (see Appendix A).

Insofar as it is legitimate to compare the population characteristics of a limited region with the nation as a whole, several dramatic differences between the Mackenzie Delta native population and the national population are immediately observable.

The very wide bases of the Delta Native population pyramids, with lower proportions of the population in middle and older years compared to the national distribution indicate that the Delta Native population, while reproductively vigorous, experiences relatively higher mortality rates. The sociological significance of this distribution will fully emerge in ensuing chapters. It will suffice at this point to observe that in the Native population a relatively small number of adult males have the task of supporting a large number of dependent children as well as women, many of whom are almost continually pregnant according to our data.

A more specific indicator of this situation is the crude birth rate for which we have sufficiently reliable data only for Delta Indians and Eskimos. This measure expresses the number of births per year per 1000 persons. Tables I.3 and I.4 present the Eskimo and

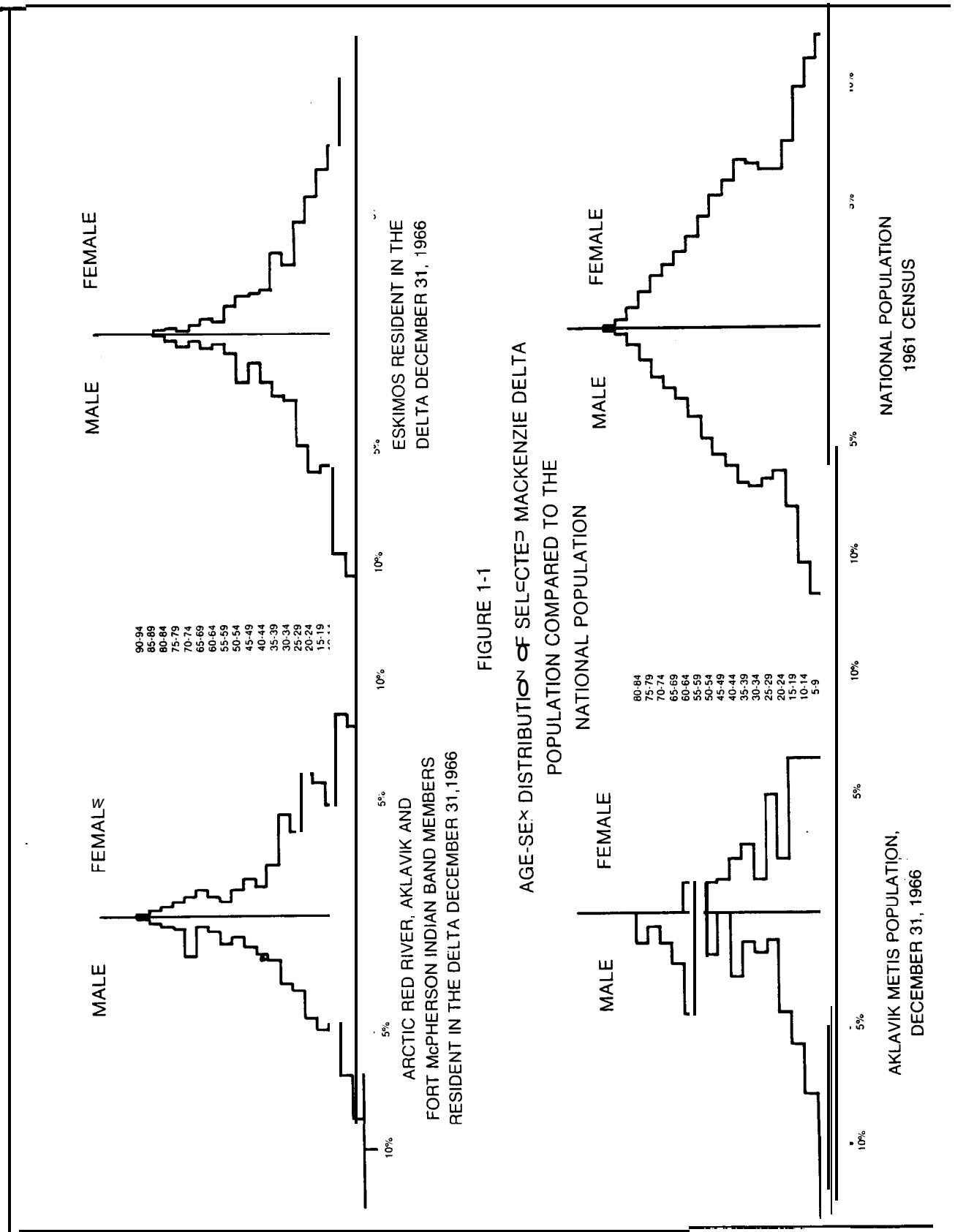


TABLE 1.3: Crude Birth Rates, Mackenzie Delta Indian and Eskimo Populations (1966) Compared with Crude Birth Rates for Other Areas

Population	Crude Birth Rate	Source
Mackenzie Delta Eskimos (3 yr. avg. 1964-1 966)	27.5	Field data
Mackenzie Delta Indians (3 yr. avg. 1964-1 966)	27.0	Field data
Tuktoyaktuk (1 961)	85.0	Abrahamson (1963:16)
Canada (1 963)	24.6	<i>Canada Year Book 1966</i>
Northwest Territories (1965)	48.4	<i>Canada Year Book 1966</i>
Yukon Territory (1965)	33.3	<i>Canada Year Book 1966</i>
Canadian Eskimo (1961)	59.0	Abrahamson (1963-16)
Gambell, Alaska, Eskimos (1 954)	40.0	Hughes (1 960:52)
Eastern Eskimos (Canada) (1936-40)	35.0	Robinson (1 944:13)
Greenland (1 957)	47.2	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959</i> p. 206
Mexico (1 958)	44.5	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959</i> p. 206
United States (1 958)	24.3	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959</i> p. 209
Puerto Rico (1 958)	32.7	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959</i> p. 209
France (1 958)	18.2	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959</i> p. 215
West Germany (1958)	17.0	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959</i> p. 215
Iceland (1958)	27.4	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959</i> p. 215
United Kingdom (1958)	16.8	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959</i> p. 217
Pacific Islands (1958)	31.1	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959</i> p. 217

TABLE 1.4: Crude Birth Rates, Northwest Territories, 1962-1966

Population	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Indians, N.W.T.	41	37.5	39.1	37.5	37.9
Eskimos, N.W.T.	61	59.8	64.5	59.8	54.4
Others, N.W.T. (Metis, Transient Whites)	39	41.0	45.0	41.0	28.2
Total N.W.T. Population	47.3	48.4	50.6	46.8	40.0

Source: Canada. Dept. of National Health and Welfare (Northern Health Service). *Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories, 1966.1967.*

Indian crude birth rates in comparison with the rates for other Eskimo populations, for the nation as a whole, and for other selected populations.

An examination of tables 1.3 and 1.4 shows that while the Mackenzie Delta crude birth rates are somewhat higher than Canada and the United States and considerably higher than some European countries, they are equal to or less than the rates for non-European areas. They are markedly lower than rates for the Northwest Territories as a whole, and somewhat less than those for Yukon Territory. Since the crude birth rate expresses the proportion of births per thousand of the total population and the Mackenzie Delta Native population is concentrated in the youngest age groups, it is appropriate to compute the number of children under five years of age in proportion to adult females. This "crude fertility ratio" expresses the number of children below five years of age in proportion to each thousand women of child-bearing age (usually taken as women 15-44 years of age). Age-specific fertility ratios express the proportion of children under five years of age per thousand women of specified age categories. "Fertility ratios" are not necessarily a good measure of fertility performance, as Barclay (1 958) has pointed out. They are closer to what may be termed a "dependency measure".

Table 1.5 compares the crude fertility ratios for Mackenzie Delta Indians and Eskimos with other selected populations.

An examination of Table 1.5 shows that the crude fertility ratios for Mackenzie Delta Indians are considerably higher than those for the Northwest Territories as a whole or the Yukon Territory, many times higher than the Canadian national ratio, but in keeping with rates for other Eskimos. European rates are the lowest, but those for "undeveloped countries" are comparable with the Mackenzie Delta rates. This

ratio for the Mackenzie Delta Native population indicates that a relatively small number of women are responsible for bearing and raising a relatively large number of children. Our records show that an appreciable number of the women are giving birth to four or five children in five years.

TABLE 1.5: Crude Fertility Ratios, Mackenzie Delta Indians and Eskimos Compared with Other Selected Populations

Population	Crude Fertility Ratio	Source
Mackenzie Delta Indians (3 yr. ave. 1964-66)	725.6	Field Data
Mackenzie Delta Eskimos (3 yr. ave. 1964-1966)	1092.3	Field Data
Northwest Territories (1963)	263.9	<i>Canada Year Book 1966 p. 253</i>
Yukon Territory (1963)	172.1	<i>Canada Year Book 1966 p. 253</i>
Canada (1963) except Y.T. and N.W.T.)	121.0	<i>Canada Year Book 1966 p. 253</i>
Gambell, Alaska Eskimos (1954)	1000.0	Hughes (1960:53)
Keewatin Eskimos (1962)	972.3	Computed from data in Brack (1963:135)
Greenland (1951)	647.0	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959 p. 197</i>
Mexico (1950)	626.0	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959 p. 197</i>
Puerto Rico (1950)	725.0	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959 p. 197</i>
West Germany (1950)	257.0	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959 p. 200</i>
Iceland (1950)	526.0	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959 p. 200</i>
France (1954)	340.0	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959 p. 200</i>
U.S.S.R. (1959)	695.0	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959 p. 201</i>

Age-specific fertility ratios for the Native population compared with those for the nation as a whole show even more clearly the high proportion of children to women of child-bearing age (see table 1.6).

An examination of Table 1.6 shows that age-specific fertility ratios for the Mackenzie Delta population are markedly higher than comparable ratios for other North American and European populations. Broadly interpreted, this means that Delta Native women in each age group have dependent upon them a far higher number of children than have women of this age in other populations. For example, Delta Indian women of age 30 to 34 have about ten times the number of children than do women of comparable age in the Canadian population as a whole, and Delta Eskimo women have about fifteen times as many. It should also be noted that women in the total Canadian population typically have most of their children between ages 20 and 24, while the peak period for Delta Native women is 10 years later (between ages 30 and 34). The ratios for Delta Native women are consistently higher for all age groups than the Canadian population as a whole, and child-bearing extends much more into the later years (40 to menopause) than in the Canadian population. Another indirect expression of the effect of such high fertility rates is the concentration of Delta Native population in the youngest age groups as shown in Table 1.7. This distribution is also a result of a distinctive mortality pattern to be considered later.

TABLE 1.7: Percentage of Mackenzie Delta Native Population (1966) at Selected Ages Compared with all Canada (1961 Census)

Age	Population			
	Delta Indian	Delta Eskimo	Aklavik Metis	All Canada
Under 5 yrs.	16.77%	20.7%	11.5%	12.4%
Under 10 yrs.	32.15	38.1	31.0	23.8
Under 25 yrs.	62.36	71.1	64.2	48.4
Under 35 yrs.	76.23	82.9	74.2	62.0
Under 45 yrs.	83.22	89.9	83.4	75.1
Under 55 yrs.	87.85	95.7	88.4	85.4
Under 65 yrs.	91.19	97.8	84.2	92.5

It can be seen that about one-third of the Delta Native population is under ten years of age compared with less than 25% of the national population in the same age group. Likewise, about 65% of the Native population is under twenty-five years of age, compared to 48% of the national population in the same age group.

Consistently throughout our discussion so far the Delta Eskimo demonstrate higher fertility ratios and a higher concentration of the population in the youngest age groups compared with Delta Indians. The source of the difference between these two populations, to the extent that it is statistically significant, is obscure. It is worthy of note, however, that the Delta Eskimo

TABLE 1.6: Age-Specific Fertility Ratios for Mackenzie Delta Eskimo and Indian Populations Compared with Other Selected Populations

Population	Age Group							Source
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	
Mackenzie Delta Indians 3 yr. avg. 1964-66	137.0	351.0	1244.0	1407.0	1136.0	384.0	333.0	Field Data
Mackenzie Delta Eskimos 3 yr. avg. 1964-66	175.0	729.7	1500.0	2225.8	1764.7	882.3	846.1	Field Data
Canada (1 963)	53.5	228.2	212.5	140.9	75.7	25.9	2.1	<i>Canada Year Book 1966, p. 254</i>
Greenland (1 952)	68.6	258.1	277.1	211.1	235.1	99.7	13.9	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959, p. 272</i>
Puerto Rico (1 950)	99.2	279.7	260.3	200.0	143.1	53.1	11.7	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959, p. 273</i>
United States (1 957) (All live births)	94.6	254.8	198.4	116.6	59.8	15.7	1.0	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959, p.273</i>
United States (1 957) (Legitimate births)	516.5	353.0	224.1	127.9	66.3	10.0	—	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959, p. 273</i>
Iceland (1955)	85.2	222.8	202.9	147.7	106.1	33.9	2.5	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959, p. 282</i>
France (1 958)	20.9	154.1	173.9	107.9	61.1	17.0	1.7	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959, p. 280</i>
United Kingdom (1 957)	29.6	152.6	157.3	91.4	46.5	12.2	0.8	<i>Demographic Yearbook 1959, p. 284</i>

figures are quite consistent with those reported for Eskimos in other areas as shown in our tables.

With regard to mortality characteristics we encountered considerable problems in recovering data. Sufficiently accurate data were available to compute crude death rates for Delta Indians in 1965 and Delta Eskimos in 1966. The total number of deaths in both populations is small, so that statistically significant age-specific mortality rates cannot be computed. Crude mortality rates for Delta Native populations compared with the national population are presented in Table I.8 in conjunction with crude birth rates in order to show the net increase for the Delta populations in comparisons with others.

Table I.8 shows that while the Canadian population increases annually at the rate of 16.8 persons per thousand population, the Delta Indian and Eskimo populations increase at only a slightly higher rate than that for all Canada, compared to Canada's northern population as a *whole*, for which rates of increase are drastically higher than the Canadian norm. This means that the Delta Native populations are *not* experiencing the "population explosion" commonly assumed of Northern populations. It would seem that the explosion which is attested in the Northern population as a whole has been inappropriately generalized to the Delta population in public

opinion. The Delta population is not *at present* experiencing a marked "explosion."

If we compare the crude fertility ratios of the Delta Native populations as a whole and that of all Canada, it will be seen that while the Delta populations show a relatively low net increase and high crude fertility ratios, Northern populations as a whole have a high net increase but low crude fertility ratios. At this point it should be stated what these expressions mean. "Net increase" is a statement about a population as a whole, indicating that the population is growing larger (e.g., increment by birth is greater than decrement by death, resulting in population increase). "Crude Fertility Ratio" is a statement of proportion between categories *within* the population. The fertility ratio expresses the proportionate relationship between the total of children under five years of age and women of reproductive age. A high fertility ratio states that a population has a high number of children under five and a relatively small number of women of reproductive age. This may be a reflection of *either* high levels of fecundity or high mortality rates among women of child-bearing age.

Comparing the Delta Native population with the Northern Canada population as a whole, we note that the rate of increase in the Delta population is relatively low. Comparing the internal characteristic

TABLE 1.8: Crude Death Rates, Crude Birth Rates, and Net Increase for Mackenzie Delta Indians and Eskimos, for Northern Canada, and All Canada

Population	(a) Crude Death Rate	(b) Crude Birth Rate	Net Increase (b-a)	Source
Delta Indians (Year)	7.7 (1965)	27.0 (avg. 1964-66)	19.3	Field Data
Delta Eskimos (Year)	9.4 (1966)	27.5 (ave. 1964-6)	18.1	Field Data
Northwest Territories (Year)	11.1 (1963)	48.4 (1963)	37.3	Canada Year Book 1966 p. 253
Yukon Territory (Year)	5.4 (1963)	33.3 (1963)	27.9	Canada Year Book 1966 p. 253
All Canada (Year)	7.8 (1963)	24.6 (1963)	16.8	Canada Year Book 1966 0.253

of fertility ratio, we find that the Delta Native population has a much higher proportion of children under five years of age to women of reproductive age compared to that of the Northern population as a whole. This strongly suggests that the "population problems" to be faced by the Delta Native population differ fundamentally from that of the Northern population as a whole. Table 1.9 presents the comparison in numerical form.

TABLE 1.9: Net Increase and Crude Fertility Ratios of Mackenzie Delta Native Populations, Northern Populations as a Whole, and All Canada

Population	Net Increase	Crude Fertility Ratio
Delta Indian	19.3~ (low)	1092.3 (high)
Delta Eskimo	18.1	
Northwest Territories	37.3 (high)	123.9 (low)
Yukon Territory	27.9	
All Canada	16.8	121.0

Source: Tables 1.5 and 1.8.

While the Northwest Territories and Yukon populations as a whole are experiencing net increases much higher than the national norm, this is not so for the Mackenzie Delta population, which is only slightly higher in net increase than all Canada. The problem is not one of population explosion in the Delta, but a rather different one of relationship between age-segments. Our population pyramids show a rather

marked attrition of people (apparently principally by mortality) over 25 years of age. It appears that high mortality (and consequently high child-woman ratios), not high birth rates or net increase, is the most significant Mackenzie Delta population problem.

We now turn to analysis of the cultural and social features which differentiate the Native and Outsider "populations. Accordingly, the focus of our analysis moves away from a consideration of gross population characteristics to an examination of the particular mechanisms which mediate the relationships between these "populations," which we shall now conceptualize as social segments within a local domain of Canadian society. The focus of analysis particularly concerns the application of a theory which has elsewhere been applied to problems of ethnic group differentiation, class stratification, power relations, social "integration," and conflict. The basic conceptual elements of this theory, a theory of "social pluralism," are now introduced and subsequently applied to the Mackenzie Delta situation.

**Natives and Outsiders: Ethnic
Differentiation and Stratification**

Theories of Pluralism

Kuper (1969), van den Berghe (1969), and Haug (1967) have noted that theories of pluralism conform to two general types. The first, generally the work of American sociologists and political scientists, use "pluralism" to indicate "open" societies in which there is diversity of political interest groups (in this case defined as elites rather than classes). This theoretical type describes social systems in which diverse interest groups may safely express divergent views and bring selective pressure to bear on government. Aron (1950), Shils (1956), and Kornhauser (1960) hold views which suggest that liberty (in the narrower sense of political freedom) and democracy tend to be strong where pluralism is marked and that liberal democracy is the ideal realization of the principles of pluralism. Yinger's (1965) concept of pluralism is closely analogous. Although these models in no way minimize the occurrence of conflict in what they regard as plural societies, they tend to see conflict in a positive role as a system of checks and balances functioning to ensure decentralization of power from any one interest group. They are equilibrium models which do not necessarily imply that societal integration derives from complete value consensus, but generally imply that the component groups share a sufficient core of common values that integration is assured. Shils (1956:55ff., 227) refers to some of these common values: tolerant recognition of the worth and dignity of opinions and social ways of other groups; commitment to gradual non-revolutionary change through the democratic process; respect for the rule of law and belief in its sanctity; and sentiments of communal affinity among the elites. Dahrendorf (1959:317), holding similar views, states that "pluralism of institutions, conflict patterns, groupings, and interests makes for a lively, colourful, and creative scene of political conflict which provides an opportunity for success of every interest that is voiced". Integration is also held to derive from the tendency in such societies for persons to have multiple role affiliations even with conflicting groups (Kornhauser 1960:104). These theories of pluralism focus largely on political diversity. They are largely irrelevant to the issues of pluralism now being debated in anthropology and should not be confused with them (Haug 1967:294). They would correspond much more closely to what we prefer to call heterogeneous social systems (M.G. Smith 1965:75-91; 1969: 28,34ff.) within which subculturally differentiated groups, which, while conducting some of their social arrangements in their own ways, are integrated by common participation in compulsory core institutions and by the tendency for persons to have multiple role affiliations even in conflicting groups (cf. Gluckman (1962) and Banton (1966) on "multiplex roles" in heterogeneous societies, also Talcott Parson's (1964) concept of "diffuse role-relations").

Theories of pluralism in anthropology constitute a second general type. They are clearly represented in the works of Furnivall (1942, 1948), M.G. Smith (1965), and Kuper and Smith (1969). These models emphasize that conflict or confrontation within the plural society is between distinctly separate culturally differentiated sections each pursuing its own institutional arrangements and, at least in the extreme limiting case, have no value consensus between them or common participation in core institutions of the society as a whole. Plural societies in this sense differ in kind as well as degree from heterogeneous societies with respect to integration.

M.G. Smith shows that cultural sections in plural societies practice their own forms of "compulsory institutions" within the same polity. It is the extent of this polity that defines the boundaries of the society. Integration in this case derives, not from consensus of values between the cultural sections, but rather from regulation of intersectional relations through the exercise of power and control in the polity by (e.g., in a two-section system) one of the sections over the other. Kuper (1969), interpreting M.G. Smith, writes that regulation in such a case.

... consists in the rigid and hierarchical ordering of the relations between the different sections. Since the various sections are culturally differentiated, and consensus therefore a remote possibility, and since the subordinate sections are unlikely to accord equal value and legitimacy to the preservation of the hierarchic pattern, authority and power and regulation have crucial significance in maintaining, controlling and co-ordinating the plural society.

In short, cultural diversity, concomitant social cleavage, hierarchic arrangement of the socio-cultural sections, and "integration", by regulation through authority and power, mark the plural society.

The theory of pluralism relates analytically two aspects of social differentiation which are often treated separately, namely stratification and ethnic/cultural differentiation, where in fact these can be shown to converge in such cases as the Mackenzie Delta. Most analyses of pluralism" . . . are broad analyses either of large-scale plural societies, or comparative discussions of major problems over several such societies" (Gluckman 1966). This study focuses on pluralism in a subsocietal unit, specifically in a regional social system in Arctic Canada. Pluralism can be shown to be of considerable intensity in this regional system whereas at the national level Canada is only moderately pluralistic compared to certain tropical societies.

Ethnic Differentiation

The concept of pluralism has been applied to a wide variety of social situations in the Far East, in Africa,

and the Caribbean (e.g., Furnivall 1942, 1948; Boeke 1953; van den Berghe 1964; M. G. Smith 1965). Furnivall in particular held that pluralism was a feature of tropical societies, particularly those with a colonial history. Others, for example M. G. Smith (1965:87) and van den Berghe (1969), have suggested that the concept is readily applicable to such societies as Canada and Switzerland. A considerable body of theoretical statements and data has now accumulated on tropical societies, but analyses of non-tropical plural societies are now becoming available (e.g., Ossenberg 1967). Honigmann (1968) has suggested briefly that Northern Canada communities generally conform to the criteria of pluralism.

Although Vallee (1967) does not make explicit use of concepts from a formal theory of pluralism, his analysis of Central Keewatin is a clear example of a plural socio-cultural system. He says:

*The most striking feature of the social system in many Arctic communities is the overall differentiation between the **Kabloon** and the Eskimos In a sense we have, here two interlocking social systems. . . . The attitudes **and behaviour** of the **Kabloon** and the social relations among them have important **implications** for the Eskimo **Vallee 1967:97**).*

J. S. Furnivall (1948:304), who first recognized pluralism as a societal form, describes the colonial Far East as follows:

In Burma, as in Java, probably the first thing that strikes the visitor is the medley of peoples —European, Chinese, Indian, and native. It is in the strictest sense a medley, for they mix but do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere, there is a division of labour along racial lines.

One can readily draw a parallel to the Mackenzie Delta.

The population of the Mackenzie Delta is concentrated largely in the settlements of Arctic Red River, Fort McPherson, Aklavik, Inuvik, and Reindeer Station. These five settlements, bound together by a complex of administrative ties, transport and communications networks, historical affiliations, common economic concerns, and a certain measure of common identity constitute nodes or foci within the Delta social system. While each of the settlements has in some measure its own unique characteristics and sense of identity, their degree of inter-connectedness warrants their treatment as a broadly defined single unit for our analysis. This in no way denies that any of the

settlements has connections with others outside the Delta social system. For example, some Indians in the Delta still maintain a strong emotional connection with Old Crow in the Yukon Territory and some Eskimos maintain similar connections with the coast and interior of Alaska, and still others with Tuktoyaktuk and the Central Arctic Coast. Outsiders have bureaucratic and personal connections with Southern Canada and Europe. Nevertheless, the five settlements experience common social problems. They show a remarkable similarity in basic social structure.

Among the great variety of people of different historical background in the Delta five main groups can be identified. These are Indian, Eskimo, Metis, settled "White Trappers", and Outsiders or "Transient Whites." Each has a complex history, and all five are intimately connected historically. Chapter I defines the terms Indian, Eskimo, and Metis. "White Trappers" are a relatively small group of Europeans (mostly males now of middle age and older), who were attracted to the Delta during the peak of the fur trade. Nearly all are married to women of Indian and Eskimo origin.

A newcomer to the Mackenzie Delta finds it very difficult to recognize members of one or another of the Native racial categories or ethnic groups. He expects to be able to distinguish Indians from Eskimos on the basis of physical appearance, language, style of dress, or way of living. When he seeks to order this apparent confusion, he will be given conflicting interpretations and sets of criteria by longer term residents. It is significant that he should expect to be able to make distinctions of this kind. His previous training and social stereotypes tell him that Indians are not Eskimos and that they should be readily distinguishable. One distinction, however, is immediately visible to him. He sees that the long-term residents (the "Native" people) form a distinct grouping on the one hand as opposed to the short-term residents (the "Transient Whites" or "Outsiders") on the other. This distinction, palpable, obvious; and thoroughgoing is visible in a myriad of ways. He notes that members of the two groups, although they may meet frequently in the hospitals, shops and offices in the settlements seldom take recreation together, seldom visit each other in their homes, seldom form friendships of more than passing acquaintance, but frequently hold negative opinions of each other.

The various ethnic groups are unequally distributed among the five settlements as shown in Table 11.1.

The greatest proportion of Delta Outsiders reside in Inuvik, while the Native people of Arctic Red River and Fort McPherson are almost exclusively Indian and Metis. In Aklavik and Inuvik a more diverse Native population is found. While it is true that the greater representation of Outsiders in Inuvik and a more ethnically mixed Native population in Inuvik and Aklavik produce certain distinctive social features in

these two settlements, the *basic* structure of relations between Native and Outsider-segments is the same in all five settlements. “

TABLE II.I: Population of Delta Settlements. January 1965”

Settlement	White ¹	Metis	Eskimo	Indian	Total
	Approx.				
Inuvik	1367	260 ⁴	646	245	2538 ²
Hostel	(102) ³	—	(270)	(114)	(486)
Aklavik	105	134	277	158	674
Fort McPherson	29	158	12	315	514
Arctic Red River	5	21	—	83	109
Reindeer Station	9	—	60	—	69
Total	1617	573	1265	915	4370

Basic Source: Dept. Northern Affairs files, Inuvik, N.W.T.

● The last available census listing Metis separate from Whites.

¹Includes White trappers.

²Excludes single Navy personnel in barracks.

³Includes Metis.

⁴Mailhot (1968-2).

The most obvious and pervasive social cleavage in the Mackenzie Delta is “Native” versus “Outsider”. Ervin (1968:5) and Mailhot (1968) concur in this observation. In local speech “Native” applies to Northern people: Indians, Eskimos, Metis, and White Trappers—people either born in the North or who have made an explicit long-term commitment to live in the North in what is identified as a Northern life-style. This Northern life-style includes economic dependence on traditional Northern activities such as trapping; marriage to a person identified as Native; maintaining a style of behaviour, dress, food preferences, types of house, etc., that are more readily identifiable as Native than White. The term “Native” more appropriately denotes a way of life than an ethnic affiliation. Transient Whites or “Outsiders” on the other hand maintain a style of dress, demeanour, residence and food preferences, and a set of social and political ideas not too different from those encountered in smaller towns in Southern Canada. Rarely does an Outsider identify with the Native way of life, and indeed the short duration of his residence in the Delta often precludes such an alternative.

Amongst the Native people of the Delta, recognition of differences of ethnic origin (Eskimo, Indian, Metis) does not appear to be nearly as strong as that reported for other Northern communities, such as Great Whale River (cf. Honigmann 1962), or nearly as strong as current opinion amongst Delta Outsiders implies. Outsiders are inclined to interpret much of the conflict they observe within the Native sector as a continuity

of the aboriginal hostility and avoidance relations between Indians and Eskimos. Although Indians and Eskimos may occasionally be heard to express conflict in ethnic terms, a closer examination of specific cases shows that this is relatively superficial. For example, if an Eskimo fails in a promise made to an Indian, one might hear the Indian say “well, what could you expect. Can’t trust these Huskies.” On other occasions one may hear Eskimos complain of Indians’ “sticky fingers” if any object appears to be missing or stolen. The names used by Indians and Eskimos for each other appear to have a derogatory origin, although their emotional impact is slight in modern Delta society. Eskimos usually refer to Indians as *Itkillit*, which may be translated as “people with lice.” The Loucheux names for Eskimos is *Anekhai*, which they say means “faeces, excrement,” although the etymology is dubious (Slobodin, personal communications, September 1968). Both Indians and Eskimos may refer in anger to Metis as “breeds” or “half-breeds,” both expressions of contempt. Nevertheless, in daily life the people associate freely in their houses and in community activities. Young Indians and Eskimos play together, older people hunt and trap together, and inter-marriage is quite common. It would seem that inter-ethnic distrust and conflict was much more important in the past than it is now. Aklavik has been multi-ethnic since its beginning some sixty years ago, as has the recently developed settlement of Inuvik, which is so closely related to Aklavik historically.

A new socio-cultural group, the “Northerners” or the “Delta Native People” is now emerging. What is being opposed in the Delta is a version of standard Canadian society and culture (the Outsiders) and a new emergent socio-cultural group (the Native people) whose institutional arrangements and way of life are not aboriginal, but stem from a period of intensive contact with Euro-Canadian society and culture. This period of rapid social change has seen the disappearance of older forms of differentiation (such as inter-ethnic conflict) and the introduction of new ones. There has been a “levelling off” of traditional cultural differences between the Native people and the development of a new way of life which cross-cuts ethnic boundaries.

This emerging way of life owes its origins only in part to specific features of the traditional cultures. Exposure to several common factors of contact with Euro-Canadian and American culture, of which the following seem to be the most important, have played a crucial role:

1. *The inhabitation of a common area, hitherto relatively unexploited by the traditional societies, but made important as a resource area by the advent of the fur trade.*
2. *Dependence upon a common resource base (the fur trade) with an introduced technology.*

3. *Face-to-face contact between the ethnic groups for a relatively long period of time.*
4. *The replacement of traditional marks of ethnic identity such as dress, language, food, ceremonial behaviour, with Eurocanadian variants, or with new variants representing a blend or compromise of several aboriginal ways.*
5. *The replacement of traditional social arrangements by Eurocanadian variants: e.g. cash economy; new settlement patterns (the introduction of urban centres); housing, etc.*
6. *The development of the Native people as a common marginal group with respect to the Canadian polity.*

Until the advent of the fur trade, neither Eskimos nor Indians seem to have made extensive use of the Delta proper. The Kutchin, whose traditional economy depended upon the hunting of caribou and fishing, occupied a territory centred in the Richardson and Ogilvy mountains to the southwest of the Delta. The establishment of Fort McPherson as a "meat fort" and fur-trading centre brought their activities closer to the Delta in the latter part of the 19th century. It was at this time that the rich fur resources of the Delta (muskrat and mink) became relevant to the Kutchin. The Eskimo also traditionally relied upon inland caribou hunting as well as coastal marine mammals. The collapse of whaling and subsequent growth of the fur trade attracted them to the Delta.

The introduction of the fur trade with its orientation to a single aspect of the resource base, its introduced technology and cash economy and its accompaniment of Christian missions and police agencies has probably been about the most important historical event promoting the emergence of a common Native way of life in the Delta. Its importance cannot be under-estimated, if only for the fact that when Native people today nostalgically refer to the "old Eskimo (or Indian) way of life" they do not mean the pre-contact aboriginal cultures, but rather the "good old days" of the fur trade. Few, if any, have any recollection of what the aboriginal ways were like or any sense of identity with them. The fur trade era represents to many a sort of golden age in which there was relative affluence, a measure of personal economic and social independence, a measure of security, and an age in which one's personal skills seemed more consistently valued than they are today. As one old man said, "At least then we had our own respect. We were real tough men!"

The fact that the Delta population has consisted of a number of ethnic groups since the beginning has probably been a major factor in the "levelling off" of old inter-ethnic distinctions. Not only have the people been living together for many years with ample opportunity to establish mutual acquaintance, they have occupied the same structural position in the fur trade social system. The new patterns of economic

and social interaction established among the people, the replacement of aboriginal marks of identity such as dress, foodstuffs, and language with a common fur trade equivalent has contributed in great measure to the emergence of the distinctive Delta culture.

It is true that the Native ethnic segments are not completely identical in the way that they have adapted and adjusted to the new social situation, but any differences between them in style of life do not necessarily appear to be the most important in mediating relations with Outsiders. The basic institutions of the new Native social system appear to cross-cut ethnic boundaries in significant ways. The differences they perceive between themselves are minimal compared to the differences they acknowledge between themselves as Northerners and the Outsiders. When a Delta person, Native or Outsider, refers to the "Native people" he refers to the whole group of permanent residents (to the exclusion of a small number of permanent White residents, mostly in Inuvik, who still follow an Outsider life-style). This growing Native identity is expressed in such ways as the increasing use of the Eskimo word *ummaramiut* ("people of the green sap wood") for all Native people without regard to ethnic origin. Until recently it simply implied "Eskimos of the Delta," but some people now use it to include Indians, Metis, and White trappers.

The developing Native culture represents a reaggregation of diverse ethnic traditions under situational pressures in the contact situation toward a single cultural mode which in turn represents a set of common adjustments to the presence, activities, and demands of the intrusive, relatively dominant Outsiders. The Native way of life cannot be understood apart from that of Outsiders. The basic features of the present Native way of life, to an important degree, represent a response to a similar structural position in which the various Native ethnic groups have found themselves vis-a-vis the Outsiders. This position is a marginal one, economically and socially. Marginality in this case means that the Native people do not, cannot, or do not want to participate fully in the wider institutional system. They are economically marginal because they have few goods or skills valued by the wider society. They are socially marginal in so far as pursuit of their own institutional preferences makes participation in the wider society impossible or undesirable from their point of view.

Groups which find themselves in a marginal position to class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic societies often develop a way of life which is an adaptation and reaction to the objective conditions of the larger societies within which they exist. This way of life has many similarities to Lewis' (1964; 1965) "culture of poverty" in terms of a more general understanding of social marginality. Economic deprivation is only one expression of marginality. By

this we mean that in the Delta there is a more general social impoverishment represented by: (1) a minimal participation by the Native people in social institutions (in addition to the economic) of the wider Canadian society, and (2) a closely related factor, the failure of the emergent Native style of life to provide a stable, fully articulated cultural mode by which Native persons and groups may, more or less consistently, achieve what they consider to be "the good life."

We give priority to the former.

Stratification

Dunning (1959), Vallee (1967:123-125), and others have referred to an emerging "caste-like structure" in Northern communities. The "caste-like" groups they recognize broadly correspond to the Native and Outsider sections of our analysis of pluralism. Use of the concepts class or caste in plural situations such as the Mackenzie Delta is misleading. This identification of the Native segment in the Canadian North as castes appears to follow the conceptions of Kroeber (1930), Warner and Davis (1939) and Myrdal (1962:675,668) which identify castes as extreme forms of social classes. The application of the caste concept by Warner and Myrdal to the situation of American Negroes has won wide, if uncritical, acceptance and has by extension been applied to other groups such as Indians and Chicanos. The analytical difficulties with using the caste concept in this way are at least two-fold (cf. Dumont 1961). First, the identification of caste in these situations is predicated on the observation of a collection of particular features often associated with the classic castes of India (e.g., endogamy, limitations of mobility, commensality prohibitions, "pollution myths"). It does not seem to have been asked whether all of the features selected are sufficient, to the exclusion of other characteristics, for the identification of caste to be justified. In any case, this is a rather superficial topological concept of caste. This raises the second problem, which is that caste is a systemic or *relational* concept and not simply a typological one. If the focus is on an infra-societal unit (say American Negroes, or Eskimos) then the recognized presence of certain characteristics associated with classic castes may lead one to use the label. Viewed from an analytical focus on the relationships of these groups to a wider social system, then the label seems to lose its relevance, for in the relational sense the word must apply to specific premises of differentiation and inequality distinctive of that wider system. Castes may be sharply differentiated, but they are part of an integrated system of premises, traditions, and modes of behaviour. They are parts of a single institutional system. While some of the topological characteristics of caste are certainly observed in the Mackenzie Delta social system, a mode of interrelationship between the social segments exists which differs fundamentally from an integrated order of castes. The

same analytical problems arise with identification of these plural segments with classes, although certain class characteristics are present (e.g., socio-economic differentiation). Native people in the Mackenzie Delta no more constitute a local class than do Delta Outsiders. From the broadest national point of view they are becoming incorporated with other Native people throughout Canada into the nation's lower class. They are becoming a segment within the lower class, but a certain degree of continuing institutional differentiation suggests that this process is not yet complete. The Mackenzie Delta Native people constitute a local plural segment which is in the process of being incorporated into the national class system.

The Mackenzie Delta social system does not consist of a single system of stratification with Outsiders at the upper end and Natives at the bottom. Rather, it consists of two systems of stratification, one Outsider and one Native. Both systems derive from different historical sources and depend upon different ideas of worth, esteem, prestige, and power, and are marked by two different sets of criteria of identity.

Stratification Among Outsiders

Stratification among Outsiders at the local level is strongly influenced by the ranking inherent in government bureaucratic agencies to which the greatest proportion of Outsiders belong. In a sense, an Outsider's social position is determined for him before he arrives in the Delta. Persons who do not belong to the bureaucracy tend to be allocated a position in the stratification system by determination of bureaucratic equivalents of their positions. Although a person tends to have a predetermined social position based on bureaucratic rank, other factors are obviously at work. Previous class position "Outside" may influence a person's position in the Delta, although this would appear to be of no major significance. For example, some of the most prestigious positions among Delta Outsiders are occupied by persons of relatively lower class origin in Southern Canada. Unmarried nurses, Navy personnel, teachers, and police constables tend to be ranked rather lower than their married equivalents, particularly if they are relatively young. It is often felt that these younger, single Outsiders (a fairly conspicuous group on the Delta) have much less of a stake in the community and less of a public image to maintain than married personnel. In Inuvik, residence in the Navy barracks and Single Staff apartments helps to create a fairly cohesive group of people, often rather looked down upon as Young Turks. In settlements like Aklavik, where there are very few Outsiders, an elaborate rank system is effectively replaced by a "married-versus-single" division. Length of residence in the Delta or the North may also serve to determine an individual's position. Outsiders who have been "in the country" for some time may be

treated as local experts on a variety of subjects from caribou migration to the vagaries of Native behaviour. In addition, some have learned during their longer residence how to "work the local system" in order to establish themselves more effectively in available power positions. Frequently they represent the core of continuity in community activities, which have a transient membership corresponding to the general transience of Outsiders.

The Outsiders' criteria for establishment of social position, in order of importance, may be summarized as follows:

1. *Formal position in government bureaucracy or equivalent;*
2. *Previous social position before arrival in the Delta;*
3. *Marital status;*
4. *Length of residence in the North.*

The Outsiders may be divided into five general categories. These categories approximate broad socio-economic categories in the rest of Canada, but we wish to emphasize that in the Delta these are based on the bureaucratic model. Interaction at work and in everyday life is more common between members within a category than between members of separate categories. However, these are not exclusive cliques, as local social myth often implies.

The categories may be summarized as follows:

- Category 1* Senior Bureaucratic Officers and Equivalent: e.g. Regional and Area Administrators, Commanding Officers, R. C.M. P. and Navy, local managers of Crown Corporations, physicians, school principals, Justices of the Peace, clergy. Hudson's Bay Co. Managers.
- Category 2* "White-collar Workers" e.g. project Officers, Office Managers, technicians, teachers, government clerks, nurses.
- Category 3* Skilled Workers: e.g. plumbers, electricians, carpenters, surveyors, Navy ranks, R. C.M. P. constables.
- Category 4* Unskilled Workers (drivers, etc.)
- Category 5* Highly Transient Unskilled Workers: e.g., barge crews, seasonal construction labourers.

Stratification Among Native People

Mailhot (1968:4-5) and Ervin (1968:12-14) suggest that there is no clear-class structure amongst Delta Native people, while I have maintained to the contrary that three major categories may be distinguished. These three categories represent different styles of life, different adaptations to the social order which are at least incipient class structures. Boundaries between

the categories, although somewhat flexible and ambiguous, are recognized by Native people. These were identified and briefly described in an earlier report (D. G. Smith 1968:21-28).

There is a fundamental distinction between people with a primary dependence on the land and people following a settlement or urban existence. This distinction is analogous to the Nunamiut-Kabloonamiut dichotomy observed by Vallee (1967) in the Keewatin. *Nunamiut*, an Eskimo word meaning "people of the land," are those revealing a preference for life on the land rather than in the settlement; who consequently have an acute dependence on the products of the land; who display more of an orientation to traditional ways of life than to the White culture (cf. Vallee 1967:134). The *Kabloonamiut* (Eskimo: "people of the White man") on the other hand are people who reveal a preference for settlement living; who have a modified dependence on land products; and who tend to follow many cultural ways of White origin. We cannot apply the Eskimo names *Nunamiut* and *Kabloonamiut* to the Delta people, for other ethnic groups are represented. Our categories refer to modes of social adaptation, two ways of life, rather than to ethnic units. Further refinement of the categories is necessary before they may be applied to the Mackenzie Delta, for these two general categories may be further subdivided. In addition, Vallee's description implies an acculturative continuum, at one end of which is the most traditional, most Native-identified persons and at the other the least traditional, least Native-identified, and most White-oriented. We shall show that this does not necessarily apply, at least in any simple sense, in the Mackenzie Delta. (Willmott (1960) and Balikci (1959) have observed increasing differentiation between settlement and Bush people in the other Arctic communities.

A. Bush People

Although the Bush people of the-Delta live in more or less transient camps, depending to a considerable extent on wild food (especially fish, caribou, moose, waterfowl, rabbits), and although they are more obviously traditional in their living arrangements, it must be understood that their way of life is a product of the fur trade. It is not an aboriginal, pre-contact way of life, although it is certainly the most traditional in the modern Delta.

Hunting and gathering activities provide an important part of the subsistence, although a considerable amount of store food is also used. Clothing is almost entirely of store cloth. An increasing amount of ready-to-wear clothing is being used. Canoes, outboard motors, gasoline, rubber boots and oilskin slickers, pressure lamps, primus stoves, rifles, steel traps, manufactured toboggans, nylon fish nets, canvas tents and tin stoves are considered essential to

bush life. They cost money. The Bush people are not hunters first and trappers last, rather they are firmly wedded to the cash economy by the fur trade, with hunting and fishing playing a major secondary role in subsistence.

Several traits mark their more traditional orientation. The most obvious marker is language. Although most Bush people have some knowledge of English, Native languages predominate in daily life, except among a steadily increasing number of the children. Some of the older people, especially women, have little or no knowledge of English. Some of the younger children have little or no speaking facility in the Native languages, although they may understand them sufficiently to follow requests and instructions. Most Bush people past the age of fifteen are almost totally illiterate. A few have had a year or two of mission school instruction. Others have had some instruction in reading and writing during hospitalization for tuberculosis.

All Bush people are nominally Anglican or Roman Catholic, but it is among them that one most often hears about or observes religious, ritual, or ideological ways derived from the aboriginal cultures. Most, however, publicly reject these ways while maintaining any uneasy belief in them.

Traditional foods, such as muktuk, dried meats, smoked muskrat, willow roots, and greens preserved in blubber may be found in many Delta homes, but they constitute a more important part of the daily fare in bush camps.

Clothing among Bush people differs little from that of most settlement residents except that furs and skins for parka linings are more accessible to Bush people.

Aside from living a bush existence, there is no single characteristic distinguishing Bush people from all others. Some traditional cultural features may be observed amongst settlement residents. Bush people simply display them more consistently or more conspicuously.

In terms of commitment to, or identity with, bush life, we may distinguish three modes within the category "Bush People":

- (1) *A minority who feel a strong identity with bush life and explicitly (sometimes vociferously) reject a settlement way of life. These are mostly people in the middle and older age groups.*
- (2) *A majority who have an identity with and commitment to the bush life which we may characterize as a "passive preference."*
- (3) *A third group, mostly children, teen -agers, and young adults who are bush people "by de fault." Although they may have a more or less strong*

desire to follow a settlement way of life, lack of formal education or marketable skills makes employment and adjustment in the settlement problematic. Many vacillate between the settlement and the bush, attracted to the bush by family ties and to the settlement by a preferred life-style.

It is essential to understand that the category "Bush People" represents an identity within the Delta social milieu, and that this identity is composite. By composite, we mean that people are identified with the category in two ways: (a) self-identification, and (b) identification by others. We note that not all bush persons actively choose an identity with bush life. Some may even reject it as a preferred life-style, but nevertheless other Native people or Outsiders assign them a bush identity.

Table II.2 illustrates for Bush Eskimos only the distribution by age and sex of persons strongly committed and marginally committed to bush life. "Marginal commitment" indicates persons who: (a) have openly expressed discontent with bush life; and/or (b) have held jobs in settlements sporadically, usually with little success, and usually with no primary commitment to settlement life. These correspond to the "marginal Nunamiut" in Vallee's (1967:138) study.

Only a few Bush People are left on the land (less than 10% of the Delta Native population). Their numbers are dwindling rapidly year by year as older Bush People die and an increasing number of younger people move into the settlements.

B. Settlement Residents

Among people who have chosen a settlement way of life, two major subgroups may be distinguished. While settlement living represents a fundamentally different social adjustment from life in the bush, it is also true, at least in the Mackenzie Delta, that there are two basically different styles of life within the settlements. In a sense, the difference between the two settlement groups is as great as that between either of them and the land people. Both may be characterized in terms of the way they operate in the employment system. A relatively small group, the "Permanent Employees," hold steady jobs and follow a life-style largely patterned on the Outsider model. The "Casual Workers" have a more Native-identified approach to settlement living.

1. *Casual Workers*: The largest and most visible category of Native people in the Delta are those who, while living in the settlements, typically hold a series of casual or short-term jobs interspersed with other activities. This group provides one of the most important Outsider stereotypes of Native life,

TABLE II.2: Commitment to Bush Life, Mackenzie Delta Bush Eskimos, by Age and Sex, 1966-67

Age Category	Primary Bush Commitment		Marginal Bush Commitment		In Schools and Institutions		Totals		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	All
70-74	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
65-69	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
60-64	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
55-59	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
50-54	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
45-49	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	2	4
40-44	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
35-39	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	2	4
30-34	0	1	4	1	0	0	4	2	6
25-29	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	3
20-24	0	0	5	2	0	0	5	2	7
15-19	0	0	1	1	3	2	4	3	7
10-14	2*	1*	0	0*	7	5	9	6	15
5-9	0	2*	3*	1*	3	0	6	3	9
0-4	2*	1*	2*	4*	0	0	4	5	9
TOTAL	12	12	19	14	13	7	37	33	70
	24		33		20				

● Denotes dependants committed by parental choice.

Typical housing consists of board and tar-paper shacks or government rental accommodation. Inside furnishings are simple and often in bad repair, usually consisting of a table with chairs or benches and cast-off iron bedsteads or camp cots. Heating is usually supplied by oil-fired cook stoves, although home-made iron drum stoves are not uncommon. Floor coverings other than strips of linoleum are absent. Decorations and lamps, other than electric ceiling fixtures are not common. Many of the houses consist of a single large room with a dry toilet in a small bathroom and occasionally one or two small bedrooms. With overcrowding, many children sleep on the floor on animal skins or home-made sleeping bags. To local Outsiders, these houses appear bare, depressing, and rather dirty. People normally sleep in their clothes, sometimes two or three to a bunk.

The diet, although eked out by fish, wild meats and waterfowl, consists largely of store-bought staples. Bannock or bread is most prominent. Cooking and eating arrangements differ little from the flexible schedules of bush life.

Clothing is similar to that of Bush people—store-bought trousers, shirts, dresses, etc. with a parka of woolen duffle cloth (occasionally of muskrat). Among the younger people parkas are losing favour and are often replaced by quilted synthetic jackets. The older women wear dresses with heavy men's underwear and woolen stockings under their traditional "mother hubbard" parkas, but younger women and girls are seldom seen in clothes other than slacks or blue-jeans.

Winter footwear is the traditional moosehide and canvas "mukluks" with duffle liners and woolen work sock. Many now favour Outsider-style shoes sneakers, and leather "jet boots."

Native languages are spoken by most of the older people, although English is a common language in nearly all families. Many younger people and children have no facility in the Native languages, although they may understand them to a minimal extent. Spoken English, in this group as well as the Bush people, has a distinctive sound. It is a separate dialect, which we shall call "Bush English." Its grammatical and phonetic peculiarities nearly always mark a speaker as a member of the Bush or Casual Worker categories.

Many household units consist of nuclear families, although Native-style adoption, considerable numbers of illegitimate children resident with grandparents or other relatives, extended visiting relationships, and unstable common-law alliances indicate a more varied and flexible pattern of household arrangement than a simple description might allow.

Formal voluntary associations are non-existent, except as the Outsider structure provides them, and Native leaders are few and weak.

It is in this group that many have observed distinctive patterns and elevated rates of deviance (Clairmont 1963; Honigman 1968 a,b.), psychopathology (Lubart 1970; Chance 1960, 1962, 1963; Chance and Foster 1962) and other signs of economic and social stress.

Casual Workers may be divided into two subcategories representing different adjustments to settlement-living and the cash economy. 7

(a) One category of casual workers combines a dependence on traditional land activities with seasonal casual labour. They live in settlements for the greatest part of the year, making use of bush camps for relatively short periods only during times of intensive utilization of land resources (e.g. autumn caribou hunting or fishing, muskrat shooting season in the late spring). Many land activities are carried out in short trips from their permanent homes in the settlements.

Persons in this category identify themselves primarily as trappers and hunters, and only secondarily as workers in the employment system. They are the most "Native-identified" of the settlement residents. Seasonal casual labour in slack periods in the land utilization cycle is nevertheless considered essential in order to maintain the style of land-dependence they consider desirable, with the type of hunting and trapping equipment necessary to compete in modern utilization of land resources, as well as to maintain the style of settlement life they desire.

This style of life is well established in the Mackenzie Delta. Prior to the 1930's most hunters and trappers were bush oriented, coming to the settlements only three or four times a year to trade furs, purchase staples, and to participate in Christmas and Easter festivities. At this time, settlement residents consisted of a few Outsiders (traders, missionaries, and police) as well as a few Metis, who were the offspring of traders and other Outsiders married to Native women. By the 1930's a trend toward combined land-dependence and settlement living was established which became even more prominent after the decline of the fur trade in the late 1940's. At the same time, opportunities for casual unskilled employment increased as more Outsiders arrived to carry out government, military, and missionary activities.

Education prior to the 1930's was supplied on a small scale to settlement children (mostly Metis) on an informal and sporadic basis by missionaries. Some promising students were sent down-river to the Anglican residential school at Hay River, where a six-year course in the fundamentals of literacy was provided. As missionary activity intensified in the 1930's more formal school arrangements were made (such as the Anglican residential school at Shingle Point), culminating in the two large Roman Catholic and Anglican residential schools at Aklavik, which dominated education from the 1930's until 1959. Northwest Territories Ordinances in the mid-1950's began to stress universal education. The schools have acted as a distinct factor in attracting people to settlement life. Curriculum in the mission schools emphasized basic educational skills and religious

instruction combined with a programme of manual tasks by the pupils. The usual length of the programme was six years. Further education was available at other residential schools or at institutions in southern Canada. Until the establishment of Inuvik's residential schools, providing a complete education system from grade one to university entrance, Delta education seems to have been directed to the provisions of only the fundamentals of literacy, at least for most pupils. It was a style of education very similar to that provided by missionaries during their period of influence in contact situations elsewhere in the world.

In short, the way of life of persons combining a settlement-land dependence are historically an extension of one developed in the late fur trade era, in which economic changes, administrative and missionary activities played an important role. Until the late 1950's, when Outsider activities became even more intense (such as the building of Inuvik) and provided more opportunities and incentives for Native people to enter full-scale wage employment, combined seasonal labour and land dependence was a prominent feature of Delta society, typified in the late "contact-traditional" fur trade settlements of Arctic Red River and perhaps especially in Fort McPherson and Aklavik. It was a well-established way of life still remembered by the Native people as rewarding and economically productive.

Persons following this way of life today tend to be in the middle and older age groups. This was the way of life in which they were socialized and have spent most of their productive lives, but recent changes in the fur trade economy and employment system have made it progressively less viable as an adaptation to Delta social conditions. Although it is on the wane, this way of life is likely to be represented in the Delta for some time to come. It represents a reference point in ideas of "the good life" to many Delta people. However, younger persons have learned to value other alternatives in their rapidly changing" social system.

(b) The second identifiable subcategory of casual workers are those who have only a minimal dependence on land activities. They think of themselves primarily as settlement residents depending upon available jobs as their major source of income. Trapping, fishing, and hunting are carried out only under necessity when other sources of cash income are closed to them. Most of the people in this category are in the younger age group (under 35). They typically hold a series of casual unskilled jobs in the settlements interspersed with dependence on social assistance payments, which many of them consider to be as legitimate a source of income as any other and exploit it accordingly.

It is among this group that Clairmont (1963) detected high rates of deviance, which he interprets as a response to socio-economic frustration particularly

resulting from a lack of opportunities to maximize their social and economic aspirations. He says that: *"Second generation" natives—young settlement natives—are oriented to middle-class culture . . . these young settlement natives reject the traditional native values and activities. . . . However, a disparity exists between the goals to which they aspire and the legitimate means available for their achievement . . . they are frustrated in their attempts to reach their goals, and they are dissatisfied with their level of participation and lack of recognition in the White, middle-class culture. As a result, these young natives experience considerable strain in the community (Clairmont 1963:68).*

Our field data suggest that a more complex situation than Clairmont describes in fact prevails.

We find that there are two socio-cultural modes and sets of aspirations by which young Native settlement residents adjust to casual employment opportunities:

(i) Those who consider a pattern of casual jobs interspersed with periods of unemployment, minimal land-resource utilization, and periodic social-assistance dependence to be a legitimate way of life in itself. Although they perceive strong social and economic pressures, they choose to continue their particular adjustment. A prevalent idea among them is that cash from gainful employment is theirs to spend as desired, and that government in particular is, or ought to be, responsible for basic maintenance in housing, food, and the provisions of periodic casual job opportunities in order that they might earn the cash they desire for other ends. This can in no way be described as an internalization of Outsider middle-class values, although it is an adaptive response to the prevailing social system. Frustration in this case results from the perceived failure of the social system to provide their desires mentioned above. Theirs is an exploitative adaptation in fundamental opposition to Outsiders' values, but sufficiently viable so long as the prevalence of casual jobs and social assistance is available in these Arctic settlements. They do not consider themselves arrested in a transition to full-scale wage employment and an Outsider life-style.

(ii) Those who follow a mode of periodic casual work, land activities, and social assistance dependence in default of the fulfillment of their aspirations, which are to enter the permanent wage-employment system and follow a style of life closely modelled on that of the Outsiders. These correspond to Clairmont's model. Frustration in this case results from a failure of the social system to provide opportunities for wage-employment or from lack of formal qualifications on the part of individuals to make use of existing opportunities. Most of the younger casual earners (approx. age 16-25) belong to this group. They consider themselves in an arrested transition to a life-style modelled on that of the Outsiders.

Just as these represent two modes of social adjustment, different social measures are required to resolve the frustration insofar as it is considered desirable. Some indication of the increasing attraction of larger urban settlements and their promise of a primarily job-oriented subsistence regime without combined land dependence is given in Table II-3. Direct interviews were held with most of the adult members of the Aklavik Indian Band. Those who had left the settlement were asked why they had left to - take up residence elsewhere. Without exception they mentioned preference for increased job-employment although preferences for Inuvik's urban attractions (cinema, beer parlour, "more things to do") were also frequently mentioned. The greatest proportion of those who had left the Aklavik Band area for these reasons were in the 20-40 age group. The same procedure was carried out for the Arctic Red River Band, where the preference for urban jobs and other urban attractions was found to be even greater than for the Aklavik Band Members (cf. Table 11.4). The settlement of the Arctic Red River is smaller and in some ways a more traditional late fur trade settlement than Aklavik and offered in 1966/67 even fewer opportunities for job-employment than Aklavik. Those who remained in the settlements revealed more or less clear preference for the late fur trade combined casual-labour/land dependence regime. In the case of Arctic Red River not a single male and only five females aged between 20 and 40 years remained in the settlement.

C. Permanent Employees

A relatively small number of Delta Native people have, over the last fifteen years, managed to make a successful adjustment to the permanent wage-employment system. These people are a marked example of Vallee's (1967) Kabloonamiut. They have rejected most Native-oriented or Native-identified social arrangements and have internalized to a marked degree those of the Outsiders. They are perhaps best typified by the Inuit Housing Cooperative members in Inuvik. Government policy during the early years of Inuvik (1959-1963) provided subsidized, fully equipped and furnished housing for permanent wage-employees, so long as they were hired in Southern Canada. This housing arrangement was intended as an incentive for Outsiders to seek Northern employment opportunities. Native people, hired locally, were not eligible for this prerequisite. As a consequence, acrimonious charges of racial discrimination were directed at the government and still continue to a degree. With the help of some local socially active Outsiders who had made a commitment to live in the North for an extended period, a number of permanently employed Native people formed a cooperative which allowed them to build houses which differ little from counterparts in suburban middle-class southern Canada. The housing cooperative occupies a rise of land at the northeast end of

TABLE II.3: Place of Residence of Aklavik Indian Band Members, by Age and Sex, 1966/67

Age Category	Aklavik		Inuvik		Other Traditional Delta Settlements		Southern Canada		Total		All
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
75-80	2	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	2
70-74	1	3	0	0	0		0	0	1	3	4
65-69	0	2	0	0	0		0	0	0	2	2
60-64	2	1	0	0	0		0	0	2	1	-3
55-59	3	1	0	0	0		0	0	3	1	4
50-54	0	3	0	0	0		0	0	0	3	3
45-49	1	2	0	1	0		0	0	1	3	4
40-44	0	1	0	0	0		0	0	0	1	1
35-39	4	5	1	1	0		0	0	5	6	11
30-34	4	5	2	1	0		0	1	6	6	12
25-29	6	3	2	1	0		2	0	8	4	12
20-24	7	6	3	0	2	2	0	1	12	8	20
15-19	5	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	12	17
10-14	5	4	2*	1*	0	0	0	0	7	5	12
5-9	11	15	1*	1'	0	0	0	0	12	16	28
0-4	3	6	0	1*	0	0	0	0	3	7	10
TOTALS	56	68	11	7	2	2	3	2	72	77	149
	124		18		4		5				

● Dependent children of adults migrating to Inuvik

Note: "Place of residence" means residence in that place for six continuous months or more and/or clearly stated preference for residence in that place

Table 11.4: Place of Residence of Arctic Red River Indian Band Members, By Age and Sex, 1966/67

Age Category	Arctic Red River		Inuvik		Other Traditional Delta Settlements		Southern Canada		Total		All
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
75 and over	3"	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	4
70-74	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	2	3	5
65-69	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	3	5
60-64	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
55-59	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	4
50-54	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	3	6
45-49	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	4
40-44	2	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	6	1	7
35-39	0	0	2	0	3	1	0	0	5	1	6
30-34	0	1	3	2	4	3	1	1	8	7	15
25-29	0	1	9	4	5	2	1	2	15	9	24
20-24	0	3	4	3	4	0	0	0	8	6	14
15-19	4	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	7	6	13
10-14	2	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	5	6	11
5-9	2	2	5	3	3	4	0	0	10	9	19
0-4	0	4	3	4	0	0	0	0	3	8	11
TOTAL	19	24	39	26	23	15	2	3	83	69	152
	43		65		38		5				

Note: "Place of residence" means residence in that place for six continuous months or more and/or clearly stated preference for residence in that place

Inuvik, locally referred as "Snob Hill" by Natives and Outsiders alike.

Both Natives and Outsiders consider these people, and their counterparts in other settlements, as a local elite. Since they tend to reject many of the Native social arrangements and obligations, such as extensive sharing of resources, they are often scorned as "stingy," "mean," "stuck-up," as "Uncle Toms" or "White-man's Eskimos."

A considerable number are Alaskan Eskimos of the last major migrations of the 1940's. Many are Pentecostal Christians, intensely involved in Church activities. Their religious commitments, involving proscription of liquor and "deviant" behaviour, and with their high valuation of dependability and stability of life make them valued recruits for available permanent opportunities.

It is from among this group that Native leaders, relatively weak as they are, can be observed in local Church activities, social action programmed and community organizations. They supply most of the spokesmen for the Native sector, but usually only on the initiative of Outsiders.

Most are concerned that their children have as full an education as possible, including university or post high-school training in technical fields. Emulation of Outsider models of success and achievement are encouraged.

Although Outsider models of behavioral style, dress, housing, food, and social aspirations prevail, a number of persons in this group demonstrate an ambivalence towards their ethnic identity. Some are concerned that their children are ignorant of "Native ways," which they usually perceive as ability to use a Native language or ability to hunt and trap, even while Outsider models are held up as desirable and Native-identified notions of interpersonal relations, ideology (especially religious beliefs), and behaviour are downgraded. Most of the men have fast canoes, speedboats, motor toboggans, and high quality hunting equipment. They spend weekends and annual leave hunting caribou, or visiting relatives in muskrat and whaling-camps. One man nostalgically described himself to me as a "tourist Eskimo." "I have a real good holiday out there—a chance to live like I used to, even if it's only a little while."

Although store food (from government rations for eligible employees) forms the bulk of the subsistence, caribou, fish, whale products and berries either acquired by themselves or as gifts from relatives, are much appreciated. Native style parkas and foot-wear are not uncommon, and a number of the women produce traditional handcraft items for sale.

The distinction between Permanent Employees and all other Native people is much more strongly marked than the distinction between Bush People and Casual Workers. While Honigmann (1965a), Vallee (1967), Willmott (1960), and others have suggested that the most basic distinction in the Eastern Arctic is the bush/urban dichotomy, this seems less true in the Mackenzie Delta. Moving from a life in the settlement obviously entails some fairly basic changes. In the Eastern Arctic the change to settlement living is from a much more aboriginal style of life than life on the land in the Mackenzie Delta. Delta bush life is a product of long contact and involvement with the fur trade. Land-based or settlement-based fur-trapping activities and their associated styles of life in the Delta are basically similar. Delta Native people seem to consider them so. What often happens is that Native people drift towards a settlement-based fur-trapping style of life with few major upheavals or decisions. To their chagrin they find that settlement life makes certain costly demands on them (e.g., increased need for cash for store-bought food, clothing, dog-feed) so that some involvement in casual labour is necessary, and that a decision to move back on to the land is much more difficult to actualize than their original decision to move into the settlement. The most palpable line or differentiation in the Native sector then becomes not one of bush versus settlement fur trade life-ways, but that between a fur trade type of life-style of either the bush or settlement kind and a style of life model led more closely on that of Outsiders.

Stratification in the Native sector of the Mackenzie Delta operates according to a different set of social principles from that of Outsiders. A basic principle corresponds only in part to the rural-urban distinction defined by Honigmann and Vallee. People resident in bush camps consider themselves to follow a different style of life, which they and others conceive to be the most Native-identified. It is a continuation of a fur trade adaptation. We have shown, however, that they may be subdivided into three groups according to their kind of commitment to bush life. Settlement residents, while distinct from bush people, are divided into two major categories according to their involvement in the employment system, but are further subdivided according to particular variants of that involvement. A simple bush-urban dichotomy, or even a continuum placing the various categories along a scale of degree of urbanization, fails to express the complexity of relationship between them. Stratification in Canadian society is traditionally expressed as a vertical hierarchy of ranked positions, e.g., upper class, middle class, lower class. These may be defined in two ways: (a) in terms of socio-economic variables, such that the richest are upper class and the poorest are lower class, and (b) according to a scale of esteem or prestige in which groups of people acknowledge themselves to occupy upper to lower positions. A number of observations are in

order. First, if stratification in the Delta Native sector is described in terms of cash-earning ability, a scale may be derived but it will fail to express other significant social features such as bush or urban residence. Secondly, to impose a model of stratification based either on a scale of cash-earning ability or degree of prestige is to beg the question, "do the Native people in fact see themselves this way, and do they in fact think in terms of a vertical stratification system?" Since stratification is culturally defined, are we justified in describing another cultural system in terms of criteria derived from our own Western cultures? Thirdly, in socio-cultural systems such as the Mackenzie Delta undergoing rapid change, can we assume that even a reasonable degree of consensus will prevail among the members with regard to class boundaries?

Native people in the Mackenzie Delta seldom speak in terms of a vertical stratification order applying to themselves. There is a general opinion, however, that the Permanent Employees are broadly comparable to their occupational counterparts among Outsiders. To this extent, the Native and Outsider schemes of stratification overlap. Highly transient unskilled Outsiders are considered broadly comparable to their Native equivalents, with whom they associate (if they associate with Native people at all).

Among more Native-identified settlement residents and Bush people many refuse to admit a vertical stratification system and cite their understanding of the classless aboriginal cultures as evidence that no such system prevails among them.

However, it was noted that persons who were considered "real hustlers," i.e., were successful at whatever they set their mind to, whether in the bush or settlement, were accorded greater prestige than those who were unable to remain economically independent of government social assistance or charities. This excludes widows and invalids obviously unable to maintain themselves. "Good people," i.e., those who were consistently kind, gentle, and generous to others were also considered superior to those who were not. Often, "real hustlers" were also known as "good people." Those with marked ability in living on the land, "tough travelers" able to cope with emergencies in the Arctic environment, as well as those demonstrating technical ingenuity were considered to be of "a better cut," as were skilled performers of traditional dances and tellers of traditional stories.

The notions of "good people," "real hustlers" and "tough travelers" stem from the fur trade era. Until recently a number of older men and their families epitomized these values and were able to exert some influence on local affairs by their ability to mobilize public opinion to support their decisions. Now that these men have died and new ideas of prestige and

power are becoming operative, there is competition between these points of view even within individuals. There is no really clear consensus on social ranking.

A simple test tentatively suggested that Delta people were less persistently egalitarian than their explicit statements implied. Thirty small cards were prepared, each bearing the name of a male head of a Native household. Ten were selected from Bush People, ten from Casual Workers, and ten from Permanent Employees. Several people of each of these categories were presented with the cards, which were shuffled. They were asked to divide these into groups of people whom they considered similar, then they were asked to arrange these groups in rank order according to whom they considered were "big or important people in the Delta; that most people would consider had a lot of influence or were highly respected." After the groups were rank ordered, they were asked to tell (a) why they had located persons in certain groups, and (b) why they had arranged the groups in the order they gave. Although the results are not unambiguous, a measure of agreement persisted that placed slightly over half the Permanent Employees in the first or "highest" position, slightly over half the Casual Workers second, and slightly over half the Bush People last. Treating these suggestions with some caution, and remembering that our choice of kind of employment as the ranking criterion may have introduced an Outsider bias, the following schema of stratification is suggested for the Native section:

A. Settlement Residents

1. Permanent Employees.

II. (a) Casual Workers "by default"- would prefer permanent employment and a version of Outsider life-style.

(b) Casual Workers preferring a "casual job—social assistance—minimum land activities" style of life; not particularly Outsider-oriented.

(c) Casual Workers combining seasonal land activities and casual jobs; late fur trade Native-identified.

B. Bush People:

III. (a) Bush People "by default" – would prefer settlement life.

(b) Bush People by tradition; satisfied with the life-way but not actively committed.

(c) Bush People actively committed to a Native-identification, Native life-ways and social arrangements.

Stratification and Acculturation

Clearly implicit in our representation of the Native stratification system is a continuum scale which polarizes the most Native-identified and most Outsider-identified categories and generally corresponds to a scale of degree of urbanization. In large part this represents our choice of type of employment and place of residence as significant criteria of differentiation. We do not wish to imply that this continuum represents, in any simple sense, a series of progressive or transitional stages of internalization of Outsider values. Rather, points on the continuum are best seen as adaptive niches to which people have responded under the variable and selective pressures of a social system undergoing rapid change. For example, a number of Permanent Employees were recruited directly from a life on the land, without passing through a transitional stage of increasing dependence on casual employment and progressively decreasing dependence on land activities. Yet other persons now following a regime of seasonal casual labour and land dependence will not necessarily proceed to a commitment to permanent employment. This strongly suggests that our categories represent situational adaptations rather than an orderly linear progression of motivation or preferred style of life from a Native to an Outsider variant. These situational adaptations have their source in three historical phases in the development of Delta society (see Table II.5). Although these are not classes in the strictest sense, it would appear that they may become so with the progressive rigidification of economic opportunities and the social system.

Possible future trends are: the expansion of permanent employment and its accompanying Outsider life style; the entrenchment of a casual labour social assistance adaptation so long as permanent employment opportunities are not open to all who seek them and Northern employment continues to emphasize seasonal casual job opportunities; the reduction, although not complete disappearance, of adaptations involving some degree of land dependence so long as fur trade activities continue to decline in importance as a viable economic adjustment.

Although differentiation in the Outsider and Native sectors operates according to principles of different historical derivation, the two systems are closely interdependent. It is clear that variant adaptations within the Native sector are situational responses to a social system in which Outsider economic and social institutions have exerted a large proportion of directiveness and control. Accordingly, the Mackenzie Delta community constitutes a system of socio-cultural pluralism.

TABLE II.5: Historical Sources of Mackenzie Delta Native Incipient Class Categories

Category	Source Phase	Phase Characteristics
1. Permanent Employees and Casual Workers other than those with a combined land dependency.	<i>Post Fur trade</i> (approx. 1955 to present)	Expansion of opportunities for permanent and casual employment; marked reduction of fur trade; development of urban centres; expansion of administrative activities and prominence of Outsider life-style as acculturative mode; expansion of formal education opportunities.
11. Casual Workers with combined land dependence.	<i>Late Fur trade</i> (approx. 1930 to 1955)	Intensification of fur trade as a primary subsistence activity; partial reduction of traditional subsistence activities; development of Delta settlements; expansion of casual job opportunities in administrative and mission activities.
III. Bush People	<i>Early Fur trade</i> (previous to 1930)	Fur trade activities an essential basis for continued dependence on more traditional subsistence activities.

**The Outsider Sector: A Basis
for Pluralism**

In any social system people interact with each other according to the ideas they hold about each other. These ideas consist of the knowledge, opinions, attitudes, values and assumptions acquired by people in their experience of social life. The acting out of these ideas by people in social groups constitutes social structure.

The distinctive ideas held by Outsiders about Native people, and the distinctive ways in which these ideas are brought into action are potent sources of pluralistic relation between the two segments. In our interpretation of this relationship events and ideas within the Outsider and Native sectors are deeply intertwined. As Vallee (1967:97) says:

*Any study which purports to analyze the human situation in an Arctic locality and which neglects the **Kabloona** element or treats it as a homogeneous lump must be regarded as incomplete, or biased or both. The attitudes and **behaviour** of the **Kabloona** and the social relations among them have important implications for the Eskimo . . .*

In particular, we wish to examine how Outsider's ideas implicate political process, whether mediated through the offices and channels of the bureaucratic structure or through the constant struggle for public offices and power positions in the various settlements.

S e p a r a t i s t s s s i m i l a t i o n i s t s

As one would expect, not all Outsiders come to their local roles with the same understanding and knowledge of the bureaucratic structure or its intentions, or with a consensus of ideas about who Native people are, how they should be treated, or how they fit into the social system. Nevertheless, several general points of view can be identified among them. These points of view and the particular ways in which conflict between their bearers is resolved are powerful influences shaping Delta social life. It is commonly observed that virtually every Outsider in the Delta, directly involved in administration or not, has strong, frequently outspoken ideas about Native people and "the solution to the Native problem." It is practically impossible for Outsiders to maintain a neutral stand on these matters. Factions are constantly being built or realigned.

Cohen (1962: 93-97), Vallee (1967: Ch. V, esp. 112-124), and Dunning (1959) have analyzed similar situations in other northern communities. As Cohen and Vallee point out, absolute lines cannot be drawn between groups of persons holding one or another point of view since people often subscribe in variable degrees to all of the principal clusters of ideas. Indeed, our evidence shows that individuals will freely subscribe to apparently conflicting extremes of thinking in different social situations,

either from lack of understanding of what is involved or from political opportunism, or both. We must distinguish between attitudes to Native people on the one hand and actions toward them or affecting them on the other.

As Vallee (1967:115) shows, a broad division can be drawn between what may be described as "left-wing" and "right-wing" thinking about Native people. On the one hand, there are those who "stress the need or desirability of maintaining as much continuity with the (aboriginal) past as is possible; on the other hand, there are those who stress the need or desirability of helping the (Native people) change in order to fit into the new situation in the Arctic, even if this means rejecting the traditional way of life." Cohen (1962) draws a similar contrast between what he calls "Traditionalists" and "New Reformers," but adds an **intervening category of "Apathetic," whom he describes as those who may have similar ideas to the others, but who do not seek to engage in social or political activity based on them. Although these points of view are identifiable in the Mackenzie Delta, we find that a more complex representation is necessary.**

The tendency of Outsiders to perceive the alternatives for social development in terms of a stark dichotomy can probably be observed in contact situations around the world. Regarding Canada's northern peoples, the following two examples illustrate how sharply the dichotomy is drawn:

1. "In front of the Cathedral at Rheims stands one of the most beautiful works in Gothic art, the statue of a king. The gaze under the calm brows seems to delve searchingly into the thoughts of the observer, the fingers of the left hand still linger hesitatingly on the cord of the cape, but the right hand is already outstretched in firm decision. Let this be a symbol of the relation of the white race to the Eskimos—in Greenland, in Alaska, everywhere." (Birkett-Smith 1959:232).
2. Northern social development ". . . requires offering these isolated populations a clearcut choice: of remaining in remote hunting communities with a minimum of outside influence (the traditional Trading and mission facilities), or of relocating in regions of Canada that have a genuine potential for economic and social growth . . . The second alternative would, of course, entail educating entire families to their fullest capacity so that they could participate completely and vitally in modern society." (Keenleyside 1968:212, emphasis his).

As Vallee (1967:115) states, the two extreme points of view may be described as "separatist" and "assimilationist," although people who ascribe to these points of view generally resent such labels. Honigsmann (1965a:160) detects a similar dichotomy

in the Eastern Arctic. Some assimilationists, however, do not object to the label "integrationist," although they are unable or unwilling to define just what integration means or how it should systematically be accomplished. Integration is a catch-word often used but seldom defined. It enjoys great favour among Outsiders and Native people alike.

A. *Separatists*. Separatists are those who hold that Native people were happy, contented, and satisfied with their lot before the coming of the white man; that contact with Western culture has only been destructive, resulting in social disruption and moral depravity. Generally, separatists believe that Native people belong to such an alien culture and have such fundamentally different personality systems that successful integration, at least in the immediate future, is virtually impossible. They maintain that Native people should be persuaded to maintain as traditional a way of life as possible, and that any education they receive should be oriented to the traditional hunting-trapping milieu.

This description is a gross over-simplification, for individuals may hold the separatist outlook with a wide difference in sophistication. At one extreme are those who hold an almost blind racist version, convinced that differences between Natives and Outsiders are so deep and pervasive that they can only be accounted for by a difference in genetic or racial constitution. They usually imply in addition that Native racial characteristics are a mark of inherent inferiority. One of the most common examples is the belief that Native people metabolize alcohol differently from Outsiders; that this is due to a genetic difference; that their manifest "lack of control" under intoxication is either a sign of racial inferiority or "brings out the animal or the savage in them;" and that consequently they should be forbidden access to alcohol "for their own protection."

At another extreme are those who are convinced that social change has been sporadic, traumatic and uneven, resulting in deleterious consequences for Native people. They believe that many administrative strategies have been thoughtless or have failed to comprehend the implications for unique characteristics or subtleties in the aboriginal cultures. It would not be unfair to say that many anthropologists, educators, and civil rights activists hold to the latter versions of the separatist viewpoint.

Less sophisticated versions of separatism are often an expression of unfamiliarity or disillusionment. Some Outsiders arrive with separatist preconceptions of Native people. Others in the past have arrived with some degree of zeal to change the lot of Native people, and after successive failures to accomplish what they think desirable for Native people, fall back on a disillusioned racist or "culturalist" explanation for the apparent inability of Native people to respond.

By "culturalist", I mean that variety of belief which is in effect a "sugar-coated" racism. While it rejects a genetic explanation of Outsider-Native differences, it holds that cultural and personality differences are so complete that "Natives are Natives, Whites are Whites; You can't mix the two, or you are just asking for trouble—*big* trouble" (to quote an Inuvik Outsider). Table III-1 presents an idealized paradigm of alternative separatist and Assimilationist positions.

(a) Separatism—Less sophisticated versions: Less sophisticated versions of separatism are usually believed to have a radical solution of the "Native problem." I have heard the following "solutions," tantamount to apartheid, honestly and sincerely suggested:

1. The creation of a sanctuary for Native people, several thousand square miles in extent, such that Native people may pursue "the 'Old Life,' in their own way." No Outsiders would be allowed in the sanctuary on any pretext. Natives would be allowed no Outsider equipment or products, especially guns and liquor.
2. The establishment of "all-Native" settlements in the Delta.
3. Provision in existing settlements for a "Native end of town," similar to that now in Inuvik, but more precisely defined and patrolled to ensure boundary enforcement.
4. The establishment of a Native administration manned by Native people "who better understand their own kind."

Less sophisticated versions of separatism often attempt to give authority to their position by referring to religious ideologies or crude understandings of the concepts "environment," "culture," and "personality." A publication circulated amongst evangelical Christians in the Delta says -

Why don't the Eskimos move away from that cold, cruel land to a warmer place where they could make a better living?

The best answer to that question is found in the Book of Acts, Chapter 17, Verse 26: "And he hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." God has designed Eskimos to live like Eskimos in Eskimo country. To take them away from their native environment would be like taking an Arab from the desert to the swampy jungles, or the jungle native to the burning sands. (Ledyard n.d.: 51).

An officer of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, in the departmental magazine *North* (February, 1963) avers that. . . today, the

Eskimo . . . is still not far removed in his thinking from his aboriginal stone-age forebears, despite nearly half a century of contact with traders, missionaries, and government officials. He is still improvident to an extreme, lacking in foresight, tradition-bound and superstitious—primarily a gatherer of food, tied to the ways of his ancestors by economic habits and traditions of behaviour much stronger than the average southern Canadian would realize.

The idea that Delta Native people have only recently emerged from the stone age, based on a superficial understanding of social evolution, has fairly widespread acceptance. In the mouths of many it is only an alternative way of saying "savage."

(b) Separatism—more sophisticated versions: The more sophisticated versions of separatism, rather than emphasizing Native inferiority and inequality, stress that the Native aboriginal cultures are valuable in their own right, that they constitute legitimate ways of life whose destruction is not only a loss to the world, but is also disastrous psycho-socially to their members. Often "human rights" are invoked, particularly those referring to the right of "cultural privacy," or the right of people to maintain and pursue their particular ethnic traditions. There is active criticism of administrative measures or any activity which seeks to speed up the disappearance of Native life-ways. Typically, separatists of this kind militate against school curricula containing no local culture content, large residential school education which emphasizes conformity to Outsider norms, legislation proscribing Native ritual activities or use of traditional wild game resources, and any activity presenting a negative evaluation of traditional ways of life. Social stress, economic deprivation, and the consequences of cultural disruption are believed to be largely the result of ignorance, exploitation, or ill will on the part of agents of Outsider structures. Those holding this viewpoint are active in social activities promising a positive role for Native people and their cultural styles.

It is interesting to note that the aspects of Native culture most aesthetically pleasing or at any rate least obnoxious to Outsider values are the ones encouraged (for example, use of Native languages, decorative handicrafts, story-telling, and dancing). Traditional cultural features such as marriage arrangements, methods of resolving interpersonal conflict, and child-rearing practices receive less general support. The definition of what constitutes "Native culture" is often rather superficial.

Rather than visualizing complete and continuing segregation, this view of separatism normally envisages slow and careful integration of Native people in ways that the people themselves determine or aspire to without an inevitable loss of Native identity. Complete assimilation is actively rejected as a desired goal. In fact, those who favour assimilation

may be charged by the separatists with favouring genocide.

B. *Assimilationists*: In contrast with the traditionalist or separatist position is the point of view which holds that, in Vallee's (1967:115) words

... the traditional . . . way of life is doomed, and to concentrate on preserving it is to create generations of destitute, second-class citizens. In this view, [Native people] should be encouraged and helped to take advantage of whatever social and economic opportunities become available. This condition will not be achieved until the (Native people] receive an education equivalent to that in other parts of Canada and are given rights equal to those of an y citizen.

The overall view; of the culture.

Like the separatists, assimilationists represent a wide spectrum of sophistication and a number of modes of social action.

(a) Assimilationism—Less sophisticated versions: Least sophisticated assimilationists contend that the Native culture is not only doomed, but was inferior in the first place. They believe that Native people should count themselves lucky to have an opportunity to become integrated with the main stream of Western civilization, and that consequently they should be persuaded (in some cases forced) to give up Native ways, to "get off their backsides and become decent, hard-working, self-respecting Canadian citizens" (to paraphrase an extremely common opinion). The redeeming virtues of hard labour are held up for Native people to emulate. Failure to respond to the offers of the amenities of Western civilization are interpreted as Native intransigence, laziness, or ill will, which in turn are held to be confirmation of their cultural backwardness.

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(b) Assimilationism—More sophisticated versions: More sophisticated assimilationists, on the other hand, are insistent that if the Native people are to play any significant and gratifying role in society, it must inevitably be in an Outsider manner. Consequently, they insist that full assimilation of the Native people as soon as possible will be the only way of assuring their rights as Canadian citizens. Native culture and identity are seen as hindrances to assimilation. This type of assimilationist insists that although "integration" as they see it must occur immediately, measures must be taken to make the process as painless but efficient as possible.

Now separatist and assimilationist points of view such as we have described here are not unique. They could be replicated in many societies around the world wherever there is a confrontation between Native peoples and contact agents of Western civilization. What is more unique or more characteristic of the Mackenzie Delta are the particular ways in which these ideas are put to work in the social

TABLE 111.1: Paradigm of Alternative Separatist and Assimilationist Points of View in the Mackenzie Delta.

	A. SEPARATISM	B. ASSIMILATIONISM
(a) Less sophisticated	Racist and similar views claiming Native culture and personality are inferior and incompatible with "integration" into Canadian society.	Ideas stating that Native culture is doomed—inferior in the first place—hence "integration" of Native as soon as possible "for their own good".
(b) More sophisticated	Viewpoints defending the right of Native people to "cultural privacy," and the essential dignity and worth of the styles of life they choose; state that hasty "integration" is deleterious psycho-socially for Native people.	Ideas stressing the right of Native people to enjoy all the privileges and benefits of Canadian society; insist on immediate "integration" and the dropping of Native life-ways seen as impediments to integration.

system and consequently the impact they have on Native social life.

Cohen (1962: 93-97), Dunning (1959), and Vallee (1967: Ch.V) have described the factionalism resulting from opposition between separatists and assimilationists among Arctic Outsiders. Such factionalism is prominent in the Mackenzie Delta. Less sophisticated separatists and assimilationists have relatively little impact upon formal organizations in the Delta, for in terms of community action they are by and large "apathetic." This is not to deny that their views have impact, for insofar as informal contact with Native people occurs, interpersonal relations are bound to be influenced by their separatist or assimilationist commitments. It is among separatists and assimilationists of this sort that one encounters pejorative labels for Native people. (Among those most current in the Delta are: "savage," "animal" (note: the beer parlour patronized by Native people in Inuvik is called "the Zoo" —"where the animals go"), "Siwash" (a pejorative name originating on the Northwest Coast, a corruption of the French "sauvage"), "Cherokee" (or the corruption "Cherokawi"), "Black Bastards," "Wogs," "Nig-Nogs," and "Niggers". Any of these labels is expanded by obscene adjectives in situations of conflict or stress. "Breed" or "Half-breed" for Metis, "Huskey" for Eskimos, and even the word "Native" are strongly derogatory in the usage of some Outsiders. Ideas and labels of this kind set the tone in many informal Outsider-Native interactions, although some Outsiders holding these ideas seek to avoid contact with Native people as much as possible. Other common ideas are that Native people are totally depraved, potentially violent, and filthy in their personal habits. A young Outsider woman from the "White" end of Inuvik expressed to some members of the Research Project her reluctance to go near the Native end of

town, even in daylight, for fear of being raped. Negative stereotypes and derogatory labels are "filters" through which social interaction in at least part of the Delta community must pass.

The opportunities for contact between Outsiders and Native persons varies considerably with the positions held by Outsiders. Teachers, nurses, doctors, welfare officers, store clerks, works supervisors, police, missionaries, and others have the greatest opportunity for contact and of course their particular approach to Native people is influenced in part by the nature of their offices. Some of these positions possess considerable authority. Indeed, a large measure of the contact between Outsider and Native segments occurs through these positions, and as a consequence contact is highly structured and primarily under the control of Outsiders. It is usually the Outsider who can decide when and how an interaction can be initiated and has the ability to terminate it at will (Vallee 1967: 124). For this reason, we can say that many Outsider-Native personal interactions are "dominated" by Outsiders. Many Outsiders have derived their basic conceptions of Native people only through structured contacts of this kind. It is little wonder their conceptions so often appear superficial or oblique, especially since most Native people have learned a sufficient number of the basic cues of these situations in order to elicit favorable responses from Outsiders, or at least minimize unfavorable ones. Outsiders, too, since they tend to see Native behaviour only in rather formalized contexts, are unable to see its consistency (or lack of it) with the whole of the "Native way of life. Outsiders who are professionally involved with Native people tend to have more interest and opportunity for activism in affairs affecting them. To their jobs they bring their various conceptions of the Native people as well as their notions of social development. Outsiders who

are not directly involved with Native people in the course of their daily work (for example Navy and wireless personnel) can by choice involve themselves with Native affairs or ignore them. A number take the latter alternative, although this does not mean that they do not have strong ideas about the role of Native people.

Vallee (1967: 97-124) has drawn attention to some distinctive features of organization among the *Kabloonas* (Outsiders) of the Central Keewatin. There are marked parallels to the Mackenzie Delta. Outsiders often have wide discretionary powers in the local implementation of administrative directives, which tend to be interpreted in terms of the individual Outsider's particular values and social commitments. The high transience of Outsiders means that the same official position may be occupied by a succession of personnel whose particular ways of interpreting policy and dealing with Native people are so variable that to the Native people the rules of operation appear arbitrary and idiosyncratic. In the Mackenzie Delta, many Native people appear to have a limited conception of office. 'The School principal does such-and-so because he does (does not) like me (or Native people),' or 'that administrator must hate us or how come he does such -and-so,' are commonly expressed ideas. There is little realization that an official acts by nature of a defined office. The evidence available to the Native person makes it appear otherwise. Outsiders interpret the inability of Native people to comprehend bureaucratic structure as evidence of backwardness, but in fact a reasonably consistent "model" of bureaucratic operation is not presented to them. In fact, a number of Delta Native people are reluctant to believe that the succession of Area Administrators they have seen are employees of the same government.

Outsiders as Socializers of Native People

One of the most important observations made by Professor Vallee (1967:127 ff.) on the Central Keewatin has received little attention. His observations are particularly appropriate for an understanding of Outsider-Native interaction in the Mackenzie Delta. He has noted the tendency for Outsiders to think of themselves as socializers of Native people. implicit in this Outsider conception is their dominance by virtue of superior knowledge, skills, and abilities over Native people who are considered to lack these attributes and to have the need of a guiding hand. Socialization is the process by which people learn the social skills, values, and norms by which they play out the roles they are allocated in the social system. Socialization includes formal education, but in the sense we shall use the concept it also means the whole informal process of acquisition of social knowledge and experience which has its locus in social interaction in the broadest sense. it is an

"unselfconscious, unpianned process" (Vallee 1967: 127) which operates by the emulation of appropriate role models, the sanctioning of undesirable behaviour and the reinforcement of that which is desirable. This process is not limited to infancy and childhood as is often implied, but goes on throughout a person's experience in society. in social systems undergoing rapid change, persons are being constantly "re-socialized" in new roles and their appropriate behavioural norms. in the Mackenzie Delta, pressures for Native people to change and adopt behavioural ways consistent with Outsider values and expectations (rather than vice versa) is the prevailing pattern.

The relationship between Outsiders and Native employees often extends far beyond the usual definition of an employment situation. Outsiders frequently take what Vallee (1967: 126) calls a "paternalistic approach" to Native employees, offering them advice on matters of behaviour, scolding them for behaviour of which Outsiders disapprove, doing special favours for them and acting as intermediary between them and other Outsiders in cases of conflict. Some Outsiders married to Native women will abstain from alcohol "to show Native people you can live without it." Other Outsiders may on occasion invite Native people to parties "so that they can see how Whites can take a drink without getting drunk." There have even been some cases where Outsiders will assume the role of intermediary between Native husbands and wives in conflict, having "heart to heart talks" with both parties in an attempt to precipitate a reconciliation. Native people may be given cast-off clothing and small gifts for themselves and their families, sometimes as rewards for "good behavior." it is interesting to note that Outsiders are usually called Mr., Miss, Mrs. So-and-so by Native people, but that Outsiders almost universally refer to Native people (even comparative strangers) by their first names irrespective of the Native person's age, marital status, or esteem in the community. Even Outsider children refer to aged and venerable Native people by first names.

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Another salient characteristic of the Outsider's conception of their role as socializers is the constant attempt to present an exemplary impression to Native people, for implicit in the role of socializer is the role of exemplar. in Aklavik, several examples were noted which parallel those noted by Vallee in the Keewatin. Outsiders attempt to conceal drunken or untoward behaviour among themselves from Native people because "Outsiders should set a good example;" there is a belief that one officer should not criticize the actions or decisions of another in front of Native people; Outsiders are expected not to attend Native brewing parties, gambling sessions, etc. to avoid signifying approval by their presence. Outsiders who violate this solidarity and fraternize too readily with Native people are considered with some suspicion,

most certainly by other Outsiders and to some extent by Native people.

The maintenance of solidarity among Outsiders in some cases is so highly valued that it will override other interests, as the following case will show:

Individuals A and B were two Outsiders holding prominent administrative positions in a Delta settlement. Both A and B had alienated most of the Native people by treating them in a rather authoritarian manner. Both A and B had strong ambitions to become powerful leaders in the community in order to achieve their personal notions of community development but both had been unable to rally any significant support either from other Outsiders or the Native people. Friction grew between them for several months. Both were senior government officers at the local level, but there was no clear official seniority of one over the other. Both were determined to see the other removed from the settlement. A circulated (and signed) a petition for B's removal. It was signed by a number of Outsiders and Native people. B circulated a counter-petition for A's removal, which was likewise signed, often by the same people who had signed the original petition. As the tension and crises began to reach a peak, the Outsiders withdrew the conflict from public view saying 'it's too bad the Natives were involved. It's none of their business.' The Native people developed a similar point of view saying 'they should not have gotten us involved. That's a government matter.' In fact, neither petition achieved its aim, although both A and B left the settlement within two or three months.

To the observer, both officers in this incident of conflict held administrative positions concerned primarily with Native people. Their charges against each other arose from conflict of opinion over Native affairs. Far more Native people than Outsiders had been offended by both A and B. It would seem that Native people should legitimately have had at least as much to say (presuming the charges true and petition for removal the appropriate way of dealing with them), but the line of social cleavage between Natives and Outsiders was inevitably drawn. It was interesting to note that even assimilationists who had intentionally solicited Native peoples' signatures for the petitions "so that they could be involved in community matters" eventually adopted the Outsider-solidarity point of view when it was obvious that the argument was threatening to split the Outsider section irretrievably. It would seem that Outsider solidarity has priority over the working out of conflicting commitments (e.g., separatist or assimilationist) if these commitments appear to split the Outsider segment too far in the public view.

As Vallee has noted for the Central Keewatin, Outsiders tend to approach Native people with a bluff, diffuse friendly manner. In the smaller settle-

ments of the Delta, people always acknowledge each other in the streets. Outsiders often stop to chat with Native people, inquiring for their health and that of their families, noting the state of the weather, and discussing the vagaries of trapping and hunting. In these interactions, although outwardly jolly and breezy, quite a few Outsiders are somewhat ill-at-ease and adopt a certain tone of voice, speaking slowly and carefully to ensure that they are understood and attempting to use local jargon words for the state of weather and hunting conditions. Native people are very aware of this pose, which they call the "Santa Claus" or "Mickey Mouse" voice. It is mimicked for general amusement in the presence of other Native people.

Most Outsider-Native interactions have their locus in public places—one the streets, in shops, beer-parlours, the cinema, etc. or in the offices of administrative agencies. Correspondingly, Native persons tend to occupy the roles of customer, client, patient, etc., vis-a-vis Outsiders. Role relations of this sort tend to be formally structured and hierarchical. In this case Outsiders tend to occupy the dominant roles.

Apart from the diffuse friendliness of Outsider-Native relations, there are few opportunities for spontaneous, informal contact between members of the two groups. Native people rarely visit Outsiders in their houses or form relationships deeper than passing acquaintance. Native people nearly always appear ill-at-ease when they do have occasion to meet Outsiders in their houses. In the smaller settlements possibilities for informal interaction of this kind are greater than in the residentially segregated milieu of Inuvik, but they are still minimal. Outsiders seldom visit Native people in their houses except on business. Outsiders who appear to associate "too freely" with Native people in drinking and gambling sessions, etc. tend to be alienated from the more "respectable" Outsiders who look down on them as the "rowdy element" or "poor white trash" (two common expressions, at least in Inuvik). Exceptions to this general pattern are a few "New Northerners" who have made a commitment to living in the North. They tend to identify strongly with what they perceive to be "the Native cause." Most New Northerners reside in Inuvik in the "Native end of town" in dwellings which, although superficially similar to Native housing, are furnished and equipped for an essentially Outsider way of life. These "New Northerners" enjoy general esteem in the community. They are active politically on behalf of Native people, amongst whom they have close personal friends, but the relationships are defined in such a way that those aspects of "Native" behaviour, (such as heavy drinking, gambling, promiscuity) are effectively proscribed. The "socializer" role is very strong here, and as elsewhere has an implicit hierarchical form under control of the New Northerner. It is perhaps most visible in the development of local leaders in Inuvik. New Northerners tend to supply the

stimulus, initiative, and support for a small number of "progressive" Native people whom they consider to have leadership potential. The New Northerners tend to push these selected leaders forward as spokesmen for the Native segment. Unfortunately, perhaps, the bulk of support for these potential leaders comes from the New Northerners rather than from the Native people as a whole who tend to look upon them as "White man's Natives" or "Uncle Toms". Although rather conspicuous on the local scene, it would be erroneous to think of them as strong leaders spontaneously generated by Native popular opinion. They are more a response to a New Northerner than a Native demand. The New Northerners tend to define the issues for Native leaders to act upon, and they instruct them in the appropriate actions of leaders as defined by Outsiders.

In recent years, local Advisory Councils have been set up in several settlements. These consist of a board of persons elected by secret ballot to consult with local administration on community matters. They are intended to provide a sounding board for local opinion and a means of involvement of the local population in decisions regarding their own community. They are also intended to provide an important learning experience in corporate decision-making. Their actual legislative capacity is limited, but a small amount of government funds is allocated to them annually to spend as they see fit on projects they decide are important to community development. It is hoped that in time these councils will develop into local governing bodies analogous to the municipal councils of southern Canadian villages and towns. The advisory council in Inuvik has recently been so incorporated.

Trappers' Councils have been developed in several settlements under the aegis of the Wildlife Service. These bodies are intended to act as local consultants to game officers. They have a limited legislative function in that they are left free, for example, to set the open seasons on fur-bearers annually according to their knowledge of seasonally variable resources. These too are intended to provide a learning experience in corporate decision-making regarding matters of local importance.

The *Indian Act* requires that a chief and councillors be provided by bands, who have certain legislative functions defined in the *Act*. In some deference to the variability of aboriginal practices, chiefs and councillors may be elected or assigned on the basis of hereditary succession according to the will of the band. The band council acts as a consultative body to the Indian agent, who has certain powers of veto over their decisions. This form of band council organization as part of its function is designed to provide a learning experience in decision-making. The *Act* makes provision for band councils to be incorporated as full municipal councils at the discretion of the Minister.

New local councils of the various kinds we have mentioned are undoubtedly an important means of allowing Native people a degree of involvement in decisions which affect them, and they are invaluable in providing the learning experiences for which they are in part designed. We wish to draw attention to their part in the "socializer-socializee" relationship, for these councils are effectively constrained (perhaps even dominated) by Outsider legislation and interests; they are designed to accomplish goals specified largely by Outsiders; their particular internal structure is largely defined by Outsiders; all of these forms presume a progression from less to more responsibility according to the demonstrated ability of Native people to use these social forms estimated by criteria of ability designed by Outsiders; and finally, progression through the stages of responsibility is governed by consent and approval of Outsider agencies. Socialization of Native people into roles and norms unknown in the aboriginal or fur-trade social systems is inevitable—this is a conspicuous meaning of social change. What concerns us here is the assumptions underlying the particular mechanisms by which this socialization is accomplished in the Mackenzie Delta. Advisory councils, band councils, and Trappers' Associations as they operate in the Mackenzie Delta raise the spectre of quasi-colonial indirect rule and *évolué* concept with all of the problems they imply. Apart from their political implications as they are known historically, particularly in Africa, these concepts contain an implicit hierarchical arrangement of social segments according to "ability to assume responsibility" and similar notions based on demonstrably ethnocentric criteria.

As Honigmann (1965a: 99) has noted in Frobisher Bay

Each ethnic group affects the life of the other, though not necessarily in equal degree, for Euro-canadians possess a greater degree of autonomy vis-a-vis Eskimos than vice versa.

This is true. It can be demonstrated in the Mackenzie Delta, but it would be foolish to assume that this asymmetrical possession of cultural autonomy does not reflect itself in a distinctive pattern of social structure and social change or in social problems precipitated by the loss of autonomy by one group to the actions of the other.

Socialization in the sense we have intended it here is a fundamental mechanism of socio-cultural change. We have emphasized the "middle range" of the socialization process in terms of degree of directiveness and formality of structure. Honigmann (1965a: Ch. V, "People Under Tutelage") discusses the process of socialization, much as we define it here, among Eskimos in the urban centre of Frobisher Bay on Baffinland. He distinguishes "two kinds of tutelage" (Honigmann 1965a: 157-158): (a) on the one hand the "undirected, unguided, unstructured,

unsupervised" kind of learning which is "subject to trial and error" by which the Native person "devises adequate, hitherto unavailable, responses" to the changing way of life in which imitation of Outsiders' examples plays a certain role; (b) on the other hand the kind of socialization in which "tutors encourage him to respond in certain definite ways, advise and teach him, withdraw support if he deviates from what they deem appropriate, and reward him if he attains the goal as they see it. In this important type of learning, the Eskimo assumes new roles while Eurocanadians observe, correct, reward, and punish." We choose to distinguish within Honigmann's second type two basic modes of socialization: (a) the highly structured, explicit teaching-learning experience located in the schools, churches, law-courts, rehabilitation programmed, public health projects, and adult education courses now so much a part of life in the Delta; and (b) the less explicit, more diffuse, unplanned but nevertheless patterned process of tutelage which is so much a part of the daily interaction of Natives and Outsiders. It is this latter type of socialization which we find of so much importance in daily life in the Delta since it illuminates so clearly the pattern of Outsider-Native relations, although in no way do we wish to minimize the role of formal education or the relatively spontaneous process of cultural adaptation. Implicit in this middle-range type of socialization pattern is the "patron-client" or "socializer-socializee" hierarchical arrangement noted by Vallee (1967:127 ff), which we shall call "directive socialization." It is a process dominated by Outsiders in the Delta in the sense that it is structured and directed by them in terms of an implicit belief in superior knowledge and ability among Outsiders and in terms of what they deem suitable and preferable for Native people. It is an "asymmetrical" rather than a mutually accommodative relationship in that change, flexibility, and accommodation are expected of the Native people towards Outsider norms and practices rather than vice versa, and the relationship depends on a degree of regulation and control by Outsiders over Native people which is symptomatic of plural social systems. At the societal level, regulation and control between cultural segments of a plural society depend upon regulation and control through the formal agencies of the polity; at the community level it depends more upon informal, less consciously hierarchic, but nevertheless directive patterns of intersegmental relations, at least in the Mackenzie Delta.

Outsiders and Natives: "Hostile Dependency"

It is obvious that Outsiders and Native people do not operate in two social systems which exist in oblivion of each other. Rather, the two social segments co-exist in a complex interdependence which cross-cuts many organizational spheres. A large proportion of Outsiders in the Delta are professionally and

administratively concerned with the Native people. Sanction for their operations obviously derives from the metropolitan powers (Federal and Territorial Governments, missionary and mercantile headquarters, etc.). So long as administration of Canada's Native populations through specially designed bureaucratic channels remains a commitment of government the present pattern of "administrators versus administered" will continue. So long as Native populations remain "underdeveloped," uneducated, and continue to show signs of social distress and physical ill-health, the present bureaucratic structure (or close variants) of government and other agencies of change will persist. Naturally, specific agencies within the Outsider structure are designed to deal with peculiarities of the circumstances of Native people or their social ways, at least insofar as these are recognized by Outsiders and according to their conceptions of them. Without the Native people, most of the present Outsider activities simply would not exist in the Delta.

The Native people have become progressively interlocked with the Outsiders and their way of life. New alternatives of action, aspirations, and expectations have developed which can only be filled by functions provided by Outsiders. Many of the cultural ways which they now follow are directly derived from Outsider forms or represent accommodations to them.

The Native people have learned to depend upon Outsiders for skills and social resources with which their own marginal way of life cannot supply them. This point is probably best made by specific examples. When community voluntary associations are created in which both Outsiders and Native people have an active interest, it is noted that Outsiders are almost inevitably elected to be the chief officers. A good example is provided by one of the recreational associations in a Delta settlement. At the beginning of the season's activities in the autumn of 1966, an organizational meeting was called at which the Native people were well represented. The officers were duly elected with virtually unanimous approval of the Native people. All nominations were made by Outsiders for other Outsiders and seconded by Native people. The officers, once elected, withdrew before the end of the meeting and expressed among themselves considerable concern that only Outsiders had been elected. They decided that they would insist on the election of a Native person as vice-president. They returned to the meeting with their suggestion and a Native vice-president was nominated and elected with general approval. The executive then consisted of the following:

1. *President: Outsider—Senior teacher at the settlement school; elected.*
2. *Vice-President: Native person—a permanent employee of the government considered to be a "White-man's Eskimo" by many Native people; elected at the insistence of 1, 3, 4.*

3. *Secretary: Outsider—Police constable; elected.*
4. *Treasurer: Outsider—Junior teacher at the settlement school; elected.*

The arrangements seemed to satisfy everyone, and the Native people had certainly carried the voting for they constituted almost 80% of the club membership. Within a week or so, many Native people in private conversation had expressed anger and indignation at what they called "White-domination" in the club. When asked why they had elected Outsiders, they said that 'we got those teachers because they can use a typewriter and we could trust them with the money—and they know how to run clubs anyway.' When asked why they had not elected Native people they could think of no Native person who had the necessary skills and in whom they could place sufficient trust. Investigation showed that the Outsider executive were very conscious of the lack of Native representation in the executive and bent over backwards to solicit Native opinion.

On several occasions Native parents have approached school teachers and asked them to administer corporal punishment to their children who had been misbehaving at home. The idea is that children would be much more likely to listen to the teacher, who is considered to be in a position of authority over children, and also children are said to be likely to hate their parents if they are disciplined harshly by them. Likewise, on several occasions husbands and wives reported their spouses to police for drinking. The police would find the offending partner and send him or her home (unless they were causing trouble). Spouses feel they have no real control over each other's behaviour, and authoritarian behaviour between them is contrary to Native values.

The relationship between Outsiders and Native people is one of dependency in several spheres: (a) for the provision of skills and services Native people do not have but require to gain valued ends; (b) the provision of social resources (e.g. authority and discipline) which it would be inappropriate for a Native person to use according to his values; and (c) there are occasions on which Native people initiate interactions in which they place themselves structurally in dependent positions (e.g. as petitioners or receivers) vis-a-vis Outsiders. This relationship of dependence is also a hostile one, or at least one marked by ambivalence. For example, they ask Outsiders to perform in roles of leadership or authority which they feel inappropriate for Native people—and then extend to the Outsiders the distaste, anger, and indignation they would typically extend to a Native person who presumed to fill such roles. We shall describe this relationship as one of "hostile dependency," a term borrowed from Hagen (1962: 496-497) to describe similar phenomena among reservation Sioux, although we make no attempt to incorporate in our analysis the Freudian assumptions

upon which he bases it. It is as if the Native people use their dependence upon Outsiders as a weapon with which to flail the Outsiders at every available opportunity. If Outsiders do something of which **Native people approve, a typical reaction is to say 'that's good, but they should have been doing that for us thirty years ago;'** if Outsiders do something of which Native people do not approve the reaction is 'well, what would you expect, that's the way they always work.' In this way, any action by Outsiders can become a big stick in the hands of Native people with which to beat Outsiders; the relationship is one of dependence marked by hostility. It extends to welfare programmes and social assistance: 'they got us into being poor, it's their duty to help us, they owe it to us' but 'we hate them for making us poor and putting us in a position of having to ask for help;' to legislation: 'they brought liquor into this country and taught us how to drink. If they don't like it, it's up to them to make laws which will control it'—but any restrictive laws are met with shrill cries of "oppression" and 'White dominance.' It extends into many other spheres of social life. This pattern of inter-segmental relations which has developed is self-perpetuating. It can be expected to mark Outsider-Native relations for years to come.

The Conditions of Mackenzie Delta Pluralism

The convergence of cultural differentiation and stratification which is characteristic of the plural social system in the Mackenzie Delta is generated by a complex set of conditions. It is necessary to separate these conditions into three categories which, although analytically separable, are inter-related. The first set of conditions we shall examine concern historical features relevant to the whole of the Canadian polity and the relations to it of Native people throughout the nation.

The second set of conditions concerns the operation of local level political process among Delta Outsiders and the way these implicate social action in the Native segment. The third set of conditions concerns the institutional modes of co-activity among Native people, and the way these facilitate or promote the operation of political process among Outsiders concerning Native people, and the way in which the resulting patterns of interaction maintains the pluralistic relation between Natives and Outsiders.

The first two sets of conditions (political process at the national level and at the local level) are examined here, while the third set (Native institutions) is considered in Chapter IV.

Social relations in the Mackenzie Delta do not constitute a closed system. In part they are products of events, conditions, and characteristics of the Canadian society at large. Although social relations in the Mackenzie Delta differ from those of other regions in Canada in historical detail they share with them some structural characteristics.

At the national level, Canada is structurally a democratic society which nevertheless evinces certain pluralistic tendencies which often become most visible only at certain regional levels or with respect to certain segments of the population. A federal constitutional system of the kind adopted by Canada is one alternative way of dealing with fairly large-scale regional and cultural differentiation. As van den Berghe (1969:75) has pointed out, two main related ethnic groups (French and English) contend for power at both federal and provincial levels. Although "... the English were long dominant ... over time a greater parity of power and status was developed, and democratic federalism grew out of continuing conflict and delicate compromises." Ossenberg (1967) has reviewed the historical trends in Canadian pluralism in this regard, which may be described as a general reduction through time of the intensity of plural relations between English and French-Canada, although one need hardly add that this is still a delicate and potentially explosive issue.

Public attention, however, has only recently been focused on the plural relationship marking the deepest cultural cleavage in Canadian society: that concerning the indigenous Indian and Eskimo populations as well as the almost equally large population of Canadian Metis. In a sense, the plural relation at the national level to the Native populations, particularly clear in the case of Indians, has been much more pervasive and thorough-going than the aspects of pluralism inherent in relations between French and English.

As in the case of French Canada, at the national level the trend has been towards a reduction of the most prominent features of pluralism with regard to Native people. Pluralistic features are still present, as is the legacy of social conditions (particularly of marginality and poverty) historically induced, in part at least, by the previous strongly pluralistic conditions which prevailed.

Until recently, the most conspicuous feature of national pluralism with respect to Native people was the withholding of the federal franchise from Indians. For example, the revised *Indian Act* of 1951 allowed enfranchisement of an adult Indian under only two conditions: (a) a woman marrying a non-Indian was enfranchised almost as a matter of routine; (b) any adult upon application to the Minister through the

Indian superintendent who could present satisfactory evidence that he was "capable of discharging the duties and responsibilities entailed." Normally, evidence had also to be produced to show that the applicant had suitable character witnesses, a steady income, and had lived off a reserve for a lengthy period. In addition, acceptance of the franchise made it impossible for an Indian or his descendants ever to become an "Indian" in law again.

In the Delta, a number of Indians had become individually enfranchised over the years. Their own statements indicate that they were less concerned with acquiring the right to vote (they could not exercise it at any rate, for there was no elected representative to Parliament from the area until 1954) than in acquiring the legal right to purchase and consume liquor. More recent legislation has extended the franchise to all Indians. Although Eskimos were never subject to withheld franchise, in the Delta they were unable to exercise a federal vote until a constituency was defined.

Other provisions of the *Indian Act* define the plural relation. In southern Canada most Indians until recently were residentially segregated in federal reserves in which they had rights of land use but not ownership. In the Delta region, reserves were never laid out. In addition, a legal Indian's estate at his death was required to be administered by the Indian Affairs Branch and not by another Indian (or indeed by any other person) as his executor. These conditions evoke the Federal wardship to which Indians were subject.

The right of Native people to elect representatives to the few elected seats in Territorial Council did not come until the late 1950's and it was not until the early 1960's that they could elect representatives to partially-elected, partially-appointed Advisory Councils in the settlements where these were set up. The function of Advisory Councils, as the name implies, is consultative rather than legislative.

These constraints to participation in national political process or to political process structured in Federal policy are rooted in the history of Canada's Constitution and the enactments (such as the *Indian Act*) sanctioned by it. They indicate an almost exclusive concentration of political, legislative, and juridical functions outside of the Native sector but which historically have controlled political process within it to a remarkable degree. In addition, since administration of the Western Arctic until recently has been located in agencies of the Federal Government in which Native people had minimal or no political representation, those aspects of collective domination of Outsiders over Native people created by a quasi-colonial system of this kind were secure beyond local challenge.

Unlike subordinate sections in certain African or Asian societies, the Native people of the western Arctic had no indigenous political or juridical organization analogous to the legislative and formal social control systems of the dominant social segment, so that even a policy of indirect rule was never entertained. Rather, indigenous practices in the settling of interpersonal disputes or the formation of law or peculiarly Native policy by Native people were proscribed and these functions were allocated to appropriate agencies of the dominant segment.

Historically, pluralism has strongly marked the political relationship of Native people to the national polity. Particularly in recent years this has been considerably reduced with the establishment of Federal, Territorial, and local representation in which Native people have the right to exercise their franchise. To the extent that legislative bodies at the Territorial level are not yet fully representative (some seats are appointed), and to the extent that local settlement councils are primarily consultative rather than legislative, modification of the plural relation between the Native people and the society at large is not yet complete.

While pluralism mediated by organizations of the wider society has been markedly reduced and is still undergoing transformation it can be shown that practices amongst Outsiders with respect to Native people at the local level continue nevertheless to maintain pluralism at a considerable intensity.

Conditions of Pluralism II: Local Level Political Process

The model of pluralism applied in this study to the Mackenzie Delta belongs to a general set of "conflict" theories of society, all of which share in some form at least the following two propositions:

1. In complex Western industrial societies, two categories of people may be distinguished:
 - (a) a ruling or powerful class, and
 - (b) one or more subject classes.
2. The dominant position of the ruling class stems from its possession of the major instruments of economic production, and its political dominance is consolidated in its hold over the means of force and formal social control and over the production of ideas.

In other words, relative to the subject classes or segments, the dominant segment is more politically organized and more politically powerful. Now it would be erroneous and naive to suggest that in the Mackenzie Delta every individual Outsider as a member of the dominant segment is more powerful than every individual Native person. In addition, the possession of power by the dominant segment is

relatively rather than absolutely greater than the possession of power by the subject segment.

An examination of Outsider/Native political interaction shows that it is typically only a few individual Outsiders who are politically active and powerful and who dominate political relations with the Native people. A distinction must be made between two aspects of the relative political dominance of these Outsiders. On the one hand are those Outsiders who hold offices of authority deriving from the bureaucratic system: Area Administrators, police, the judiciary, game officers, etc. as well as to some extent teachers, clergy, medical officers, government project directors, and so on. These positions are virtually exclusively held by Outsiders whose roles and their limitations are defined by the metropolitan powers. On the other hand are those aspects of relative political dominance by Outsiders who are actively engaged in the political struggle for public office and other positions of power.

(a) Formal Organizations

Mailhot (1968) has clearly shown the extent to which public offices or leadership positions in voluntary organizations in Inuvik are disproportionately held by Outsiders. For example, in the 37 voluntary organizations she studied in Inuvik, there were 207 leadership offices. Outsiders held 178 (or 86%) of these positions and Native people held 29 positions (or 14% of the total available) (Mailhot 1968:18). She also found that voluntary associations were a predominantly Outsider sphere of social activity, for while the Native and Outsider populations in Inuvik were almost identical in size, only about one-fourth as many Native people as Outsiders participated in the main associations (Mailhot 1968:9). Not only were membership and executive positions dominated by Outsiders, it was found that Outsiders tended to belong to several associations simultaneously and that the executive positions tended to be held in plurality by a small number of highly active Outsiders.

In Aklavik the situation is somewhat different, for only a few voluntary associations or public committees presently exist. Most of those which were operative in the mid 1950's are now defunct since the proportion of Outsiders in this settlement's population was markedly and quite suddenly reduced with the transfer of most administrative functions to the new settlement of Inuvik. In the two most prominent voluntary associations still operating in Aklavik, the Community Association and the Curling Club, only two of the eight executive positions are held by native people. In other associations, although they are almost totally inactive, Native people are more equitably represented in administrative positions than in Inuvik. It appears that the situation in Aklavik in the 1950's was more analogous, although on a smaller scale, to the present situation in Inuvik.

In Inuvik the proportion of Native participation in associations and committees has decreased with the expansion of the Outsider population in that settlement (Mailhot 1968:18). In Aklavik the proportion of Native participation has in some ways *increased* after the reduction of the Outsider population there. In other words there is a strong inverse correlation between the relative size of Outsider population and Native participation in associations: where Outsider population is greatest Native participation is least, and vice versa. This trend is not unique to the Mackenzie Delta, Pothier (1968:33-45) documents a similar situation among the Cree in several types of settlement in Central Quebec. The "Hawthorn Report" (Hawthorn 1966:56) finds such a condition among Indians throughout the nation. Bruner (1956:613) finds this situation common among Indians in the United States. Hawthorn *et al.* suggest that in settlements where the population has a relatively large White component "Indians, in effect, are often frozen out of such communities by the attitudes and social pressures of the White residents." Pothier, on the other hand, relates relatively low participation of Native people to what he calls "community complexity." His observations are most appropriate to the Mackenzie Delta.

Reduction of Native participation is not simply a matter of demography, nor even of "White discrimination" (at least in any simple sense). Rather, in settlements where there is a relatively large Outsider component (e.g., Inuvik, approx. 50%) there tends to be a strong development of clubs, associations and social service organizations. In "frontier" or "White settler" situations such as we find in Inuvik, these clubs and associations play a major part in maintaining continuity in a population which is highly transient. They provide a wide variety of roles and offices into which new Outsider arrivals can readily fit and "become part of the community." They provide a certain focus for social service and local political interests, again in a way which provides easy access for new arrivals. Mailhot (1968) has shown that Delta Outsiders are almost hyper-organized, certainly in comparison to Native people. They are highly "political." Their organizations and clubs represent importations of Outsider interests, social concerns, and ways of doing things which assume considerable intensity in relatively isolated transient Outsider components in Northern settlements. Presumably this proliferation of Outsider organizations is in part what Pothier means by "community complexity." It is not surprising that Native participation is minimal, for these organizations serve uniquely Outsider interests.

In the early days of Inuvik (late 1950's, early 1960's) the Outsider population was relatively small. Such organizations as existed, e.g., the Home and School Association, had relatively high participation by Native people. As more and more Outsiders arrived more associations were formed which served

primarily Outsider interests. In addition, it would seem that Outsiders tended to usurp Native representation, for compared to Native people they are much more "organization conscious" and pursue power positions more actively. The net effect has been the rather minimal involvement of Native people that we observe today,

In Aklavik before the building of Inuvik, Outsiders tended to dominate formal organizations. The transfer of administrative functions to Inuvik and the concomitant reduction of the number of Outsiders in Aklavik (now about 15%) has created a membership vacuum in various organizations into which Native people moved. For example, the Curling Club formed in the late 1950's by Outsiders (largely Navy personnel) had very few Native members. Now the club has almost 80% Native membership. A considerable number of organizations (e.g., the Canadian Legion, the Chess Club, certain indoor athletic clubs) were simply irrelevant to Native interests and became inactive. Yet others were so dependent upon specific Outsider leadership (e.g. Scouts, Army Cadets) that they collapsed when Outsiders left. Yet others were consolidated or otherwise transformed at the urging and initiative of Outsiders in the interests of co-ordination and efficiency so that they became absorbed into new Outsider-dominated structures. For example, the Aklavik School and Community Association which had relatively high Native membership was absorbed by the Aklavik Community Association with the remains of several other Associations; Native membership in this association is now only about 50%, although Native people comprise about 85% of the population. Only one of the four executive positions is held by a Native person. The present organization was formed under pressure from a group of Outsiders who wanted to establish a chartered institution capable of borrowing money to finance various projects. Its main predecessor, the School and Community Association, had been rather more loosely organized in form with the aim of providing an arena for public discussion. Native people were well represented in it. Its progressive "bureaucratization" has tended to exclude them and to direct the activities away from community discussion of public issues to Outsider-conceived community projects. The net effect in Aklavik, after reduction of the Outsider population, has been increased Native participation in organizations. However, executive and power positions have tended to stay largely in the hands of Outsiders.

As we have stated, Outsiders are very much "organization-conscious." They have an unswerving belief that the way to "get things done" is to organize. While in principle this may be true, Outsiders think of organization in a way which betrays their lack of understanding of the interests and modes of action of Native people. "Organization" need not necessarily mean a scaled-down replica of a tightly formulated

government ministry; nor need a "leader" be a scaled-down version of its deputy minister.

In a social system such as the Mackenzie Delta where there is considerable fragmentation of attitude to public issues (e.g., between Outsiders and Native people; between Separatists and Assimilationists, etc.) and in which there is a constant struggle for power positions in an unresolved power conflict, it may be expected that confrontation of personalities plays a considerable role in public affairs (cf. Honigmann 1965a; Mailhot 1968). Outsiders have an edge over Native people in their experience in handling public meetings, formal discussions, and in the "art of influencing and manipulating an opponent" (Mailhot 1968:28). Differences between Outsiders and Native people in abilities of this kind become abundantly clear in public meetings. The Outsider is on home ground, the Native person is not.

There is little evidence to substantiate the claim that Outsiders seek intentionally to exclude Native people from public associations. Rather, we find that most associations are initiated, formulated, and directed by Outsiders towards, goals, interest, and conceptions of social problems which are Outsider-identified and thereby irrelevant to the majority of Native people.

(b) *Brokerage and Clientage*

Paine (n.d. (b):1) has suggested that it is ". . . through the study of the roles, and strategies, of patronage and brokerage that one may come closest to the gross patterns of political process in the Canadian Arctic." In this study we shall attempt to show how one set (or "type") of broker/client relations in the Mackenzie River Delta, namely that between Native "leaders" and the Outsider sponsors upon whom they depend for a large proportion of the resources essential to their "leadership" role, is an important structural mechanism in maintaining pervasive ethnic differentiation and the allocation of these ethnic segments to a vertical order of stratification which we have described as a plural social system (D. G. Smith 1969). It becomes all the more important to analyze clearly the implications of this set of broker-client relations, for important patrons to these transactions and the brokers and clients themselves firmly believe that the establishment of these relations is clear evidence that integration and assimilation is thereby taking place between the plural segments which will ultimately mean the dissolution of the plural relation.

In the Mackenzie Delta, the brokerage/clientage concept can be referred to many kinds of role-set transactions, not all of which impinge with equally direct salience on the plural relationship. An analysis of these other kinds of brokerage and clientage would entail a vast role network analysis of the kind, for example, envisaged by Nadel (1957). One of the

analytical virtues of the type of broker/client concept advocated by Paine (n.d. (a); n.d. (b)) is that it allows us to abstract limited portions of these complex networks and chains and to examine intensively those nodes or foci in the network which have large-scale implications for the ordering of major organizational interrelationships. In the Mackenzie Delta the Native client/Outsider broker relation is one of these, since it "occurs at and across the most conspicuous boundaries in that social system. In it is clearly reflected the complementarity of the roles "Native" and "Outsider" at the line of cleavage in the plural system and the complementarity of access to resources structured thereby.

Asymmetry, inequality, or vertical stratification are not inherent in the broker/client relationship as Paine (n.d. (a): 6-8) cogently argues. We shall show, however, that the inherent inequality and stratification of the plural system are important conditions for the consistent identification of the client role with Native people and the broker role with Outsiders.

In the Mackenzie Delta, when a Native person begins to show signs of developing as a potential leader he often has relatively little support (and sometimes open opposition) from fellow Native people. The signs of potential leadership consist in being publicly vocal on issues affecting Native life and in showing some ability to confront Outsiders with points of view which can pass as being somehow "Native". The outspoken, sometimes aggressive demeanour which may bring a potential "leader" to the attention of Outsiders offends Native values of keeping one's own counsel and avoiding "pushy," "bossy," or assertive behaviour. To Native people, such a person may be tolerated so long as he is a "talking chief" who represents reasonably current Native opinions to Outsiders. Any attempt by him to mobilize organizational power among Native people normally meets with opposition, for it intrudes upon Native values of self-determination and self-reliance. Leadership is conceived very much in sectional terms by Outsiders and Native people alike. A Native "leader" is a Native leader; he expresses opinions on Native interests. References by him to issues irrelevant to specifically Native interests are discounted by both Outsiders and Native people.

When such a "leader" comes to the attention of Outsiders, very frequently an Outsider broker will attempt to give him the support, encouragement, information, and resources he needs to consolidate his leadership aspirations—resources other Native people may be unwilling or unable to give him—and in so doing is influential in structuring the client's role. Native people may be unwilling to extend these essential resources insofar as the assertive connotations of "leadership" offend Native values; unable insofar as the Native position in Canadian society is economically impoverished and impoverished in terms of the knowledge of Outsider socio-political processes. Native people find it difficult, individually or corpor-

ately, either effectively to oppose Outsider interests or to operate in terms of them due to their lack of knowledge of the organizational and action strategies required to do so.

When a Native person gives initial signs of becoming a potential "leader" his leadership aspirations and his strategies for implementing them are only roughly formed. Outsider brokers, constantly on the watch for potential Native clients, have to compete for the attention of these potential clients. Outsider brokers are very much divided among themselves as to their ideas about the "Native problem" and ways of resolving it. Consequently, potential brokers have to "sell" their ideas in rivalry with others to potential Native clients. This occurs usually in a much less public manner than declarations of potential clientship, through personal contacts with potential clients accompanied by signs of approval and encouragement. Outsider brokers attempt for the most part to avoid the role of being public leaders with large Native followings. They explicitly state that their aspiration is not to become leaders but to provide the support and encouragement for Native "leaders" to emerge. They are not the kings; they are the king-makers. The Native client is the public figure for whom the Outsider broker attempts to create as many opportunities as possible for public exposure, particularly to government and other powerful patrons from southern Canada who want to be reassured that there is Native leadership to which they can provide resources (through the local Outsider broker of course).

In addition to the ideological-political issues which divide brokers, it has been noted that the wide discretionary powers allocated to local brokers by Outside patrons, and the continual transience of many brokers who may be in a settlement for only the two or three years of an official posting, create an unresolved power conflict among the brokers (Dunning 1959: Vallee 1967: 106-124). The role of transience in the fragmentation of brokers is clear. There may be a succession of brokers who occupy the same official position but who use it in very different ways according to their views on the "Native problem." Perhaps more important is the wide discretionary power adhering to many of these positions, for this constitutes a large part of the broker's access to the scarce social and economic goods with which he can reward or sanction, encourage or discourage, the leadership aspirations of Native clients according to his approval or disapproval of their actions.

Also very much a part of the relationship is the broker's self-assumed role as "socializer" of Native people (see Vallee 1967: 127-131; Honigmann 1965a: ch. V) which he shares with most Outsiders. He advises and admonishes or rewards and sanctions his client not only on appropriate political strategies, but on etiquette, the use of English etc. so that the

client may make himself presentable to his influential Outsider audiences. He may also give advice on personal, household, and financial matters. The broker/client relation stands in contrast to most other Native/Outsider interpersonal contacts. It is intimate, friendly, and diffuse.

To a large degree the conditions of the broker/client relationship are structured by the broker, and the fragmentation among brokers is reflected in mirror image among their clients. The Native client in formulating a strategy does not proceed "laterally" to other Native people but "vertically" to his broker. Explanations for this tendency among Native people not to establish political bonds laterally among themselves may in some measure be a product of atomistic values. However, if we view individual political relationships as means of establishing access to scarce material and power resources, it is clear that Native persons would be less likely to turn to other Native people but to those who hold control over these resources and show willingness, albeit under well-defined conditions, to make them available to Native people. In the Mackenzie Delta plural system those in control are Outsiders, especially those in official bureaucratic positions whose wide discretionary powers facilitate manipulation of resources not their own but originating in powerful patrons, and perhaps especially the "Old Hands" or "New Northerners" who are well entrenched in the power system. The fragmentation among these powerful brokers along Outsider factional lines concerning ideas about northern development, the "Native problem," and "What is good for Natives" provides the basis for fragmentation or factional alignment of Native clients. In short, fragmentation among Native clients is based upon structural conditions in the plural system. Native atomistic values may be involved but do not have primacy of control, for presumably atomistic values would militate as much (if not more) against *inter-sectional* political bonds as they would against lateral political bonds within the Native section. Accordingly, the structural explanation is preferred.

The "pay-off" to Native clients consists in access to economic and informational resources over which the broker has control, as well as opportunities to make his opinions known to powerful Outsiders, with whom the broker arranges contacts. "Pay-off" to the brokers from their clients consists in clients making the brokers' values their own and acting in concert with the brokers' to extract recognition and resources from power patrons in the government, commerce and industry, change-agencies such as the churches and Native welfare committees, and national service clubs which take a benevolent approach to Native affairs.

Studies of brokerage and clientage in the North have given the impression that there is a monolithic relationship between Native clients, Outsider patrons,

and intermediary local Outsider brokers. **This is probably a reflection of the emphasis by anthropologists on Native roles.** Looking up, as it were, from the Native client's position, the relationship does look monolithic. Examination of the relationship from the broker's point of view, however, gives another perspective. The broker is an entrepreneur. His position and its measure of power derives from the fact that he plays a multiple-brokerage role with a plurality of clients. He can play these clients off against each other in order to establish the most favorable posture vis-a-vis patrons. Conventional wisdom states that a local Outsider political figure have a "package-deal" of views and strategies on northern social affairs. He does not focus primarily or exclusively on "Native problems" but he is usually also deeply involved with other phases of local government, community action, recreation activities, local business, commercial and industrial interests—all of which may take up part of the broker's activities and policies in "northern development."

Brokers with Native clients is only a part of a network of brokerage relationships. The Outsider broker may keep his activities regarding Native people quite separate from his other brokerage relationships in the sense that he tends to condone his Native client's activities only in those affairs which he considers to be of direct interest to Native people. This has the effect of spreading risks for the Outsider broker. He is not dependent solely on Native clientele for his position in relation to metropolitan patrons. [In contrast, the Native client is almost solely dependent upon his broker for those resources essential to his "leadership" role. As M. G. Smith (1969:56) has stated, brokerage and clientage may "... enhance the internal stability of a plural order by establishing valuable intersectional affiliations oriented to factional competitions within the ruling group."

We have used the word "leadership" for the Native client in inverted commas, for it is very questionable to what extent he is a "leader" in the Outsider sense. He is a "leader" in the sense of a "talking chief" to whom his brokers and their patrons extend recognition as representing Native views. To some extent Native people recognize the "talking chief" and will put him forward to represent their views on demand by Outsiders. Organizationally, he is not a "leader" in the sense of holding leadership positions in clearly recognizable factions or executive functions in Native formal organizations. These are virtually non-existent. Rather, in the organizational map of the Delta he is much more of a junior partner in Outsider organizations which, among other interests, may have an interest in Native affairs. To other Native people, more often than not, he is an "Uncle Tom" or a "White-man's Eskimo." He is often in the anomalous position of being a leader with no followers.

The effect of such a situation is to siphon off potential leaders of collective action in the Native

sector and to bind them in vertical, fragmented relationships with Outsiders. Rather than diminishing the Native/Outsider cleavage, it perpetuates it. It channels many kinds of intersectional transactions into a few specific interpersonal relationships. Partners to these relationships, the brokers and clients, are thereby assured of a modicum of power, but the intersectional cleavage with its connotations or differential access to resources, an important condition for the establishment of these relationships in the first place, is maintained.

The establishment of these relationships is entirely consistent with the pervasive Outsider belief that acculturation and social change in the Delta will occur by "winning over" individual Native people. The measure of acculturation and change is the degree of a Native person's "achievement" in Outsider terms. This particularism is injected into many Outsider strategies for changing and educating Native people. To Native people who do not receive as much explicit individual attention and encouragement as others, this often looks like arbitrary favoritism.

In addition, the development of specifically Native organizations (other than politically neutral recreational or "cultural" organizations) is dismissed by Delta Outsiders as "factionalism" of the worst kind, inconsistent with their melting pot ideas of northern social development. Native political movements are regarded with considerable anxiety by Outsiders, who often associate them with disruption and violence analogous to urban strife involving American negroes. The ghost of Louis Riel still broods over "the Native problem" in Canada. In other words, brokerage and clientage is a deeply entrenched mode of Outsider/Native relations and is deeply entrenched in Outsider values and modes of action.

M. G. Smith (1969:56) has stated that brokerage and clientage across intersectional boundaries in plural systems under certain conditions has little potential for dissolving these boundaries and may in fact assist in maintaining them. This has been the chief thesis of our present analysis of Mackenzie Delta brokerage and clientage. It seems to be borne out in other social systems which conjoin ethnic differentiation and vertical stratification in which brokerage and clientage may be much more pervasive than it is in the Mackenzie Delta. It seems essential to Maquet's (1961) analysis of brokerage and intersectional relations among the Batutsi, Bahima and Batswa in Ruanda. It also seems true of the pervasive broker/client relations between the pygmies and Bantu of western central Africa (cf. Turnbull 1961; 1965), and of the pastoral Fulani and Hausa of Northern Nigeria (Stenning 1959).

Ethnic or cultural difference alone does not necessarily entail the kind of inequality which is expressed in one of the ethnic groups being consistently identified

with client roles and another with broker roles. Barth (1964) has shown how ethnic groups in Baluchistan occupy different niches in the natural environment, and how through a balanced, symmetrical, or reciprocal brokerage system provide important goods and services for each other (see also Barth 1969: 19-20). Brokerage in this case is an important ecological adaptation in terms of both the physical and social environments.

Where ethnicity has the conjoined dimension of stratification, however, we find that the broker/client relationship at least across major stratification boundaries displays in clear form the asymmetry and inequality so often associated with broker/client relationships by analysts in this field (cf. Paine n.d. (a), 6-8). Inequalities within stratified segments do not necessarily lead to this condition; nor do broker/client relationships between persons whose statuses do not have the connotation of stratification. The form of inter-stratum brokerage and clientage roles depends upon the differential access to economic and social resources necessarily a condition of stratification. Brokerage and clientage ensures access to certain valued resources which brokers and clients by virtue of their positions in the order of stratification could not otherwise have. The resources gained are applied by brokers and clients to activities outside the broker/client relationship, sometimes to ends of their own choosing of which the other may neither approve nor be aware. The broker is identified as the "more powerful" party to the transaction, because as "middleman," as "entrepreneur," he has a greater multiplicity of alternatives to which he may apply resources gained in brokerage. He may stand more at risk in any given transaction than his Native client, but his multiple-interest brokerage ensures some risk-spreading effect. He is correspondingly more powerful (or less vulnerable) than his client. His access to a plurality of potential application of broker resources, at least in the plural system, is a feature of the institutional affiliations available to him in his class position.

Finally, the institutionalization of inter-stratum brokerage and clientage in highly stratified systems is probably diagnostic of the relative lack for the client of other means of mobility and access to the institutional resources of the wider society. The relatively greater regulation and control identified with brokers ensures "integration" of a kind, but it is an integration dependent upon regulation and control, an important feature of the plural order.



**The Native Way of Life:
A Basis for Pluralism**

Canadian Native Peoples and the Culture Concept

In Canada there has developed a division of labour between sociologists and anthropologists which is artificial and misleading. It is especially apparent in problem-oriented research commissioned by government agencies but is not confined to them. When an analysis of French-Canadian or prairie Ukrainian social problems is designed, a sociologist is commissioned to conduct it. When an analysis of Indian, Eskimo, or other "exotic" (e.g., Doukhobor) social conditions is required, an anthropologist is recruited. This division of labour has led to distinctive evaluations of "Native" and "non-Native" social life tending to emphasize differences rather than similarities or interconnections between them.

This division of labour is more than a simple product of the anthropologist's preference for participant observation research in the isolated backwoods areas inhabited by many Indians and Eskimos and the sociologist's preference for either questionnaire studies or institutional analysis of national social processes; it is a manifestation of certain beliefs among Canadian social scientists and their research sponsors about the relevance of such concepts as "culture" to groups within the nation.

While a good case can certainly be made that the Indian, Eskimo, and Metis population display perhaps the most profound cultural cleavage from other populations in Canadian society, an over-concentration on cultural rather than other kinds of differentiation has led to a premature hardening of the culture concept. This has drawn attention away from those other processes (such as social stratification at the national level) which can be shown to be at least as powerful in maintaining social cleavage between people and other sectors of the Canadian population.

It seems fair to say that the preference of traditional ethnographers for "tribal" analyses and that of problem-oriented anthropologists for community studies and their concomitant primary dependence on the culture concept, has fostered a sense of separateness not only between the Native and EuroCanadian sectors, but also between "tribal," regional, and local groupings within the Native sector. It also seems fair to say that anthropologists and the culture concept are most frequently invoked to "explain" social situations, which government or other sponsors have failed to account for satisfactorily by other more conventional means. When a social situation is found baffling, after an examination of economic, political, or administrative factors, it is assumed that the mystery must lie in the "Native mind," his distinctive "psychology," or his "culture." The responsibility for this type of usage of the culture concept lies both with social scientists and their sponsors. Porter has criticized the use of the culture concept by the Royal

Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in its attempt to analyze the political situation between English and French Canada. Porter (1969:117) states that

... when culture is defined in a way suitable "for our purposes," it can readily become a residual variable used to explain differences which remain after a number of control variables have been introduced. Gradually it emerges as a mythical entity, and becomes reified. . . it becomes scientifically useless because it can be invoked ideologically as something to be preserved and cherished.

The analytical evasion that culture is variably defined "according to our purposes" is widely distributed in studies of Indians and Eskimos and is now being put to ideological and political uses in their regard (e.g., the liberal White ideology of "cultural deprivation" to explain under-achievement by Indians and Eskimos in school; the ideology of "Indian Soul" by the Red Power movement to account for distaste by Indians toward non-Indian ways of living). One suspects that such variants of the culture concept are used to cover up a degree of inarticulateness or a lack of understanding about social determinants of other kinds. With regard to the plural relation between Native and other Canadians one may ask "is it *really* their 'culture' which tends to deny them fuller participation in Canadian society, or is it perhaps such things as the differential structural distribution of control through political power, access to economic resources, access to knowledge and information, and soon?" Apart from local 'cultural' differences are there similarities in access to power, resources, and information which are shared by Native people in their position in Canadian society which more readily account for their degree of integration in the national social system?" *We hasten to say that we do not deny Native versus non-Native cultural differences, we simply wish to enquire what role these actually play in the establishment and maintenance of a plural relation.* To do so we are obliged to take quite seriously the problem of defining variants of the culture concept and their relevance to Indians and Eskimos in the Mackenzie Delta.

Valentine (1968:1-8) has shown how the culture concept has historically played an important role during the last 150 years in (a) the scientific understanding of the multitude of different ways of life encountered during the expansion of European imperial and colonial interests and (b) the development of humanitarian and relativistic attitudes recognizing these ways of life as legitimate and valuable in their own right. Both of these roles remain acutely relevant to contemporary Canadian Indians and Eskimos. However, 'culture' has both a substantive and adjectival sense, as does 'society.' For example, within such a social grouping as a family

the roles 'mother' and 'father' may be said to be 'socially' differentiated; yet this does not mean that a mother and father in a given family belong to different 'societies.' likewise, we may say that a Canadian Indian and French-Canadian are 'culturally' differentiated; yet this does not necessarily mean that they belong to different 'cultures.' It is probably in recognition of this kind of distinction that the notions 'subsociety' and 'subculture' have developed.

Now 'subsociety' and 'subculture' have been used to refer to many kinds of infrasocietal and infracultural units so that they too have become almost as capricious in their application as the parent concepts of society and culture. The difference between a 'culture' and 'subculture' for example, is one of *kind* as well as *degree*. 'Culture' in its substantive sense is a maximal partitive concept differentiating between integrated systems of values, ideas, sentiments, knowledge, meanings and their embodiment in human action. A 'subculture' on the other hand is a *maxima/infracultural* system of values, ideas, etc. The typical analytical evasion that it may be used for any regional, class-specific or group-specific variation within a culture is inadmissible, for carried to its logical extreme one is quickly reduced to the absurdity of saying that any or every group or individual possesses a 'subculture.' The case can clearly be made that every human being differs from every other with respect to values, ideas, sentiments, knowledge, action, etc. Valentine's (1968:106-107) suggested parallel between dialects and languages and between subcultures and cultures is apt but cannot be taken too far. A subculture, while in certain respects unique, is in yet others dependent upon the wider system of which it is a part. While the logical part-to-whole relationship of subculture to culture is reasonably easy to specify, the ethnographic recognition in actual cases of these units and their inter-relationships is by no means straightforward. But our discussion strongly suggests that a capricious application of these concepts is confusing and misleading,

**Mackenzie Delta Native Way of Life:
Culture or Subculture?**

In a broad logical sense three types of statements may be made about the Mackenzie Delta Native way of life and its relationship to others in Canada:

1. In certain respects it is unique;
2. In certain *other* respects it is like some others
3. In yet other respects it is like *all* others in Canada.

These three kinds of statements represent three levels of abstraction, but we must ask whether it is statement 1 (uniqueness), or statement 2 (sharing of attributes with some others) that constitutes the

boundary of its existence as a subculture. But this implies that we have already decided that it is the *subculture*, rather than the *culture*, concept which is relevant here. In fact we have, as our discussion in previous chapters has intimated.

Previous to and immediately after contact the Native people of the Mackenzie Delta can be said to have "had two regional subcultures within two wider cultures (i.e., Delta variants of Eskimo and Northern Athabaskan cultures) both of which were markedly different from each other and from that of the intrusive agents of European contact. In the historical development of the plural system this tri-partite cultural differentiation of a maximal order has been replaced by a two-way differentiation of a subcultural order between Outsiders and Native people as a whole. Although this recent two-way differentiation is clearly marked it is best seen as a sub-cultural differentiation for these reasons:

- (a) *the way of life followed by contemporary Delta Native people, while internally differentiated in some measure, is shared in basic structural ways across ethnic boundaries and the cultural differences between Indians and Eskimos is minimal compared to the difference between either of these and Outsiders:*
- (b) *the contemporary Delta Native way of life constitutes a local response and adaptation to a set of circumstances largely created by Outsiders;*
- (c) *the circumstances created by Outsiders have entailed the abandonment of traditional ways by Native people and their replacement by a combination of*
 - (i) *Outsider variants;*
 - (ii) *new ways which, neither aboriginal nor Outsider, represent responses and accommodations by Native people to Outsider pressures:*
- (d) *erosion, change, and replacement have occurred far more pervasively in the Native than in the Outsider sector, indicating a surrender of Native cultural autonomy in the direction of Outsider variants or variants necessitated for accommodation to directive Outsider pressures.*

The question of persistence of aboriginal traits or characteristics inevitably arises. To be sure there are features of language, technology, preferences, and concepts of interpersonal relations which appear to be of aboriginal origin. To say there were none would imply that assimilation to Outsider ways or massive change of some other kind was so complete that we probably could not perceive a Native subculture as we now know it. However, to the degree that aboriginal features persist they do so with changed meanings, changed significance in their relationship

to the **other features** which now make up the way of life, and in new relationships to external cultural features which impinge upon them.

On the local scene **Delta Native people are** subculturally differentiated from Outsiders but they do not possess a separate subculture confined to the geographic boundaries of the **Delta**. **Instead, we** suggest that they display a local manifestation of a subculture which is shared with many of those Native people in the whole of Canada who are subject to the Native/non-Native pluralistic relationship. It incorporates aspects of a class-specific subculture whose delineation cannot be exhaustively specified on the basis of field data in this study but which is intuitively recognizable to those who have traveled among Canada's Native people. The nature of this subculture and its constituents is a matter for a kind of research quite different from the community-oriented field research on which this study is based.

This situation is quite analogous to the observations made by Vogt (1966) on the five subcultural groups interacting in the Rimrock area in New Mexico. These five groups of people of diverse historical origin (Texans, Mormons, Spanish-Americans, Zuni, and Navaho) preserve markedly different styles of life and value-orientation but are bound up in complex interaction. Vogt (1966:80) shows that even while each of these is very different, each is best seen as a subculture with respect to the American national economic and political system and they are "localized manifestations of cultural groups that have significant extensions outside the Rimrock area."

It is often implied that while the concept 'subculture' takes care of observed variation within 'cultures' a subculture must in itself be homogeneous and undifferentiated internally. If we take the suggestion seriously that a subculture is the *maximal* infracultural unit, then we must expect it to be differentiated in several ways (e.g., region, class). Part of the confusion has arisen through attempts to delineate territorial and regional boundaries for subcultures where in fact the delineation must be at a structural or relational level, at least in considering plural systems. To speak of a subculture is to speak of a sociocultural structural relationship in which geographic location may be irrelevant. Structural processes—not geographical place—create and maintain infrasocietal and infracultural components. While we prefer the sociological type of explanation, we do not deny that local environmental factors or geographical relationships (such as isolation) provide limits and constraints to certain kinds of social process (e.g., communication, technology, economic activities). In the Mackenzie Delta we give greater primacy to sociological rather than physical environmental factors.

It may seem that we have put the cart before the horse in discussing the external context of the Mackenzie Delta Native way of life before discussing its form and content. It has been necessary to do so in order to avoid an over-concentration on its local peculiarities which would draw us away from a consideration of those sociological events and conditions exogenous to it but which have had singular importance in making it what it is.

Arguments about the definition of cultures and subcultures can all too readily deteriorate into an arid nominalism. The burden of demonstrating the relevance of our argument that it really does matter whether we think of the way of life of Delta Native people as culturally autonomous or subculturally dependent upon that of Outsiders must rely upon the extent to which the distinction helps to make clear the degree of intimacy between the two social segments and the extent of vulnerability or sensitivity of the Native way of life to that of Outsiders.

A documentation of the form and content of the Native way of life would be nothing less than a full-scale ethnography. Our purpose here is not to produce such an ethnography, valuable as it would be, but to describe some of those social arrangements among Native people which implicate their engagement in a pluralistic relationship with Outsiders. In a sense this is a more limited task than the preparation of a full ethnography for we assume that not all aspects of the Native way of life impinge with equal salience upon the plural relation.

Cultural Differentiation and Pluralism

M. G. Smith (1969:27) has stated that the argument for pluralism can be made with equal cogency in political or institutional terms. By 'political terms' is meant the distribution of power between plural segments through stratification and similar structural mechanisms. 'Institutional terms' means the demonstration of cultural differentiation with respect to the patterned action, grouping, and values characteristic of members of the plural sections.

More broadly, 'political terms' implies a structuralist explanation and 'institutional terms' a culturalist one. In the case of the Mackenzie Delta, we suggest that it is not a matter of either/or structuralist/culturalist explanation which is most appropriate. We have already shown how stratification and the distribution of power mark the Native/Outsider relationship. We now turn to a consideration of those features of the Native subculture which assist in the maintenance of the structural distribution of power we recognize as pluralistic. This has necessitated our preceding discussion of the culture concept, for we wish to say that neither a structuralist nor a culturalist

explanation is sufficient; cultural differentiation plays a role and we must attempt to place that role in perspective.

Whole plural segments do not meet; persons who are members of plural segments and are thereby representatives of distinctive ways of thinking and acting do (to the extent that segment-specific cultural characteristics prevail). For this reason we cannot assume an isomorphism between social structure and the cultural structure of values, norms, and sentiments. We must expect individual variation. If we focus on actors rather than upon institutions as unitary system components we detect a range of types of action and values which suggest that the subculture of Mackenzie Delta Native people is no more monolithic than that of Outsiders. Consequently we prefer to examine actors, their ideas of themselves and the groups in which they participate and their evaluations of human action.

The general statements we make here about the Delta Native subculture share the same analytic problems with other usages of the culture concept (i.e., in what specific ways can "culture" be invoked to explain the actions of individuals or small groups?). The leap from a collective to an individual concept is a big one. This reflects issues in the polemic history of two types of models in anthropology: (a) systems-oriented analyses of major societal components and their inter-relationships, and (b) actor-oriented analyses of how individuals or groups make their way through a social system. Obviously our analysis of the Mackenzie Delta has more affinity with the former and we lack the detailed specific data for a full-scale analysis of the latter type. Nevertheless, we are able to indicate broad categories of Native people who share most fully the Native subculture as we shall describe it.

In essence our characterizations are confined to Bush People and those who live in the settlements but pursue a way of life rooted in the last phase of the fur trade. Those who have adopted a more Outsider way of life (basically our category of Permanent Employees) are not rigidly excluded, but it is more difficult to demonstrate adherence to elements of the Native way of life in their case. It would seem, too, that the majority of school-age children, most especially those who have been exposed over a lengthy period of time to the residential school system, are less likely to display Native cultural characteristics.

Our analysis focuses upon Bush People and their settlement counterparts in order to make the contrast between Native and Outsider life-ways as clear as possible. The Permanent Employees and residential school children cannot be fully excluded, for their present situation is in considerable measure related

either to their own previous involvement in this way of life of people upon whom they are socially or emotionally dependent. Although they may not share in it to the extent of some other members of the Native sector, they are not always immune to obligations and expectations by their kin and friends who are. Particularly in the case of residential school children, but also to some degree the Permanent Employees, we see people who are compelled to live among conflicting loyalties and obligations to persons who act according to differing cultural ground-rules. Direct participation in the constellation of values, sentiments, feelings and modes of action which we identify as the Native way of life is limited to about 70% of the members of the Native sector.

Human ideas of self, of group, and evaluations of their actions are not readily separable. Yet different conceptions of self and group and action are observable in the patterned ways in which people do things and respond to the actions of others. Eskimo and Northern Canadian Indian organization of this kind has frequently been characterized as "individualistic," "particularistic," or "atomistic."

Atomism

Margaret Mead's now famous characterization in 1937 of Eskimo and Ojibwa societies as "grossly individualistic" (Mead 1961:459), as lacking "the political forms necessary for group action" (Mead 1961: 467) and "conspicuously lacking in any complex social institutions for the regulation of human relations" (Mead 1961: 464) now seem somewhat exaggerated and categorical. One wonders whether these characterizations were appropriate to the aboriginal social systems in the first place, whether these conditions if true of the aboriginal systems extended into the historical period, and to what extent they can be generalized to contemporary Eskimo and Northern Indian populations. Nevertheless, since Mead's suggestions there has been a persistence of this general theme in studies of Arctic and Sub-Arctic peoples. Honigmann as early as 1943 applied it to the Fort Nelson Slave and subsequently to the Kaska (Honigmann 1946:1949). Hallowell (1946:222) applied the concept in a psychological dimension to the Ojibwa and subsequently used it extensively in his studies of Northeastern Indians. Balikci's (1968) application of the concept to the Kutchin of Old Crow in the Yukon, with whom the present Delta Indians are so closely interrelated, is of particular interest especially since the conditions he describes parallel so closely our observations in the Mackenzie Delta. The concept of atomism in northern studies has also had opponents (cf. Hickerson 1967).

Honigmann has clarified the concept considerably by showing how "atomism refers to phenomena

present on two levels of experience: a relatively empirical level as well as a covert, highly inferential one" (Honigmann 1968c:220). The relatively empirical level is that of social structural atomism; the covert inferential level is that of psychological atomism. These two levels have by no means been clearly distinguished in all studies of atomism, and in some analyses psychological and structural atomism are implied to be necessarily conjoined (e.g., Rubel 1966:239).

We shall have cause to re-examine, in relation to the Mackenzie Delta, Balikci's (1968:197) statements that while atomism results in interpersonal strain and conflict between Native people it does not extend to relations with Outsiders, at least to the same degree. Rubel (1966:204-232) finds that "individualism, anxiety, and disaffection" never mark Chicano-Anglo interpersonal relations. Honigmann (1968 c:223), however, finds that atomism amongst the Kasha of British Columbia results in "pronounced hostility to certain representatives of the larger society." Our observations in the Mackenzie Delta correspond much more closely to the case given by Honigmann. Overt aggressive hostility is not the only consequence of atomism in the Native sector for Native-Outsider interaction. For example the lack of formal organization beyond the family characteristic of the condition of atomism extends to a relative aversion for the highly organized modes of group action characteristic of Outsiders. This among other factors assists in the maintenance of relative political dominance by Outsiders and Outsider interests over those of Native people.

The core meaning of structural atomism applies to highly individualistic modes of behaviour which demonstrate "primary concern . . . on a person's own individual interests and on great freedom from, or avoidance of, social constraint" (Honigmann 1968c: 220). This atomism extends through all spheres of action and sentiment, and is not confined to political or economic organization, although atomism in these fields is particularly pertinent to the Delta plural system. Obviously atomism is a relative concept, for total atomism would signify a state of total anomie, a complete lack of structure. Our analysis seeks to show that while atomistic characteristics are present, they are tempered, balanced, or countered by non-atomistic characteristics. The structure we observe is a complex product of the tension between three atomistic and non-atomistic features. Compared to the Outsider way of life that of Delta Native people is considerably less organized in a formal sense, although this does not necessarily mean that it has a "single" structure. Values of personal autonomy and individualism prevail, but are countered by sentiments of dependency and sensitivity to others. These conditions implicate Native-Outsider interaction.

We shall consider atomism under three broad, inter-related categories:

- (a) *Self-reliance*: an emphasis upon the individual's capacity to meet his immediate needs through his own resourcefulness;
- (b) *Self-determination*: an emphasis on freedom from the constraint of power, authority, and directiveness of others;
- (c) *Self-sufficiency*: an emphasis on the individual's capacity to meet his own emotional needs, on emotional integrity and self-control.

Each of these important characteristics is counter-balanced by non-atomistic alternatives.

Self-reliance

Among Native people there is very high value placed upon individual self-reliance. Ability to cope with harsh or unexpected circumstances through one's own ingenuity and resourcefulness is a much admired quality. It is particularly apparent in the esteem extended to "tough travelers" who are able to hunt and trap successfully under unpleasant conditions. There is a pragmatic approach to problem situations which leads to experimenting with resources at hand in an attempt to improve ways of doing things. Questions such as "how do Native people do such and such"? often seem irrelevant to Native people, who will usually answer by saying "well, I can only tell you the way I do it." If one mentions a technique or strategy used by another Native person, the response is usually "well, that's really interesting; I guess it works for him—but me, I do it my way." This is particularly clear in the technological field. Nearly every person has his own ideas about feeding and caring for dogs. In times when fish and dog feed were scarce nearly every person had his own way of coping. As "filler" in dog feed one used strips of old cloth rags and caribou sleeping skins, another utilized used tea leaves and coffee grounds, others used various lichens and grasses, and one used sawdust from the Aklavik sawmill. This is not a matter of availability of substitutes, for each person believes his particular solution to be adapted to his needs, and considerable thought goes into the particular strategy used. The test of effectiveness is a pragmatic one: if the dogs do not howl with hunger, then the strategy was effective. A clear example is yet another trapper who reasoned that if salt was essential to a balanced human diet then this must be true of dogs as well. Consequently, he adopted the strategy of adding a cup of salt to his cooked dog feed and was well satisfied when the dogs appeared to become plump and well fed (in fact, of course, the increased salt intake produced fluid retention and edema in his animals).

Likewise, there is considerable individual variation in trapping strategies, especially for those species which are difficult to catch. For example, lynx traps have been observed to be baited with turpentine, crankcase oil, cheap perfume, liniment, peppermint candy (some believe lynx are attracted by strong smells); with strips of brightly coloured cloth, neon road-sign tapes, tin foil, and highly polished pieces of copper water-pipe (yet others believe lynx to be attracted by bright objects).

Along with the emphasis of self-reliance on pragmatism and experimentation there is a high value placed upon patience. I recall only too well being stranded near the Arctic Coast by a broken outboard motor. The owner of the motor spent two days patiently taking the motor apart and putting it back together in different ways, and yet another two days in patiently cutting and fitting a series of gaskets from old rubber boots, shoe soles, tin cans, aluminum cooking pots, rubber groundsheets, tar paper, and cardboard boxes. I finally became angry and frustrated, and my companions were startled by the outburst. My closest friend among them took me aside and chided me for 'acting like a white man,' and explained that there was nothing to do about the situation but try with the best means available to remedy the predicament, and that only babies acted with such obvious frustration. This emphasis on patience extends to difficult physical tasks, endurance on the trail in bad weather, necessary tasks which one dislikes and social situations in which the outcome is not clear. In a sense, the concept of self-reliance contains two potentially conflicting themes of value and action: on the one hand the emphasis on striving and experimentation; on the other an emphasis on patience, endurance, and "putting up" with situations one is incapable of changing. The latter has often been described as "fatalism," especially with reference to the Eskimo concept *ayorama* (cf. de Coccola and King 1956). One theme expresses the valued ability of individuals to cope by positive action with difficult situations; the other advocates resignation. One represents man as master of situations; the other represents him as a passive victim — yet both are aspects of self-reliance, for both place the onus on a person to cope whether by action or by resigned acceptance. It is not always an easy matter for the outside observer to know in what situations a Native person will react with positive action or resignation. There are clean cases where resignation applies, i.e., in cases where it is obvious that no human being can do anything. Cases observed where Native people said, in effect, "no use worrying or getting upset — nothing you can do" included:

1. when a house burned down;
2. when two children died by drowning;
3. when a man committed suicide over a family dispute;

4. when a family had been trapping vigorously in order to accumulate sufficient cash to buy a necessary outboard motor and it became apparent that they would not meet the required amount within the season.

The attitude of resignation also applies to relatively "trivial" events like spilling one's tea or burning the dinner. There are yet other situations where the response may be either positive action or resignation. Persons who went to considerable trouble designing ways to trap elusive lynx were off-hand in their attitude to other equally valuable species. Some said there was no point in fussing over mink and that they 'simply threw traps down along the trail; if a mink is going to go on your trap he will, if he is not there is nothing you can do, it's just luck! Similarly, persons who went out actively seeking casual jobs at other times would simply sit around claiming that if jobs were available one would almost certainly become available for them, that there was no use worrying, and that one simply had to be patient.

Briggs' (1968:46-47) analysis of these attitudes in an Eastern Eskimo group has strong parallels with those of the present Delta Eskimos and a general correspondence (if not in precise detail) with those of Indians in the Delta. "The concept usually interpreted as expressive of a fatalistic inclination to give up in the face of adversity . . . To the *kabloona* way of thinking an Eskimo finds more difficulties "inevitable" than "strictly necessary" (Briggs 1968:46). Briggs shows, however, that this is related to an aspect of what we have called self-reliance, namely that resignation is "a rational, pragmatic recognition of a situation that is seen as unpleasant but unavoidable: the lost goal does matter but since wailing will not help, it is childish to fret." The person who is resigned is using his reason, "he is behaving like an adult (Briggs 1968:46). It applies to the kinds of situations we have mentioned, and also to other uncontrollable circumstances, including the wishes or actions of others which interfere with one's own desires or plans or one's own lack of ability or knowledge of how to deal with a situation.

There is yet another overtone to concepts of self-reliance among Delta Native people, at least among older Eskimos. While the vigorous hunter and worker is valued he must not boast of his success. He should be self-effacing and humble. In the case of hunters, it is said that wild animals may hear boasting and henceforth stay away from the hunter's gun. As with other attitudes of this kind, the anthropologist may only discover them by accidentally offending against them through ignorance. One clear case occurred in a camp near Aklavik where I was staying. In mid-winter food was very short. In an attempt to cheer everyone up, I took up my gun one day and strode resolutely out of the house saying "today, I'm going

to shoot fifty rabbits, maybe more. ” The older people were very shocked, and one with whom I had a rather warm grandfatherly relationship called me back and gently suggested that I do not go hunting, for “the rabbits maybe hear you talk like that; maybe they stay off your gun now. ” There ensued a long discussion on tact and humility in which the old man repeatedly said “never take *anything* for granted, not in hunting, not in living, not in anything. That’s *real bad*, because there are lots of things you can do nothing about”. Here human beings, even those who strive for self-reliance, are depicted as powerless victims of circumstance. Some problems are solved by the application of effort and reason, others by patiently and resignedly waiting for circumstances to change. This is not necessarily “fatalism,” for the fatalist attitude would be that circumstances may never change; the attitude of Delta Native people is that circumstances may be bad, but they may readily change for the better if one is sufficiently patient.

Just as self-reliance through individual positive action is countered by concepts of patience and resignation, so self-reliance conceived as total dependence upon one’s own resourceful acts is tempered by a prominent sharing ethic. No Native person need lack access to a basic minimum of food and shelter. He may be much more poverty-stricken than others, but his basic needs are met at least at a minimum level through a complex network of sharing relationships. Native hospitality requires tea and food to be offered to every visitor, including complete strangers. In winter travelers can be heard approaching from a considerable distance. If they seem likely to pass one’s camp the fire is banked up, the kettle is put on to heat, and food (at minimum bread or bannock and scraps of meat or fish from a previous meal) are made ready — for very rarely does a traveller pass by a camp without stopping for a visit. On his arrival, he is encouraged to warm himself at the fire and he is told to “eat lots!” A similar pattern prevails in the settlement. A person who is hungry and has no food of his own may visit several houses or camps in succession in the assurance of being offered food. With a little foresight he can plan his visits to coincide with meal times. This is a recognized means of coping with temporary food shortages but one who makes a regular practice of it (and there are a few who do, for they will never be refused) may find himself the object of gossip. Behind his back he maybe called a “bum” or “hobo” and people may talk unfavourably about his capacity as a hunter, a provider, or a hard worker. He will readily be offered a place to sleep, and equally readily be criticized behind his back if he appears to take advantage of this hospitality, particularly if he does not offer to take part in some of the daily chores such as carrying water or chopping firewood. He is not expected to make immediate return for hospitality, although he should be willing to extend it freely to others in need, but his

showing of appreciation by a readiness to help in daily tasks is valued. Such hospitality extends primarily to immediate personal needs. Major items such as dog-feed in large amounts, and more especially capital items (such as guns, canoes, motors, tents) or money are less readily given. They may be loaned with a specific agreement for return or repayment, but they are usually not requested or extended except among kin or very close friends, and only in cases of need. A person who is known to have a surplus of food (or at least more than others) may find that he has a lot of visitors; likewise one who is earning a steady income may be asked for small loans by brothers and sisters or parents. There is considerably more reluctance and ambivalence about borrowing or lending money than about other basic necessities.

The contrast between sharing food and sharing cash is clearly maintained even in individual households. A household may consist of a nuclear family and several widowed, aged, or infirm kin or close friends. All have equal access, according to need, to food and shelter. Meals are taken communally, and anyone who is hungry between meals may take food as he wishes. This is true even in households which depend upon marginal land subsistence and social assistance payments. Social assistance vouchers in the names of one or two eligible members are pooled and all members and indigent visitors have equal access. Land food products are equally shared. If there is a trapper or worker in the household his cash income is considered his alone to dispose as he wishes. If he buys food, however, it is communally shared. His trapping and hunting equipment is considered his alone, but he may loan a gun or some traps to another member for a short time so that he can earn some cash or bring in wild food. The borrower shares any food he acquires on the land or buys with trapping proceeds, but any cash he chooses to keep is for his own use. In one Aklavik family consisting of two aged parents, their children (some of them aged between 30 and 40) and illegitimate grandchildren (a household of ten persons) ekes out a very marginal subsistence on wild food brought in by the aged father and pooled social assistance from the eligible members of the household. An unmarried son aged 35 living in this household is steadily employed with an income of almost \$4,000 per year. He occasionally contributes a sack of flour or some other staple, but depends for his basic subsistence on the other household members. Most of his earnings are used to buy expensive clothes, to maintain an elaborate speed-boat and canoe, and to keep a first-rate dog team essentially for show and racing competitions. When his family is short of food he “visits” kin and friends.

When people trap or hunt together, food taken along or acquired on the land is communally shared. After a hunting trip the catch tends to be equally shared among all members of the party, even with those who

did not actually shoot or kill one of the animals. The sharing *tends* to be equal but if it is commonly agreed by party members that some among them have greater need they will be given a proportionately greater amount of the catch. Sharing does not apply to furs. Each person keeps his own trapped or shot animals separate, although the flesh of edible species for human consumption or dog feed is equally shared.

In more permanent aggregations such as spring ratting camps or summer fishing or whaling camps a similar pattern prevails. Food is equally shared, and most meals are taken communally although each family contributes bread or fish or a pot of stew to the common meal. In trapping camps each person keeps his catch separately, although members of some families may contribute to a common pile of pelts for purchase of a major capital item such as an outboard motor or a chainsaw which is for their common benefit. In fishing camps, members of each household or small group of related households set their own nets and keep their stocks of fish in separate pits, caches, and racks. However, if some families have a surplus and others not enough for winter use, then a distribution may be made which tends to equalize their stocks. In whaling camps meat and blubber is distributed according to need at the end of the season, and in addition shares go to settlement families who have sent younger children to the camp to assist in daily chores. If any person converts all or part of his share into cash, then the money is his alone.

Sharing, then, follows a distinctive pattern. It is not a variety of primitive communalism as many Outsiders persist in believing. Sharing copes primarily with temporary need. Food and shelter are most readily given or requested. These are seldom "borrowed" with explicit terms of repayment unless large amounts are involved; they are freely given and freely taken. Capital items are less readily shared, although a person who persistently refuses to allow others in need to use his equipment is considered mean and unsociable. Capital items are usually explicitly

- loaned with stated conditions for repayment. Money is seldom shared, even among close kin. This pattern of sharing is best seen as a risk-spreading mechanism which copes with temporary need. It is not an alternative to self-reliance, but is a support for those times when conditions are simply unfavourable. It is not specifically intended as the great equalizing mechanism that many Outsiders believe it to be, although some Native people have a constant demand on their resources effectively preventing them from "getting ahead" in their own terms. The *effect* of the sharing pattern is to tend toward an equalization of resources; the *intent* of acts of sharing is to cope with momentary privation at those times when self-reliance is simply impossible (and there are many such times for Delta people). The resentment expressed against more wealthy Permanent Employees does not neces-

sarily stem from an abstract egalitarian ethic as many outside observers suggest. Native people assume that if a person is more wealthy than others he must have refused to help those in need. His capacity to produce more cash by skill and hard work is admired; his tendency not to help those in need is abhorred.

Self-determination

Closely linked to self-reliance is a strong emphasis on self-determination. Native people are reluctant to exercise authority over others and just as reluctant to accept it. Each person has considerable autonomy and control over his own actions from an early age. Young children may be given orders on what to do or how to behave by their parents and may occasionally be disciplined for non-compliance. If a child is to be spanked both parents prefer to be present because "that way the kid won't hate one of us, just like anybody who hates being pushed around." As the child grows older his parents or older members of the household may continue to give orders or make demands of him but the child assumes increasing independence in his decisions whether to comply or not. When older children are beaten for not complying with parental wishes it is usually out of anger and frustration rather than as a conscious attempt at discipline. By the time a child is in his teens he is largely independent of parental authority, he does as he wishes without any assumption that he is accountable to other household members, unless his behaviour implicates them seriously in some way, (for example, running afoul of the law). In these cases the family attitude, while disapproving, tends to be protective and parents will usually pay fines or plead with the authorities on behalf of their children. Parents may make their dissatisfaction known by what Native children call "barking" -grumbling and muttering in the background to third parties but almost never by direct confrontation or nagging. It is up to the child whether or not he allows these attitudes to influence his future behaviour.

There is really no "household head" in the sense of a person who wields direct authority over members other than young children, and young children are usually subject to the authority of any adult member. The mother by virtue of her preoccupation with caring for children seems to wield most authority, although disagreements between adults about how a child is being brought up are not common. In households with husband/fathers who are White trappers or in highly acculturated households (e.g., Permanent Employees), the male assumes much more of the authoritarian and decision-making role characteristic of Outsiders.

Younger Native people tend to imitate strategies and techniques of others, but gradually adopt techniques of their own design. People are not specifically "taught" how to do things (at least in the sense of a superordinate/subordinate teacher-student relationship). Usually a person of the same sex with a little **more experience (usually an older brother or cousin)** takes it upon himself to show the younger person his own techniques. The emphasis is on self-reliant *learning*, rather than upon teaching. Esteem and approval is extended to the person who takes the onus upon himself to learn, for it is unlikely that he will be taught or coerced if he appears to have no interest or inclination. As he learns he is constantly encouraged to develop his own solutions to problems. Young children will have toys made for them by parents, older siblings or friends. By the time they are six or seven years of age they are expected to fend for themselves. If they ask someone to make a toy or do some other task for them they will likely be told 'now watch close; next time you need something you can make it yourself in your own way; that way you will appreciate it even more.'

Direct orders or demands other than to one's own younger children are considered aggressive and even insulting. If one wishes another to do something he may simply take silent initiative in the hope that another will follow or he may couch his request in the gentlest terms: "Would you be able to" "Maybe you and I could . . ." Where possible even this style of request is avoided and the request is made indirectly through hints. For example, if one goes into a house where he knows there is fresh meat and he wants some of it he may say to no one in particular "Gee I wish to eat meat; I never have any for a long time now," or reference will be made to another person who also has meat as "that lucky guy." He will almost certainly be given some. A direct request would place the petitioner in the role of beggar and the petitioned in the awkward position of having to make a direct refusal if for some reason he is unable to comply, and direct refusals like direct requests are considered to be aggressive acts. Both are considered to erode individual autonomy. By leaving requests as indirect expressions of desire the initiative to comply or not is left to the person at whom the request is indirectly aimed. By avoiding the occasion for being rebuffed, the person making the request is not offended. In any case, a direct request for food or assistance also implies that the person to whom the request is made is not sufficiently sensitive to the needs of others, and for the most part Native people respond very readily to the slightest hint of need by another person. To ignore such apparent need is almost as aggressive as a direct refusal. Outsiders who visit Native camps and try to fill awkward silences with questions and remarks about some object are often embarrassed to find that object put into their hands as they leave,

for drawing attention to an object maybe interpreted as a statement of need for it.

There are cases where the subtle hint of need does not suffice and where direct requests for assistance must be made. These are generally preceded by a lengthy discussion in which needs are hinted at and reasons for need are enumerated. If the person making the request finds consistent lack of response to his opening hints he is unlikely to pursue the matter at that time. He may wait for further opportunities to press his request or he may try elsewhere. People are sometimes reluctant to lend others their equipment, for it is recognized that equipment used by several people is likely to become battered very quickly. Since people often find it hard to refuse loans they may adopt the strategy of simply not acquiring certain kinds of "luxury" equipment (such as chainsaws or motor toboggans) that other people will want to borrow. This strategy is openly acknowledged. Apart from the argument that frequently borrowed equipment is likely to be badly used, one detects yet another overtone in informant's statements which implies that being too much of a "soft mark" for requests and loans is to surrender a measure of control over one's affairs. Likewise to place one's self in a situation where direct refusal seems likely is to surrender a measure of control to others.

In hunting parties or larger more permanent groupings such as fish camps, there is no official head-man or leader, although an older more experienced man may assume somewhat of a leadership role by taking the initiative in necessary tasks. His knowledgeable opinion on weather and game conditions may be valued, but he does not formally delegate tasks to subordinates. This situational leadership dissolves after a task is completed. Other camp members may assume the leadership role for other tasks. Only in the case of whaling crews is there a clear hierarchy of authority for close co-ordination is necessary to success. The boat captain's authority extends only to affairs directly concerned with the boat and the hunt. A person who makes his views too readily known without being asked is considered aggressive — or as Native people say, "pushy" and "bossy." As a sign of protest people may go out of their way not to do what he says. In extreme cases they will ignore him completely and speak only when spoken to, saying sufficient to answer a question and no more, with an elaborate show of politeness and attentiveness. If the "bossy" person does not take the hint, people may pack up and move to another camp. This solution is adopted by many hunting and gathering peoples (cf. Lee and DeVore 1968:9). It is an effective sanction in cases where co-ordination is necessary (such as whaling, where a person cannot operate alone or with a much-reduced crew). Behaviour which Native people consider offensively pushy or bossy would hardly be noticed by Outsiders who

feel that Native people are inclined to be too ready to take offence at imagined slights.

One is struck by the peaceful, orderly progress of camp life. Tasks are done with a minimum of fuss and noise. "Barking," noisy behaviour (even in fun), and overt conflict are much disliked. Children who want to play noisy games are encouraged to move out of earshot from the campsite. Quarrels and fights between adults are rare, both in camp and in the settlement unless intoxication is involved. Noisy and querulous behaviour is believed to infringe the rights of others to peace and quiet; pushy behaviour threatens the autonomy of others. The gentle, somewhat self-effacing manner and quiet speech characteristic of Native people in their own surroundings has complex meaning as a cultural style. One of the meanings lies in the way in which this style of demeanour among people who value individual autonomy, but who are compelled to live in situations where the possibility for infringement of the rights of others is high, can minimize occasions for causing offence and potential conflict. There is little opportunity for physical privacy in crowded tents or one-room cabins. Quiet, unobstructive behaviour in this context is a means of tension-management.

Questions by others about a person's reasons for doing a certain act are considered an invasion of privacy. A person does not expect to have to give an account of his actions to others. He may volunteer his reasons, but direct questions about them usually imply a disapprobation of motives. Such questions may be ignored or met with the quiet, blank-faced "I don't know", so often encountered by inquisitive Outsiders. Although there is considerable knowledge about the affairs of others, questions concerning another's behaviour usually met with the same blank reaction. This is not a sign that a person does not know or is not curious about others' behaviour, but implies that it is just as inappropriate for him to account for their actions as to account for his own. It is a polite way of saying "it's none of my business" and perhaps also "it's none of yours either." This does not deny the potency of gossip, in which speculation about others' motives plays a large part. Because people are not directly confronted with demands for explanations of their actions, such gossip speculation may be quite ill-informed about a person's actual plans or motives. Vicious motives may be imputed, and gossip carries an aggressive overtone. People may be polite and pleasant to each other, yet accuse each other of foul deeds and foul motives behind each other's backs. Balikci's (1968) description of gossip and conflict in the neighbouring settlement of Old Crow is remarkably evocative of the Mackenzie Delta. He refers to the "poisonous group atmosphere" in which "partners, friends, neighbors, and relatives were called stingy, liars, thieves, evil sorcerers, lazy, unscrupulous, adulterers,

and so forth" behind their backs although they were "nice" to each other face to face (Balikci 1968:191). Honigmann (1949:154) says that among the Kaska

despite the ideal attitude commanding a person to mind his own business, the common expression of his latent hostility is through malicious gossip and backbiting. The hypocrisy between even good friends is striking.

Honigmann (1968 c:221) finds that "social relations in an atomistic community are marked by strain, contention, or invidiousness." He rightly states that this feature of atomism, like others, is of complex origin and significance. However, in the Mackenzie Delta case we suggest that it is of significance to concepts of self-determination in several ways. To state open criticism of another to his face is an aggressive act that threatens his highly valued self-direction and non-accountability for his actions to others. Criticism in the form of gossip seldom directly concerns offences against the critic. Insofar as an allegation involves persons other than the critic it is inappropriate for him to criticize to their faces those who are involved. That would turn gossip into meddling. Gossip consists not of direct criticism but of allegations made by unspecified others, and is usually prefaced with "they say that . . ." and accompanied by disclaimers such as "I don't really know . . . I wasn't there . . . I never knew he did that but . . ." While gossip can mount into an effective whisper-campaign against a specific person, it is usually extremely difficult to determine who originated an item of gossip or what really provoked it. Rumours are sufficiently ambiguous to prevent identification of specific precipitating offenses. The stock repertoire of allegations concerning stinginess, adultery, wife-beating, sorcery, bossiness, thievery, and so on, conceals the actual cause for the rumour. Gossip is concealed criticism which does not reveal the identity of the offended party. For him to make open criticism would be an occasion for stark confrontation which would be construed as aggressive meddling with another's affairs.

Gossip is prominent in the Delta. It is an important means of social control, for even while people value their autonomy highly they are very sensitive to the opinions of others. It is an effective, although indirect, means of aggression in a social system where direct retaliation is considered to destroy personal autonomy. Lest Balikci's (1968:191) description of the resulting "poisonous group atmosphere" or Honigmann's (1949:154) description of the "hypocrisy" involved be taken too far in the case of the Delta, we hasten to point out that gossip itself operates within well-defined limits. A person who constantly purveys gossip will be gossiped about in turn and accused of having a foul temper, "a dirty mouth," and an inability to behave like an adult.

The management of agreements and promises among Native people further illustrates concepts of self-determination. For example, two men may agree to go hunting together a few days hence and will set a place and time to meet. It is not uncommon for one of the men to show up and find that the other has already left to go hunting with someone else. It is not inappropriate for a person to make unilateral changes of plans, for in making the original agreement to meet and hunt together he is saying implicitly "yes, I would like to hunt with you and I intend to do so — all things being equal and a better alternative does not present itself in the meantime." The person left behind is not usually upset by such changes in plans, for he is at liberty to have done the same thing. He will usually look around for someone else to hunt with or simply go on with other activities. Likewise, the men may meet and find that one or the other has changed his mind, or for some reason now finds the original agreement of little interest. They may postpone the hunt or call it off completely, with equanimity. People may agree to assist others with a heavy task or may sign up for community work parties but when the time comes may find themselves occupied with other things of greater interest. It is accepted that the present interest may take precedence over the original arrangement and that a person has the right to judge which should claim his attention. This may extend to formal agreements with Outsiders such as rental payments, loan repayments, or credit installments. A man may set aside money for such cases, but if an apparently more pressing need for the money arises he may spend it and seek for an extension on his original commitment. To be rightly bound by agreements and promises is antithetical to maintenance of control over one's own actions and affairs. This does not say that Native people consistently avoid or abrogate commitments to others, it simply means that one may change arrangements unilaterally if need arises. This lends a certain flexibility or even unpredictability to a Native person's actions which many Outsiders find bewildering and annoying, but which is consistent with the values placed on control of one's own affairs.

Outsiders are almost universally critical of the apparent incapacity of Native people to keep appointments and to report for work on time. The explanation usually offered by Outsiders (and indeed by some Native people) is that Native people have an obscure cultural perception of time which is believed to be a manifestation of the aboriginal residue of exotic characteristics latent in contemporary Native people. We do not deny the possibility of culturally unique definitions of time among Delta Native people but we suggest that it is not necessary to invoke these to explain the behaviour of Native people with respect to keeping appointments or reporting for work on time. We suggest that conceptions of self-determination are much more proximally implicated. To allow

another to specify when, where, and how one will perform an act is to surrender a degree of one's valued autonomy. Appeals by Outsiders to a Native person's "sense of duty" often serve only to accentuate the situation for Native people, for Outsider conceptions of "duty" imply control by others over one's actions. Not all Native people skip appointments or fail to report for work on time, but many express dissatisfaction with the Outsiders' emphasis on punctuality. Many accept the fact that sanctions may follow for repeated lack of punctuality and behave accordingly. This does not mean that they do not resent the Outsider demands. In this context too one notes the resentment expressed by Native people at the insistence of Outsiders on rigid scheduling of work activities. They resent not being able to pack up and go hunting (or drinking, or visiting, or some other appealing or pressing activity) at a moment's notice. They feel that if they are prepared to give up the wages for the time involved, Outsiders should accept that. Apart from cases where a person's work is obviously essential for completion of a task, Native people feel that Outsiders are inclined to over-emphasize the rigidity of work schedules as a matter of principle. This is interpreted as desire by Outsiders to exert authority and power. Indeed, Outsiders would tend to agree. Those who allow Native people to keep flexible work schedules are looked upon by other Outsiders as being "bad managers," as "having lost their grip," for "give a Native an inch and he will take a mile." In fact, some Outsiders in their self-defined role as socializers of Native people insist that Native people must learn a sense of time, of duty, and the value of a dollar. Accordingly, they tend to insist on rather rigid work schedules. This Outsider emphasis on "handling people," on "good management," and the maintenance of control conflicts with Native peoples' conceptions of self-determination. Typical Native protests to specific cases where this question comes up include withdrawal (which Outsiders see as childish petulance), minimal or token fulfillment of tasks, or in an extreme case quitting a job entirely to look for another or to return to the pleasant freedom of life in the bush, at least for a time.

The standard reactions to threats to self-determination are withdrawal behaviour or simply termination of the relationship at the first opportunity. To Native people these are quite explicitly aggressive responses, but on occasion the reaction may be even more overtly aggressive. Any untoward behaviour may be sanctioned by teasing. A "bossy" person may find that others mimic his behaviour in a jocular manner for general amusement. Yet another strategy is to praise a person solemnly for the opposite of his offensive behaviour (e.g., "Gee, you never boss people, try to push them around. That's good, because people should be real nice with each other"). On yet other occasions the response may be violent. In early

1967 a Native person in a Delta settlement accepted a position as dog-officer, which carries authority to shoot stray dogs within the settlement boundaries. By accepting such a position so closely aligned with Outsider legal authority he assumed a role in conflict with Native non-authoritarian values. After holding the position for only a couple of weeks, and after having shot dogs belonging to neighbors and friends, he was accosted by several men who gave him a severe beating. The people involved indicated later that this dog-officer "was getting too damn much like a White man, too damn pushy." He had accepted the position with reluctance, chiefly to avoid having recourse to social assistance, and had attempted to impound dogs rather than kill them. Unfortunately, along with sickly strays, he shot a prize dog. This was the specific event which precipitated his beating. Immediately after the beating he resigned the position, but the anger of the Native people was considerably heightened because an Outsider was hired immediately as his replacement and was rumoured by Native people to have shot sixty-one stray dogs in the space of two hours. Native people interpreted this as an authoritarian retaliation for their beating of the Native dog-officer.

The position of dog-officer is one that Native people are normally very reluctant to accept because of its implied authority. One notes, too, that Native R. C.M.P. Special Constables are very sensitive to any suggestion that they hold police-sanctioned authority. They prefer to define their roles as general handymen, guides, and interpreters, and dislike being involved in forceful arrests or other similar actions. Native assistants to Game Officers are equally sensitive to the implications of authority in their offices.

There is evidence of considerable anxiety and ambivalence toward the use of authority by Native people who hold positions of authority in the occupational as well as the administrative system. A few have effectively adjusted to such offices, but most express concern and dislike for the authoritarian acts they may be compelled to perform. This becomes especially apparent during drinking sessions where they often become the objects of hostility released by intoxication. The case of a middle-aged Eskimo man who had been foreman of a work crew for several years provides an apt illustration. As foreman he was frequently called upon to chastise crewmembers for not reporting for work, occasionally he was compelled to fire them, and was usually delegated to inform his crew of layoffs. On every occasion during the term of fieldwork that he was called upon to perform these duties he would resort to alcohol to allay his anxieties. In intoxication he became violent and would beat his wife and children mercilessly. I was often called to restrain him (since I was a close friend) while his wife and children would barricade themselves in a bedroom. During these outbursts he

would weep uncontrollably, bite himself, and gash his body with broken glass or knives, all the while screaming how much he hated having to use authority and how much people hated him for doing so. On many occasions he threatened violence to himself or others unless someone would fetch the man whom he had been compelled to deal with so that he could explain the necessity of his action. The explicitness and violence of reaction in this case may be somewhat atypical, but other people in positions of authority (including church officers) were observed to react in the same general way and to express the same sort of anxieties.

Individualistic concepts of self-determination are also apparent in reactions to formal votes and decisions in public meetings. When a vote is called on an issue, usually only those in favour will indicate their vote. Those against will normally abstain. After the meeting those against the motion tend to congregate in each others' houses to express their indignation about those who voted in favour. There is seldom direct confrontation between the two parties. Those against a motion tend to react with a sort of passive resistance. They feel in no way bound by a majority vote. In fact, as a sign of protest they may make an elaborate show of ignoring a majority decision, proceeding with their own activities as they see fit. Likewise, in a vote of election to public office, those against the winning candidate seek to ignore his actions and decisions while he holds office.

Native people tend to personalize the actions of a person in authority. There is little recognition that a teacher, welfare officer, policeman, or foreman acts in a certain way by virtue of the definition of his office. His actions are believed to be an expression of his personal like or dislike for specific individuals, Eskimos, Native people, members of a certain clique and so on. This tendency to personalize offices is an expression of atomism, but also illustrates the "within-limits-clause" attached-to individualistic behaviour. The counterfoil to total individualism is a sensitivity (to Outsiders almost a hyper-sensitivity) of Native people to the personal feelings, desires and needs of others. In other words, the limitations to a person's maximization of his own self-direction and self-interest consist in the degree to which he is sensitive to the potential for his actions to infringe the good of specific others. There are situations in which one's self-interest is more salient, and others in which accommodation to others is more salient. Atomism as self-determination does not run totally unchecked.

Self-Sufficiency

Honigmann (1968c) and others have described the emotional self-containment of people in atomistic

social systems. This characteristic is widely observed among northern Indians and Eskimos. In Honigmann's (1968 c:220) words:

people reveal a tendency to retreat from too intense or unnecessary contact with neighbors, with the result that interpersonal relations are marked by empirically demonstrable reserve, restraint or caution, perhaps also by suppression of feeling (frozen affect) . . . Individualism in this dimension is, of course, never complete. . . .

Reserve, restraint, caution and indeed "frozen affect" are very commonly observed among the Delta Native people. They are most obvious to the Outsider, for they strongly mark behaviour towards strangers. One of the most common labels for strangers whether Outsiders or Native persons from distant settlements, is "spy." "Spies" are strangers who seem unfriendly, or likely to be so, who seem to be inquisitive (and thereby somewhat aggressive), and who seem likely to gossip unfavorably about local people and conditions, especially to Outsider authorities. Strangers are expected to indicate their good intentions by speaking first, or at least by acknowledging passersby with a nod and a smile. Strangers who do not make these initial moves are likely to be placed rather quickly in the "spy" category. On the other hand, strangers who are too forced and aggressively friendly are likely to be considered in the same light. Initial contacts with strangers are polite but somewhat formal and cautious. In the broadest sense a "spy" is one whose business in the settlement is obscure and ambiguous. It may also apply to strangers of peculiar appearance (untidy, unshaven, dirty, with peculiar physical characteristics or odd behavioral and linguistic mannerisms). The reaction to such a person may be blankfaced withdrawal with eyes downcast, or perhaps embarrassed giggles. After several meetings polite and guarded questions seek to determine who he is and what is his business. Meanwhile wild rumours may circulate about him in the settlement, and it may take a long time to convince people that they are erroneous. His sudden appearance at the door of a Native house on an errand is often cause for apprehension and embarrassed silences.

Such behaviour toward strangers in the Delta does not seem nearly as pronounced as, for example, among the Cree. One notes, too, some variations between people of Delta area settlements. It seems more prominent amongst Native people (especially children) from Fort Good Hope and Old Crow, and perhaps somewhat less in the Delta. It would seem that it is more commonly encountered in the more traditional fur trade settlements and much less in, for example, the urban milieu of Inuvik where Outsider behavioral styles have had more conspicuous impact. In the Delta, reserve and caution with strangers

usually dissipates considerably after the first few contacts, although it may take some time to establish a free and easy relationship. Outsiders are used far less as bogeymen in the Delta than other northern settlements, although one may sometimes hear people attempting to frighten children into cooperation by saying "watch out! If you are bad that White man will come and eat you!"

Part of the explanation for less visible reserve and caution in the Delta may lie in style of expression of these feelings. In Cree and some northern Athabaskan settlements reserve may be expressed in withdrawn, somewhat stiff, sometimes visibly wary or even mildly hostile demeanour. In the Delta, reserve and caution may be just as pronounced but is more often covered with a fixed smile and polite attentiveness, although the embarrassed giggle and stoney countenance may be observed. Suppression of feeling is not necessarily associated with signs often taken as diagnostic of "frozen affect." In the Delta, fear, disgust, curiosity, anxiety, discomfort, sadness and even hostility and anger may all be covered by the fixed smile, especially in the presence of unfamiliar people.

Among adults the visible display of emotion is considered rather childish. Tears, violent display of anger, and hostility are uncommon in the presence of other people except in intoxication, at which times they become prominent. A person who weeps withdraws into his parka or seeks to be alone; a person angered or disgusted by another's behaviour may go out into the bush and release his pent-up feelings by angrily chopping up wood or beating his dogs. The important fact is that emotional behaviour occurs, but tends to be suppressed *in the presence of others*. Otherwise it appears to be bottled up and may only be released in periodic outbursts. This maybe an important function of intoxication in a social system where sober behaviour emphasizes the value of quietness, pleasantness, and gentleness of demeanour and intoxicated behaviour is so often associated with violence.

By acting out emotion in public one involves others. Even if the emotion is expressed over someone who is not present, onlookers are forced to be involved with affairs which they believe are none of their business and may react by withdrawal and embarrassment. An adult with developed reason and maturity is expected to be able to live out his own emotional resources. Most preferably he should not react emotionally to others —this has antisocial or aggressive overtones; if he is unable to control his reaction it should involve only those people who provoked it, and the reaction should be as restrained as possible.

Simply because emotional reactions are considerably more restrained than among Outsiders, we cannot say that emotion is *completely* suppressed. We have noted that Native people may be very sensitive to the reactions of others. Emotions may be expressed by nuances of gesture, facial expression, or tone of voice. When these are detected they elicit reactions from others. Atomism is expressed in the emphasis on emotional self-sufficiency and the reluctance to make others party to what are considered to be personal events; but non-atomistic characteristics are expressed in sensitivity to even the restrained expression of emotion by others. Someone who seems to be sad, feeling lonely and depressed, or feeling hurt will be treated with gentleness and solicitude. People will make a point of visiting him and plying him with food in an attempt to cheer him up, although explicit references to one's emotional state would be considered inappropriate. Likewise someone who seems to be angry will be treated with care in order not to provide further provocation.

This combination of atomistic characteristics occurring in conjunction with non-atomistic counterfoils is amply illustrated in Delta Native emotional expression and social interaction involved in concepts of "aloneness" and "loneliness." The use of the English word "lonely" in the Delta differs considerably from its standard English usage. It covers a wide range of emotional stages including fear; homesickness; sexual desire; physical discomfort (such as hunger or cold); sadness; reaction to unfamiliar people, events, or places; boredom; embarrassment; feelings of rejection — indeed a whole range of emotional states probably best translated as "anxiety." Outward signs that a person is feeling "lonely" are observed as lethargy, despondency, and silent withdrawal. The subjective feeling has been described as "just like you are going to bust; feel real bad, sick in your guts, all twisted up." The point is that people recognize anxiety in themselves and see it in others. This cannot be interpreted as true suppression, which one assumes would be a state in which a person gives *no* outward clues as to his inner feelings. We see that in the Delta clues to inward feelings are *restrained* but do occur with sufficient visibility for other people to notice —and people do react to these emotional clues in others. In short, there is neither complete suppression nor complete atomism.

Our observations on this point are entirely consistent with Slobodin's (1960) analysis of anxiety and atomism among the Peel River Kutchin. He shows clearly that while these Delta area Indians "bear a burden of anxiety which appears to be similar to that reported for other northern forest tribes (Slobodin 1960:123) that it may, in the case of the Kutchin, "... operate centripetally in situations where, among people of very similar culture, entirely centrifugal tendencies have been described" (Slobodin 1960:

122). In other words, extreme individualism or self-isolation, is a product of a certain kind of anxiety in other northern groups, but in the case of the Kutchin the same kind of anxiety acts "as a positive social force, enhancing group cohesion" (Slobodin 1960:122). In fact, ability to manage the tension between self-sufficiency on the one hand and social responsibility to group interests on the other is given high value among the Kutchin, who, for example, look for this ability in their leaders. Slobodin's subsequent illustration of this argument by an analysis of concepts of "aloneness" and "loneliness" can well stand for the whole of the contemporary Mackenzie Delta Native way of life as we see it.

To be alone or to express a preference for living and working alone is to be in a state of "ritual danger" and also to be a source of ritual danger to others. One who is alone is exposed to dangers from unseen, ambiguous, malevolent forces. People are very often afraid to sleep alone in a tent or to travel unaccompanied in the bush. They seek the comforting presence of others. The cure for "loneliness" (broadly defined "anxiety") is found in the presence and solicitous behaviour of others. In Delta Bush English usage one may say that one is "lonely" for a specific person or place or thing. "Gee, I get lonely for Mary" may mean "I am experiencing sexual desire, and I would like to be with Mary." "I get really lonely for Aklavik" may mean "I am homesick, I want to be with my good friends and my family." "I am lonely" in the context of boredom usually means "I would like visitors or friends to be here so we could talk and have a good time." "I am lonely" in the context of hunger or discomfort means "I want to eat and be warm and comfortable" (and in this context the statement may be a direct plea for the comforting attention of others). Loneliness is at once the product of and the antithesis of Delta Native social values; it is resolved through interaction with valued and friendly others. This condition is quite unlike the resolution of similar anxiety among other northern groups, where it maybe expressed in marked withdrawal and social distance from others, yet it is an obvious reflection of deep atomistic tendencies in Delta Native social life.

The cases now given illustrate the fear of being alone and the fear of people who prefer to live alone.

Case 1. *A middle-aged Indian, a reasonably successful hunter and trapper, was traveling alone on the river ice near Aklavik with his dog-team in the winter of 1960-61. He claims to have been grabbed from behind by a Bush Man (see cases 2 and 4), and thrown bodily over the top of his toboggan and his dog team. He rushed home in great fear and anxiety. For six years he absolutely refused to travel and hunt alone, and his bush camp gradually fell into disrepair. By refusing to travel alone, even for short*

distances, he has suffered economic privation through decreased opportunities for essential subsistence activities. In 1966 he finally summoned up enough courage to attempt to travel alone with his dog-team the 85 miles by river to Inuvik. He claims, and other Native people say, that he was found wandering in the Delta paralyzed with fear and was brought home to Aklavik by friends. He claims to have seen another Bush Man.

Case 2. On several occasions I travelled alone with my dog-team for considerable distances in the Delta. Members of the Eskimo family with whom I stayed usually seemed very apprehensive when I did this, but I took that as a sign of their lack of faith in my travelling skills. However, I returned unexpectedly from a trip one day some what but not unduly frightened after a curious experience in the bush. Traveling across a lake in the winter twilight I had heard what seemed to be a voice calling my name. Thinking someone might be in need of assistance I travelled towards the source of the voice, which continued to call out, but found no evidence of animals or people. Suspecting the noise to have been made by a prowling wolf I returned to camp and related my experience. People were visibly frightened and I was given lengthy warnings about traveling alone and what I should do on meeting a Bush Man. They never allowed me to travel alone again.

Case 3. In March 1967 an old Metis lady in Aklavik was living alone in her house for a few days while her husband was setting muskrat traps some distance from the settlement. One night she came sobbing and screaming with fear into a house where I was visiting. After she was comforted she claimed that as she was entering her house two small, white unidentified creatures rushed hissing from under the table and attacked her feet, biting and tearing at her moosehide moccasins. She refused to return home and spent the next few days with her friends often remarking on the dangers of living alone. The creatures were believed to be dangerous and "supernatural," possibly "devils."

Case 4. In the dark of winter I had occasion to visit a friend's camp in the Delta. As I arrived at the camp I was surprised to see no light showing or smoke from the cabin chimney. I entered the cabin, set a fire and lit a candle, and discovered my friend wrapped up in sleeping bags. He appeared anxious and apprehensive. After a meal, he gradually became more relaxed and then told me that he had been visited by a Bush Man during the previous night. He said this probably would not have happened had he not been living alone.

Case 5. An elderly Metis man showing signs of deranged behaviour characteristic of senility, lived alone in a Delta camp. Most people gave his camp a wide berth during their travels. Some claim to have

been shot at while passing his camp and conjectured that "maybe he's Bush Man".

The cases just cited give considerable prominence to the role of the Bush Man. They are not necessarily representative of routine expressions of anxiety about "loneliness" or "aloneness," but an examination of the concept of Bush Man provides some important insights into the nature of "lonely" anxiety. It should be said that most Native people display an uneasy - jocular disdain in public about the Bush Man but in private will quite often cite cases or personal experiences which indicate a more pervasive belief than is publicly admitted. The Bush Man seems to figure more strongly among Indians just south of the Delta, but is nonetheless considerably prominent among contemporary Delta Loucheux. It cannot be shown with certainty in this study that the Delta Eskimo have taken over the Bush Man concept from their Loucheux neighbors, but one has the impression that this is in fact the case. Native children are sometimes threatened by the Bush Man for bad behaviour. On occasion a rash of sightings of Bush Man will be reported (most frequently, but not exclusively) by children. Frightening stories of being chased or shot at are circulated. At such times children are afraid to go far from the house, especially in the dark. Sometimes the "spy" (indeed often the "Russian spy") is made to play the same role.

As described by a young Eskimo (30 years of age), the Bush Man represents the antithesis of "normal" human behaviour:

- (1) He hunts seals at night in muddy river water; (Note: for ordinary humans reasonable visibility e.g., some daylight and reasonably clear water are essential for seal hunting; also note that the Bush Man hunts in fresh rather than salt water).
- (2) The Bush Man has large, staring eyes which glow like fire: (Note: staring has extremely hostile connotations).
- (3) The Bush Man travels with a team of black dogs who make no sound by barking, or by the toboggan gliding over the snow, or by jingling harness: furthermore he arrives in a camp unnoticed by humans or dogs alike: (Note: "ordinary" dogs and humans make considerable noise when traveling and their approach to a camp is heralded by wild barking and excitement of the camp dogs).
- (4) On approach to a camp a Bush Man enters a cabin or tent through a wall or window.
- (5) The Bush Man's mission is simple: to steal food (nothing else); (Note: "ordinary" human beings with established kinship and relations when in need of food

can get it; stealing of food is traditionally a horrifying act).

There are many variants of the Bush Man's description, but they all share the characteristic that he is quite literally an inversion of the ordinary human being, that he is lonely, and that he presents most danger to lonely people. A few cases and descriptions indicate that he is violent. He terrifies chiefly by his presence.

People who appear lethargic and withdrawn from group activities will often be told "don't be lonely; you should join in: you feeling sick?" When card games are brought out in the evening everyone is expected to join in or at least to participate as vocal bystanders to the game. Withdrawal from the game or passive disinterest makes others uneasy. Most of the chief meals of the day in a camp are taken in common, everyone crowding into a tent and joining in the conversation. People who hold back are "sick" or "lonely." The opposite of loneliness is pleasurable association with warm, friendly people.

In the Delta there is a preference for "country and western music," much of which speaks of "loneliness." On the Saturday Native request shows people send each other messages along with specially requested songs. It is perhaps not fortuitous that by far the greatest favourite has a refrain which runs:

Think of me when you're lonely
Think of me when you're blue,
Think of me when you're far away,
And I'll be thinking of you.

The second all-time favourite is "Lonesome Number One."

Another striking feature, that concerning physical contact, is closely associated with concepts of "loneliness." Slobodin's (1960:130) description of Delta Indians can literally stand for the Delta Native sector:

In a tent, floored with caribou skins and bear-skins, banked with eiderdown sleeping bags and otherwise unfurnished save for a small wood stove in winter, it is not unnatural that some people will sprawl comfortably. It is also, perhaps, not remarkable, although not inevitable, that when the tent is crowded the inmates will be pressed against each other. What is by no means conditioned by the physical circumstances, is the fact that age-and sex mates, especially adolescents and young adults, will be found pressed tightly against each other, arms around each other, legs interwined, crowded together regardless of the amount of space available in the tent. This behaviour is still more

striking when transferred to a cabin in the settlement, with its mail-order furniture. Here may be seen six or eight youths or young women — always, in my experience, members of the same sex — packed onto a sofa which may comfortably hold three or four. One may also observe parties of two or three young men or young women walking the trails of the settlement, arms around each other, or holding hands. Such behaviour is less frequent among older people, but is occasionally found in more restrained form.

Young Native men, especially when traveling together without older people or women display this behaviour in even more marked form. They prefer to sleep together in twos or threes in close physical contact, which seems to provide reassurance and emotional warmth. As Slobodin (1960:131) says, overt sexuality forms no part of this behaviour. It is an expression of an equation of social distance and physical distance, an ". . . acting out by means of intimate physical propinquity of the ties between those of equivalent status . . ." (Slobodin 1960:131). The sexually tinged horseplay observed between young Native men involving grabbing each others' genitals by surprise or stripping of another waist-down by a group of other young men (sometimes accompanied by simulated sexual intercourse or masturbation) may be evidence of some kind of overt homosexuality, but I suspect that it is simply an intensification of the aforementioned social distance/physical contact equation which is simply more explicitly acted out in all-male company. There is a disgust for the one or two known (male) homosexuals in the Delta. There is no evidence or more personally-focussed enduring homosexual relationships or homosexual desires. In the summer of 1967 a small group of teen-age males were known to retire to the bush occasionally to indulge in group masturbation. It seems this is simply a transitory, experimental curiosity in each other's sexuality. There is absolutely no evidence of more permanent relations or continuing homosexual desires developing from these contacts. Whether this is evidence of a latent homosexuality is irrelevant to the observation that this behaviour expresses intimate social affinity and high value of affectively positive interpersonal relationships which is essential to understanding Native social life and its anxiety over distant, non-effective behaviour.

The points we wish to make are that while there are deeply atomistic characteristics in Delta Native life, there are also profoundly non-atomistic characteristics and that the non-atomistic behavioral expressions reflect strong anxiety over the atomistic trends.

Consequent to our discussion of atomistic features of self-reliance, self-determination, and self-sufficiency and our examination of their non-atomistic counter-

foils we now wish to suggest that locating Delta Native social life on a simple atomistic/non-atomistic continuum scale is inadequate and misleading. The behaviour we actually see in the Delta is probably never a clear expression of either atomism or non-atomism. Rather, we prefer to see it as a complex product of the tension between atomistic and non-atomistic values, concepts, and modes of action. The salience of atomistic or non-atomistic characteristics is situationally variable, and in many cases behaviour may display ambivalence which is generated by the tension between them. Our three dimensions of self-reliance, self-determination, and self-sufficiency and their non-atomistic counterbalances seem to identify three of the chief foci of internal tension or conflict in the Native way of life. It can probably be shown that these characteristics have a complex origin from at least these closely related but analytically separable sources:

- (a) *persistent aboriginal characteristics:*
- (b) *distinctive patterns of child-rearing:*
- (c) *psychological structure.*

In this study our task is not primarily to enquire what the historical origins of these characteristics are (although some suggestions of origin are made below, cf. "Culture") but to enquire what implications they hold for the patterned interaction between Native people and Outsiders which we have described as pluralism. Our object in describing a wide range of atomistic/non-atomistic characteristics has been to demonstrate that there are distinctive ways of thinking, feeling, and acting in the Native sector which pervade many areas of social and cultural life. We now seek to show that certain modes of interaction with Outsider: are consistent with these Native ways, many of which are normally not visible to Outsiders.

It should be made clear that as we use the concept, atomism refers to a quality of interpersonal relations. It does not refer to social systems in which there is factionalism or minimal development of organizational forms, although these characteristics under certain conditions may be a reflection of interpersonal atomism. In the Delta it can be shown that interpersonal atomism is reflected in *some* measure in the ways people engage in cooperative action, but is not solely responsible for organizational fragmentation. The "strain, contention, or invidiousness" and "reserve, restraint, or caution . . . also . . . suppression of feeling" characteristic of interpersonal atomism (Honigmann 1968c:220, 221) are observable in the Mackenzie Delta, but they are countered by non-atomistic characteristics. For this reason we cannot assume that atomism in the Delta makes it impossible for people to get together as some have suggested (Hall owell 1946:222; cf. also

Landes 1937:178; Honigmann 1949:155; Barnouw 1955:353). There are good friends, trapping partners, affectionate lovers, and people who do take pleasure in each other's company. People do cooperate. But at this point we wish to ask how these features of atomism and non-atomism influence relationships between the Native and Outsider Sectors. In various contexts of interpersonal contact " between Natives and Outsiders we may find that differences of behavioral style, misunderstanding or ignorance of each others' expectations and intentions, and lack of common social experience generate feelings of strangeness and unfamiliarity which may proceed to open rejection, hostility or aggression. In a more general context there may be denial of the legitimacy of each others' conceptions of authority, power, and personal accountability.

Wax and Thomas (1961) have provided an analysis of behavioral differences of style in interpersonal contacts between Indians and Whites in the United States which could well have been written of Delta Natives and Outsiders:

Social discourse is one of the areas where Indians and Whites most easily misunderstand each other. Placed in an informal social gathering such as a small party where he knows only the host, the Indian will usually sit or stand quietly, saying nothing and seeming to do nothing. He may do this so naturally that he disappears into the background merging with the wall fixtures. If addressed directly, he will not look at the speaker: there may be considerable delay before a reply, and this maybe pitched so softly as to be below the hearing threshold of the white interlocutor: he may even look deliberately away and give no response at all. In this same situation, the white man will often become undiscourageably loquacious. A silent neighbour will be peppered with small shop talk in the hope that one of his rounds will trigger an exchange and a conversational engagement. If the neighbour happens to be an Indian, his protracted silence will spur the white to even more extreme exertions; and the more frantic the one becomes the less response he is likely to elicit from the other. Ironically, both parties are trying hard to establish communication and good feeling. But, like A esop's would-be friends, the crane and the fox, each employs devices that puzzle, alienate, and sometimes anger the other. From childhood, white people and Indians are brought up to react to strange and dangerous situations in quite different ways. The white man who finds himself in an unstructured, anxiety-provoking situation is trained to react with a great deal of activity. He will begin action after action until he either structures the situation, or escapes from it, or simply collapses. But the Indian, put in the same place, is brought up to remain motionless and watch. Outwardly he appears to freeze. Inwardly, he is using all of his senses to discover what is expected of him—

what activities are proper, seemly and safe. One might put it this way: in an unfamiliar situation a white man is taught to react by aggressive experimentation—he keeps moving until he finds a satisfactory pattern. His motto is “Try and try again.” But the Indian puts his faith in observation. He waits and watches until the other actors show him the correct pattern.

This difference in behavioral style (“presentation of self” as it were) is further compounded by the Native person’s feelings that Outsiders are usually aggressively inquisitive, somewhat domineering and rather free with their advice. Indeed, as we have said many Outsiders approach interpersonal contacts with Native people in their self-assured role as socializers of Native people. They often attempt to correct or admonish by example, and Native people are sensitive to this. Wax and Thomas continue:

... when the white man is motivated as his brother’s keeper, which is most of the time when he is dealing with Indians, he rarely says or does anything that does not sound rude or even hostile to the latter. The white . . . does not realize the nature of his conduct, and the Indian cannot tell him, for that, in itself, would be “interference” with the white’s freedom to act as he sees fit (Wax and Thomas 1961:309).

Outsiders place considerable value on “being able to handle people.” This is usually acted out as persuasive and directive, if not coercive manipulation of others, usually with a bluff, agreeable but non-sense manner. These attributes, highly valued approved “human relations skills” to the Outsider (particularly to those in the bureaucracy where they are approved and rewarded) is simply aggressive and “pushy.” As Wax and Thomas (1961 :310) say, this kind of valued behaviour in the Outsider

from the gentlest manipulation of the most egregious meddling, is outside the area of proper action. From earliest childhood he is trained to regard absolute non-interference in interpersonal relations as decent or normal and to react to even the mildest coercion in these areas with bewilderment, disgust, and fear.

In other words even in simple day to day contact, Native values of self-determination maybe offended unwittingly. it is not always apparent, even to the more sensitive Outsider, what is actually happening, for the averted glance, the affable smile, the shy withdrawn gentle behaviour, and polite attentiveness of a Native person may cover a range of emotional reactions from simple discomfort through distaste to fear and anger. A fixed stare or a simple gesture like standing with arms akimbo may be the only open signs that a Native person is offended and angry, and likewise these gestures unwittingly adopted by the Outsider may be taken as signs of aggression. Given

the choice, many Native people would probably avoid anything more than transitory contact with Outsiders, particularly those unknown to them or who are boisterous and back-slapping in their approach. These feelings are proportionately increased when a Native person finds himself alone in a group of Outsiders and proportionately decreased by the presence of other Native people, but is still visible in the way in which Native people at a public meeting involving large numbers of Outsiders will tend to cluster together and prefer to maintain the silent observer role. Avoidance may be the extreme reaction, but there is ample evidence of Native peoples’ discomfiture, confusion, and sense of unpleasantness associated even with some of the more benign features of contact with Outsiders.

Needless to say, these reactions are intensified in public contexts where large numbers of Outsiders are involved. The brisk “efficient” manner of many Outsiders in running meetings appears somewhat aggressive to Native people, as does the manner of conducting business in public offices. In public discussions, Outsiders tend to “make points” rather strongly and to engage in argument between themselves which looks far more disruptive and angry to the Native person than it really is. On such occasions Native people tend to withdraw and fall silent, and certainly prefer to avoid appearing to take sides publicly. They may indeed have strong opinions, but these are normally only aired in small gatherings over coffee in the privacy of their houses after the meeting is finished and any opportunity of publicly influencing the consideration of an issue has passed. Native people who do on occasion speak out strongly at meetings are upbraided afterwards: “You should be careful; don’t say too much”. The implication seems to be that open confrontation can only make the situation worse by bringing on strong but unpredictable reactions from Outsiders.

Our description so far is not meant to imply that Native people are demure, giggling wallflowers in contacts with Outsiders. Some have learned very well how to deal with such situations; some have not. But even among those who have, one notes a sort of “cumulative strain” which develops after intensive exposure to Outsiders. Many have said how they like to get out of it once in a while just so they can relax and not feel constantly on guard. For some, this is done by retiring to the bush on hunting trips or to more extended “vacations” spent with Bush People kinsmen and friends at seasonal trapping and whaling camps. The appearance of well-intentioned but curious Outsiders at such camps is usually politely received, but it seems Native People often feel that this cramps their style. Seasonal bush life provides a valued opportunity for people to “be themselves.”

Children returning to their parents for vacations from residential schools show a visible sense of relief, not only from the routines of school work and institutional living, but from the feeling of having to be constantly accountable for their behaviour even in what they consider to be their private lives. This is surely not an uncommon feeling among boarding school children anywhere, but the difference in "pressure" between school and home life for the Native child is very great indeed. Pressure, "cumulative strain," and a certain unpleasantness is firmly associated with Outsiders.

The effect of Native peoples' tendency to withdraw, to avoid or even to reject various kinds of contact with Outsiders on the basis of their negative cultural evaluation of the Outsiders' way of doing things is an important source of their disengagement from many Outsider activities which nevertheless influence their way of life. It is very apparent in the way in which Native people tend to be squeezed out of membership and executive positions in voluntary organizations and public committees when the Outsider population in a settlement expands. Lack of organizational and public speaking skills and "leadership abilities" among Native people is also important, but negative evaluation of the manipulative features associated with these by Outsiders seems to constitute a more basic cultural difference between the two segments which is of considerable importance. One notes that Native people who are successful in Outsider terms in these areas are also considered with suspicion and even disliked by other Native people.

It is in this context that "hostile dependency" can be *more* fully illuminated. The squeezing out of Native people from voluntary organizations often occurs with at least their tacit consent. They see that certain organizational and other skills are necessary for successful participation, especially in an executive capacity. They will vote, with other Outsiders, for Outsiders who appear to have the necessary skills and abilities. This is exacerbated by the strong political interest of some of these Outsiders, who in any case place high value on community involvement. The manipulative characteristics associated with Outsider concepts of "leadership" in turn offend Native concepts of self-determination and non-interference, but the Outsider "leaders" may still be acknowledged as the most appropriate alternatives. The result is hostile dependency; dependency insofar as Outsider leaders are seen as necessary, hostile insofar as Outsider conceptions of leadership roles elicit negative responses from Native people. This extends also to Native attitudes to social assistance. When self-reliance fails, Native people feel that alternative sources of income, especially from those who appear to be more wealthy, should be almost automatically open. But Outsider social

assistance policies attach conditions to the disbursement of such funds which infringe Native peoples' conceptions of privacy and self-determination. The power associated with the ability to extend or withhold social assistance funds is the crucial feature here. Naturally welfare officers are more cautious about disbursing social assistance funds to people whom they consider thriftless, lazy, or likely to use such funds for illegal purposes (such as purchasing ingredients for home brew). Dependency lies in the recognition that social assistance may be the only recourse of a family in economic stress; hostility attaches to the implicit power relationship expressed in Outsiders' conditions for payment. This situation is further accentuated for Native people since they know that northern Outsiders receive set monthly subsidies in northern postings. They think of this as social assistance, but that Outsiders do not have to subject themselves to approval or disapproval of people who have the power to grant or withhold the funds involved. It seems fair to say that they think Outsiders exert much more power over Native people than over each other, and this accords negative connotations to Native status in Native peoples' eyes, and implicitly in the eyes of those powerful Outsiders with whom they often have to deal.

In certain contexts, too, there may be open rejection of Outsider structures which are explicitly powerful or authoritarian. The Honigmann's (1968c) have clearly shown how this is relevant to Native peoples' denial of the legitimacy of Outsider laws to control the behaviour of Native people. Flagrant public intoxication, somewhat more cautious infringement of game laws forbidding traditional access to wild resources, and conscious manipulation of norms and laws regarding trading credit, are among other ways of expressing rejection of Outsider norms. These laws are felt to be binding principally on Outsiders. Occasions for infringement where it appears that repercussions will not immediately follow are readily exploited. Hostility to such laws is most visible in what we shall call "challenging behavior." For example young men after becoming intoxicated at brew parties or at the beer parlour will sometimes make a point of walking up and down a main road shouting and scuffling in order to attract Outsiders' attention, at least with the intent to offend, but often with the hope that an Outsider (preferably a policeman) will attempt to bring them to order. If circumstances permit, the young Native men will become visibly more sober (for drunkenness in this case often involves a bit of acting) and attack the Outsider who accosts them, challenging his ability or authority to bring them to law. Getting away with something or scoring off powerful Outsiders can be a source of esteem in the Native community. This may extend for example, to school officers who attempt to bring truancy laws to bear upon parents who keep children out of school for extended periods, to

missionaries who attempt to enforce their notions of moral behaviour, to work supervisors who disapprove of lax working habits, to traders attempting to collect long-standing debts, and to Outsiders who ask rude or foolish questions.

In short, Native rejection of Outsider concepts of power, accountability, authority, and demeanor in interpersonal relations is a measure of the cultural difference between them which almost consistently results in a perpetuation of Outsider power roles. Native people neither consistently effectively challenge them nor adopt strategies to ensure participation on Outsider terms for they consider this to be inappropriate to Native values. These responses are consistent with the constellation of values and modes of acting which define the Native subculture. In this way, adherence to subcultural norms implicates their relationship to the power structure and results in the hierarchic stratification of sub-cultural segments which we recognize as pluralism.

Now it would be all too easy to say at this point that traditionalism, the persistent adherence to aboriginally derived subcultural norms incompatible with full and equal participation in the process of power distribution, adequately describes the source of this plural relationship. Cultural incompatibility between Outsiders and Native people is a crucial feature of the stratified plural system, but the distinctive features of the Native subculture are in considerable measure an adaptation and response to the position Native people occupy in the wider society. Stratification and cultural cleavage mutually reinforce each other in order to maintain the plural relation.

The Subculture of Poverty

The implication of much of our analysis is that the way of life of Native people partakes of the characteristics of a class-specific subculture and shares many of these characteristics with deprived or "lower classes" elsewhere. It also shows evidence of persistent aboriginal forms. Its uniqueness derives both from these aboriginal forms and from the particular local conditions of Native/Outsider relations. It is the latter which is to be emphasized here.

Analogous conditions among other North American Native peoples have been referred to as the "reservation subculture" (e.g., James 1961 : Spicer, 1961:1-2) and more specifically in the Western Arctic as the life-ways of regional backwoods proletariat" (Slobodin 1966:142-3). Fainberg (1965) has analyzed the position of Canadian Eskimos as that of a proletariat. These analyses differ considerably in detail and intensiveness, but they all share the theme that certain ways of doing things among Native people are class-specific. There have been objections

to the use of the word "proletariat" with respect to Canadian Native people (cf. Honigmann 1968 b), but apart from the label the concept is clearly expressed in analysis of the "subculture of poverty."

According to Lewis (1965) the subculture of poverty typically arises in marginal groups within class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic societies, "especially in those segments maintained in servile colonial status or having undergone a process of detribalization; in groups having little positive identification with the values and institutions of the wider society; or in groups structurally alienated from or denied access to the institutions (particularly the economy and power systems) of the wider society in which they are found. The Mackenzie Delta Native sector fulfils these conditions. Detribalization, the erosion of traditional ethnic and cultural boundaries is well-progressed, and a process of homogenization (cf. the new emerging Delta subculture) is well established. There is rejection of and antipathy to Outsider values and institutions (cf. Honigmann (1968a) "stake in society" concept). There is marked economic deprivation (cf. Chapter V). Native people have few and weak leaders, are subject to considerable power control by Outsider officers and leaders, play a relatively small role in decisions made by Outsiders affecting their lives, and consequently may be said to be alienated (*sensu strictu*) from the power system. These conditions add up to a markedly low position in the Canadian order of stratification, and in a relatively low degree of social mobility (see Chapter VI)

This position in the plural system generates specific reactions, responses, and adaptation in Native peoples' modes of action which constitute something analogous to the "subculture of poverty." In Lewis' (1965: xlvi - xlvii) words, the resulting way of life

... represents an effort to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair which develop from the realization of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of a wider society. Indeed many of the traits of the culture of poverty can be viewed as local solutions for problems not met by existing institutions and agencies because the people are not eligible for them, cannot afford them; or are ignorant or suspicious of them. . . once it comes into existence it tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effect on the children. . .

To this extent Lewis' observations are extremely relevant to our analysis of the Delta social system, but when we consider in relation to the Delta the detailed list of some seventy traits or characteristics said by Lewis (1964) to be diagnostic of the subculture of poverty, whenever it is found, some basic problems appear.

Slobodin (1964) has clearly shown that a considerable number of these diagnostic characteristics occur in the aboriginal Delta Indian social system. It would not be difficult to show that they also applied to the Eskimo situation as well. To mention but a few of these crucial traits, we note: weak development of formal organization beyond the family; high incidence of concubinage, *cicisbeism*, and consensual marriages: present-time orientation and emphasis on immediate gratification; early initiation into sex. While these readily apply to the aboriginal Native systems, Lewis (1965) specifically excludes such self-contained systems as constituting cultures of poverty. The subculture of poverty can only exist in context of a wider social system in which relative deprivation creates the milieu in which the subculture has meaning.

In the case of the Mackenzie Delta, Lewis' diagnostic traits of the subculture of poverty clearly occur in the contemporary Native sector as they did in the aboriginal past. We maintain here that, even if these features represent in large part a legacy from the aboriginal past, their functional significance and meanings have changed. Their significance in the contemporary situation lies in their status as responses, reactions, and accommodations to economic deprivation, political marginality, and cultural erosion in a highly-differentiated plural society. At this point in our analysis Valentine's (1968) critique of Lewis' concept becomes relevant. The demonstration that certain traits exist is not sufficient to define a subculture of poverty. It must be demonstrated analytically that these traits in fact do relate to structural conditions of deprivation and powerlessness generated in the wider society, and do not have their origins in other conditions.

In any case the criticism which can be made of any unit trait analysis, that unit boundaries are ambiguous and open to many interpretations, readily apply to Lewis' subculture of poverty traits. The case could well be made, for example, that such traits as early initiation into sex, the high incidence of violence in settling interpersonal disputes, consensual marriage, etc. are simply specific cases of another trait defined by Lewis as "emphasis on immediate gratification." In fact, one wonders whether the "immediate gratification" trait conceals structural conditions concerning social control. Once more, a simple elaboration of Lewis' traits are not sufficient to demonstrate a Delta Native subculture of poverty.

Finally, Lewis (1965) describes the subculture of poverty as "relatively thin," as one in which "there is a great deal of pathos, suffering, and emptiness," and as one which "does not provide much support or long-range satisfaction and its encouragement of mistrust tends to magnify helplessness and isolation." One wonders whether this is not primarily an outside

observer's view. The subculture of poverty according to Lewis is established and maintained by conditions external to it and by the fact that children are socialized in it and see the world through its eyes. But it is a way of life which provides its own pleasures, gratifications, and satisfactions. Life in the Delta sees more squalor, suffering, and violence than in the urban middle-class, but for those who are in it, it is a way of life—indeed all they have and what makes them the people they are—and there is pleasure and satisfaction in it.

Yet other features of Lewis' concept are immediately relevant to the Delta Native sector. Feelings of inferiority often accompanying the subculture of poverty are conspicuously present among Native people. The following cases provide apt illustrations:

Case 1. *A young Eskimo girl in Aklavik appeared at school one day in March 1967 with her face peeling and badly scarred. Questioning revealed that she had washed her face in hot undiluted laundry bleach because she had wanted "to look like a white girl."*

Case 2. *Several young Native children responded to a question on a projective test asking them "If a Magic Man came here and he could turn you into any kind of person you like, what would you like to be? with the answer" I would most like to be White. "*

Case 3. *Several elderly Native people repeatedly explained untoward behaviour among Native people as a sign of their rejection by God who had also given them dark skins as a mark of their inherent and immutable sinfulness.*

Case 4. *An Arctic Red River Indian writes in a newspaper article (the Drum, April 1968, p. 6) describing his knowledge that some Outsiders 'hate Native people with their guts,' and goes on to say "But some Indians or Metis or Eskimos don't blame this kind of white people in one way. They know that we are inferior to white people. White people talk about evolution of mankind, therefore some of us think our time don't come yet. White people makes impossible [come true] on earth – and now they will be in space soon. What has Indians made or been doing? They want to know why white people have more power, more brains than the Indians. Some talk about learning. Even if an Indian lives alongside a huge pile of iron, he wouldn't know what to make of it, not to say nothing of the space. . . This goes to show we are not as good as white people. "*

But these are only some examples of the more overt statements of belief in Native inferiority and powerlessness. Other more covert examples of inferiority are very important in shaping the lives of Native people.

Many young Native men believe that they are rejected by Native women in favour of Outsider males. Indeed,

numerous examples of fights were observed in which Native women reviled Native males as undesirable, as useless lovers, and incompetent providers. Young Outsider males have relatively easy sexual access to Native females. Native males resent both the Outsider and Native women who favour them. This is often released in savage beatings during intoxication. In Aklavik, an Outsider male who lived common-law with an Eskimo woman was accosted and beaten on several occasions by bands of drunken young Native men who accused him of stealing their women. Similar brawls between young Native men and single Navy personnel were not uncommon in Aklavik in the 1950's. Professor Joseph Lubart (personal communication) believes that this hostility to the Outsider males often takes the form of displaced aggression against other Native people, presumably because (in part) the real object of aggression, the Outsider male, is less readily accessible to spontaneous outburst of rage. In a primary sexual dimension the considerable number of young Native males who believe themselves to be sexually impotent except in intoxication is striking. They usually drink in order to have courage to approach a Native woman, believing that alcohol will provide "staying power" like that reputed of Outsider males, but often find that they are so drunk by the time that sexual contact is made that they are unable to perform. Several take this as a sure sign of their impotence. Some of the most savage beatings of wives and sweethearts are precipitated by suspicions that they had sexual alliance with Outsider males. In this case, feelings of inferiority and powerlessness relative to Outsiders contribute to interpersonal hostility, aggression, and violence between Native people and probably also thereby contributes to family instability and fragmentation between them. This situation is exacerbated by the recognition that the Outsider male's relative affluence and "smooth talk" constitute an attraction for Native women which most Native men are incapable of achieving, and by the Outsider male's relative power over the situation by being largely beyond the Native male's recourse to protest. If the situation becomes difficult for an Outsider he can retire to the protectiveness of the White end of town, or simply leave the area. It is also very difficult to file paternity suits against Outsiders, for their mobility and anonymity put them beyond the control of Native people. In any case an Outsider can usually claim that a woman with whom he has been associating was also sexually involved with other men, and that his paternity cannot be proven

Matrifocal household units, another structural trait of Lewis' subculture of poverty are present and at least periodically viable in the Mackenzie Delta. The incidence of such units is difficult to estimate since there is considerable seasonal variability in household composition, but it would seem that a seasonal maximum of about 15% of the total households may consist of matrifocal units. Usually an illegitimate

child is taken in by the mother's parents, who continue to support mother and child. When a woman has more than two or three such children or if her sisters also have a number of such children, it may become difficult for her parents to continue to support them. She may move out and establish a household with her children where she may live for short or long periods with a number of men who may contribute to the maintenance of the household while they are present. But chiefly the factor which makes these households economically viable lies in the social assistance system which makes allocation for such cases, but perhaps even more when the mother is capable of finding reasonably steady work. Where social assistance is the primary source of support (along with some additional family support), the mother with illegitimate children will often reside with her family. If the children are registered as "father unknown," which they usually are even when the father is in fact known, the mother and children become eligible for increased state support. The tendency to register "father unknown" is related to the availability of this state support which, although relatively small, is continuous and may facilitate separate residence. In addition, the difficulty of eliciting continuing support from a known father of illegitimate children makes stable and reliable support very problematic. The largest portion of social assistance issues goes to the support of unwed mothers and their children, as shown in Table IV 1.

Most matrifocal units are relatively poor, even by local standards, and tend to gravitate to the poorer fringes of Delta settlements, such as the tent-town in Inuvik. Lotz (1962) found five households out of forty in this area headed by a lone woman. Two years later, Slobodin (1964:9) found eight out of thirty-seven households so organized. Traditional values are permissive of such arrangements (Slobodin 1964) but the availability of a stable (though small) income from social assistance probably helps to make this alternative more attractive and more viable.

One of the other crucial features of the subculture of poverty is the relative lack of formal organization beyond the family. Some analyses (e.g., Banfield 1958) suggest that this "organizational fragmentation" is a reflection of atomism, a reflection of those values of self-determination and self-reliance which it is believed make it difficult for people to establish effective, enduring, and stable cooperative bonds. In the case of the Delta, a culturalist analysis of this kind is obviously relevant but we maintain it to be incomplete. We have noted that Native people tend to reject control by others over their behaviour and have few and weak leaders. This appears to have been true of the aboriginal systems and forms a partial basis for the tendency to avoid deep penetration and articulation with the prevailing power structures in the

TABLE IV. 1: Social Assistance Payments to Aklavik Native People by Category and as Percentage of Total Issue, January 1 to December 31, 1966

Total	Health ¹	Dependent ² Children	Economic ³	Child ⁴ Welfare	Miscellaneous
\$43,340.54 (100.0%)	\$4,560.18 (10.52%)	\$19,873.84 (45.78%)	\$17,879.27 (41.25%)	\$1,842.27 (4.25%)	\$85.00 (0.2%)

Source: Welfare Office Files, Aklavik

¹ "Health"-payments to people in economic distress due to serious illness, hospitalization of household head, etc.

² "Dependent Children"-payments to unwed mothers, and their children, lacking other economic support

³ "Economic"- payments to people in economic distress due to unemployment, poor hunting or trapping, etc.

⁴ "Child Welfare"-payments on behalf of children lodged in foster homes

contemporary Delta system. One notes, however, that potential leaders and potential formal structures in the Native structure have shown signs of developing but usually come to little. Specifically in this political domain ("political" in a broad sense) conditions and events in the Outsider sector seem to be very proximally involved in maintaining organizational fragmentation in the Native sector.

When a potential Native leader shows signs of developing he usually finds that he has relatively little support (and sometimes open opposition) from fellow Native people. If he comes to the attention of Outsiders, very frequently an Outsider broker will attempt to give him the support, encouragement, information, and resources he needs to consolidate his leadership aspirations. It seems very unlikely in fact, that a Native "leader" can develop without the sympathy and support of an Outsider broker. Potential Native leaders who hold ideas unsympathetic to Outsiders will usually find their leadership attempts quashed by Outsider brokers and their Native followers. As a rule, Outsider brokers, constantly on the watch for potential Native clients, have to compete for the attention of these potential clients. There is competition because on the one hand a potential Native leader's ideas (and certainly his strategies for implementing them) are only roughly formed, and on the other hand because Outsider brokers are very much divided among themselves as to their ideas about the "Native problem" and ways of resolving it. In Delta settlements there are usually only three or four main brokers, and they seem to prefer to develop only one or two clients each. This is because Outsider brokers usually attempt to avoid the role of being a public leader with a large Native following. They explicitly state that their aspiration is not to become leader but to provide the support for Native leaders to emerge. Conventional wisdom states that the impression to be made is that the Native client is the public figure. Consequently his broker attempts to create as many opportunities as possible for the client to have public exposure, especially to government and other powerful patrons from Southern Canada who want to be reassured that there is Native leader-

ship to which they can provide resources (through the local Outsider broker of course). The broker does not conceal his role entirely, but certainly does not advertise it publicly.

The relationship between Native client and Outsider broker stands in contrast to most Native/Outsider interpersonal contacts. It is friendly and intimate, and there is mutual visiting and association in recreation and family affairs. In this context, the Outsider broker assumes very much the "socializer" role, taking it upon himself to advise and admonish the Native client not only on his leadership role but also on how to invest his money, how to run his household, how to make himself acceptable in Outsider social contexts, etc. They often refer to each other as "partners" or "brothers."

In such a situation the Native client becomes very much dependent on his broker for advice and resources in order to decide his next move. It is a "vertical" relationship, for the client derives most of his leadership capabilities from the broker rather than from "lateral" association with other Native people. In addition to being "vertical," the relationship is also highly particularistic. A client turns to his own specific broker and not to other brokers with whom his own broker may be in competition or even public conflict.

It is the belief of most brokers that these broker/client relationships provide evidence of "integration" between Native and Outsider sectors as well as a basis for the development of a Native leadership (and one which will provide a basis for harmonious dissolution of the Native/Outsider sectional boundaries). In fact, brokerage/clientage of this kind probably tends to maintain the plural relationship. Most Native clients have little effective followership. Their audiences tend to be primarily Outsider audiences set up for them by the brokers. They are "talking chiefs" instead of powerful organizational leaders. In addition, the pervasive fragmentation of opinion and strategy amongst Outsider brokers is reflected in mirror image in fragmentation among

Native clients. This creates a situation in which Native organization around issues primarily of Native concern is effectively emasculated. It will probably only be reversed when Native people can become reliant on financial, informational, and power resources of their own choosing. Native organizational fragmentation and weak leadership may be partly a reflection of atomism in the Native subculture, but it is also a product of conditions in the Outsider sector.

There is ample evidence that Outsiders have considerable anxiety over the possible development of Native collective action. Native organizations, except those acceptable to Outsiders (such as service clubs or community recreation or "cultural" associations), evoke images of conflict and violence and the reinforcement of a "Native identity" which is antithetical to the ideologically egalitarian "melting pot" idea subscribed to by many Outsiders, particularly the New Northerners. New Northerners for all their differences of policy, almost unanimously believe that Indian Treaties, Aboriginal Land Claims Committees, or any sectional (they call it "factional") organization can only thwart the development of "integration" as they see it. They do all in their power to discount such organizations and hold fast to the particularizing broker/client relationship which in effect prevents sectional organization from developing. One hastens to add that this is not from malign motive, but from a distinctive pool of ideas about the nature of northern development—but their implications for Native organizational fragmentation are clear.

The particularism injected into the broker/client relationship by Outsiders is consistent with other Outsider values and modes of operation which underly organizational fragmentation in many domains of Native social life. It is widely believed among Outsiders that acculturation, development, "integration," and social change in the Native sector takes place by "winning over" individual Native people and providing individuals with the means of "achieving" according to Outsider criteria. One is struck by the number of cases in which even the siblings of a single nuclear family maybe spread over the whole range of the acculturative and stratification spectrum of the Native sector. There are several cases of kin groups which have members holding important government posts in Southern Canada, others who are successful Permanent Employees, less successful Casual Employees, and determined followers of a Bush way of life. Outsiders usually interpret this differentiation in moral terms, i.e., "now take the X family; A is a real go-getter and hard-worker, but look at that no-good brother of his, B." The differentiation in fact seems to occur by a process of selection by Outsiders who take it upon themselves to support and encourage individuals who come within their sphere of influence. The conditions

for this selection may be quite "accidental" and have little to do with differences of ability and attitude. A person who goes to hospital for an extended recuperation from tuberculosis may become a favourite of a doctor or a nurse; another may be a docile and pleasant pupil at school who is especially encouraged by a teacher; another may destroy his chances by one untoward act of which an Outsider disapproves. There is a certain effect by which those who are pushed to the fringe will adopt a marginal role and those who are encouraged, for whatever reason, will play an approved role. There is a certain self-fulfilling prophecy—and Outsiders are the prophets.

In any event, the effect of this differentiation is to set up an antipathy, suspicion, envy and even hostility between siblings or close kin who operate according to the different expectations and obligations implied by their social positions. The more wealthy and powerful may be considered stingy, too pious or bossy, and the less wealthy may be considered lazy, backward, and parasitic by their own kin. Atomistic subcultural values of self-determination and self-reliance may constitute a partial basis for this fragmentation and differentiation, but Outsiders' control many of the conditions essential for their fulfillment according to the high value Outsiders place on individual achievement. In other words, Native social life is structured by Outsider values and modes of action as well as by Native values and ways of doing things.

Honigmann (1968:4-5) rightly points out that conventional definitions of the subculture of poverty usually describe it as "a set of expressive acts and attitudes more than as an inventory of adaptive acts and cognition." We should note that Honigmann's work nevertheless contains many examples of just the approach he condemns. For example, he argues that drinking patterns among the Kaska and in the Mackenzie Delta region constitute a set of attitudes and acts expressive of Native peoples' rejection of middle-class norms (Honigmann 1949:1968a). One of these expressive acts and attitudes of conventional subculture of poverty definitions is "little future-orientation" or "immediate gratification." Insofar as immediate gratification marks the approach of Native people to Outsider-structured conditions, it can be shown to be the 'adaptive act and cognition' which Honigmann advocates as a preferable analysis. To Outsider eyes Native people are often considered to be exploitative and opportunistic, seeking to take advantage of a present alternative with little regard to how it will affect the future. The history of northern development is marked by "boom and bust" periods of affluence and privation. There have been periods when Native people were affluent (peak of whaling activities, peak of the fur trade, peak of building activities of Arctic military posts and modern settlements such as Inuvik) interspersed with periods of marked deprivation. The availability of furs varies

considerably from year to year. The fur market has nearly always been marked by great fluctuation of market prices. Casual jobs are usually only available during crash programmed of building and reconstruction according to the way in which government budget allotments fluctuate annually and seasonally. In addition, the availability of casual jobs fluctuates considerably according to seasonal conditions such as weather. In the political sphere there is a constant flux in power positions with the transience of powerful Outsiders. In such a milieu, Native people are not privy to the kind of information which would allow them to map out a realistic long-term programme of action. Each individual is more or less compelled to take what he can while he can get it. From the Native point of view long-range planning could well be disastrous in a situation which fluctuates unpredictably and in which the commitment of resources and effort to an anticipated future goal can so easily become displaced by rapidly changing circumstances. "Immediate gratification" is adaptive or adjustive in relations with Outsiders, although there is probably aboriginal precedent for it in the organization of action in a small, dispersed population occupying a forbidding environment such as that of the Western Arctic. This analysis shows the adjustive or adaptive feature of immediate gratification in Native and Outsider relations only, and does not attempt to account for its occurrence in other areas of Native social life which impinge with less salience on this relationship.

Our analysis of the relevance of the subculture of poverty concept to the Native sector has not attempted to be exhaustive. Rather we have attempted to demonstrate that many social features of this sector cannot be simply understood as reflections of atomistic Native values, psychological structure, or modes of action but are in fact also products of structural conditions in the plural system. Native sub-cultural patterns and structural conditions exogenous to the Native sector in the plural system combine in complex fashion to produce the features of Native life which we observe. This lends particular relevance to the model of pluralism which incorporates cultural and structural differentiation underlying our analysis. In addition, our mode of analysis goes some way towards meeting Valentine's (1968) and Honigmann's (1968b) very just demands for analytic demonstration of the adaptive/adjustive or accommodative aspect of the subculture of poverty which Lewis suggests but does not clearly demonstrate.

Deculturation and Cultural Deprivation

There is a growing conviction amongst many students of contemporary North American Indian social conditions that a process of deculturation has taken place. This process is held to involve a disappear-

ance of traditional ethnic boundaries (what is meant in part by the "detrribalization" concept in many African studies), but also the abandonment of aboriginal cultural practices and the failure of these to be replaced with effective new equivalents which provide reasonably coherent, integrated, and satisfying cultural systems for North American Indians. Lewis' (1965) claims that the thin, impoverished sub-culture of poverty is found intersocietally or internationally are obviously consistent with this point of view. Specifically in the North American context Spicer (1961:1-2) writes that

as knowledge of life on the reservation deepens, the repetition of certain combinations of Indian and Anglo-American ways becomes unmistakable. Similar trends in the replacement of material culture, similarities in dialects of English, likenesses in kinship behaviour and types of extended families, comparative growths of nativism and ceremonial life, and even what one feels to be nearly identical constellations of personality traits thrust themselves on one's attention. As one goes from reservation to reservation, the feeling grows that what one sees today is what one saw not long before on some other reservation . . . there are fewer than half a dozen, perhaps no more than three or four, ways of life, or that is to say distinctive cultures, in all the reservations of the United States and Canada.

James' (1961) concept of the 'poor-White reservation sub-culture' among the Wisconsin Ojibwa supports Spicer's argument, as do Wahrhaftig's (1968) and Witthoft's (1961) analyses of Cherokee and Eastern Woodlands Indian Communities. This perspective is also basic to Canadian Eskimo and Sub-arctic Indian analyses by Van Stone (1963) and Fried (1968). Honigmann (1968b) has taken specific exception to the application of this concept to Canadian northern Native populations.

Honigmann (1968b:8) raises two fundamental objections to the deculturation concept. The first is that "it regards involvement in modern institutions as not truly part of a Native way of life." Our analysis would support Honigmann's point in some measure. Traditional analyses of the situation of Native people have focused primarily on the uniquenesses of Native life. The plural model on the other hand sees Native sociocultural organization within a whole field of internal and external conditions which bear upon it to make it what it is. In such a case organizational modes forming no part of the aboriginal system are now deeply intertwined and inseparable from the contemporary Native way of life. They are part of it. On the other hand, it can be shown (as Honigmann has often done) that features of aboriginal culture have been forcefully militated against in the contact situation and that alternatives offered in replacement, as it were, have been whole-heartedly rejected by

Native people. This can only constitute culture loss. The sanctioning of certain traditional Native ways of resolving interpersonal disputes and the attempted replacement of these by due processes of law (which Native people reject — as Honigmann (1949; 1968a) himself has shown a good case in point. His second objection, citing Aron (1968:64, 128), is that the concept of deculturation “tends to conceive of modern society as an unfavorable environment for human beings in comparison to the former, homogeneous cultural settings in which people led their lives amid highly personal social relationships.” He is right to reject this strong ethnocentric component in concepts of deculturation, but he submits that “post-contact northern society, that culture that emerged with the fur trade, developed vastly enhanced human possibilities compared to those existing previously”, which, with the development of new northern towns, “still further increased opportunities for people to develop their competence and to enlarge their social selves” Honigmann (1968 b:8). This statement looks rather strange and unsubstantial compared to his own analysis of “disintegration,” “reckless and illegal” drinking and other behaviour in these places (cf. Honigmann 1965b: 1968 b). In fact, his own analysis of disintegration in northern towns closely parallels those aspects of Van Stone’s (1963: 105-110) to which he takes such strong objection. In his own analysis of social disintegration Honigmann (1965 a:200) states that disintegration is difficult to demonstrate because no adequate ethnographic description of an aboriginal base-line for comparison is available. Honigmann (1968b:2) uses Van Stone’s (1963:106) exactly similar admission that

the process of documenting the deculturation process at Snowdrift is complicated by the paucity of detailed information concerning the aboriginal Chipewyan culture. There is, therefore, no really adequate base line against which to measure either the extent or the rate of deculturation

in order to reject Van Stone’s concept of deculturation. We suggest that these aspects of both Honigmann’s “disintegration” and Van Stone’s “deculturation” which depend on showing culture loss, or destructive social change through time are equally suspect. They both deny the constant adjustive features of Native way of life which Honigmann has demonstrated in other contexts (cf. “Learning to Drink,” and “People under Tutelage” in Honigmann’s (1965a) study of Frobisher Bay) and which he opposes (Honigmann 1968b) to Van Stone’s view of deculturation.

Does “deculturation” then have any relevance to understanding the Delta Native sector? We believe it does to the extent that it speaks to the obvious process of dissolution of traditional ethnic boundaries

(“detrribalization”), and to the demonstrable processes of cultural homogenization in many (but *not a//*) features of Delta Native social life, *especially those directly involved with interaction with Outsiders* and those upon which Outsiders have brought to bear selective and directive pressures to change. According to Spicer (1961:521) directive change takes place when:

- (1). . . definite sanctions whether political, economic, supernatural, or even moral, are regularly brought to bear by members of one society on members of another. . . .
- (2) in addition members of the society applying the sanctions are interested in bringing about changes in the cultural behaviour of members of the other society. . . .

The demonstration that these conditions exist has been a chief feature of our analysis of the plural system in the Delta and is readily supported by Vallee’s (1967) discussion of the Outsider’s self-assumed socializer role and Honigmann’s (1965a: Ch. V) demonstration that Outsiders preserve considerably more cultural autonomy than the Native segment, many of whose cultural features Outsiders constantly seek to change.

The concept of “cultural deprivation,” which enjoys considerable popularity amongst educators, is open to many of the same charges of ethnocentrism. Like many versions of the subculture of poverty concept it focuses on “zero-patterns” (Honigmann 1968b:6) — e.g. “lack of . . . failure to . . . inability to . . .” It is obvious that the standard of completeness, the social system to which that of the culturally deprived is contrasted, is the norms of behaviour in the middle classes or in “developed” or “progressive” social systems. As Honigmann (1968b:7) says, “Anything approaching an inventory of traits that make up the culture of poverty or descriptions of its positive organizational scheme remain hard to find in social science literature.” The same is true of “cultural deprivation.” Its use can only lie in terms of “relative deprivation” and reference group theory. Concepts of “cultural deprivation” have become far too much of an ideology which locates the responsibility for the social position of the poor among the poor themselves instead of in the structure of the wider society in which being poor or deprived has its context and its origin (cf. Wax 1964).

Delta Native people think of themselves as deprived in comparison with Outsiders, not only economically, but in terms of access to social mobility and the opportunities of Canadian society. Cultural deprivation means more than this, however. It refers to a lack of skills, capabilities, information and cognitive structures which prevent the deprived from making effective

tive assessments of the alternatives of action open to them and strategies for making use of them. Insofar as this may be true of Delta Native people, deprivation stems not from peculiarities of their cultural heritage, but from the selective processes of distribution of ideas and information operative in the wider society of which they are a part.

Outsiders live in a highly individuated social system which tends to foster competition and achievement and to encourage status differentiation. It mobilizes informational and other resources in order to facilitate these conditions. In the plural system of the Mackenzie Delta information about Native people is assiduously gathered and processed. Social research is only one of the means by which this is done. The processed information is selectively consumed, primarily by Outsiders in such a way that they have at least the illusion of control over (e.g., of "predicting") northern people; northern people are in turn almost systematically excluded from acquisition of information of this kind which would facilitate operation in terms of, or in opposition to, the Outsider-structured social system. The daily experiences of most Native people are remarkably similar, and there is a tendency to encourage homogeneity through the restriction of prestige distinctions. In other words, Native people learn positive skills and abilities for operating within a social system much less differentiated than that of Outsiders. When faced with the necessity of operating within the highly differentiated, competitive system of Outsiders they are correspondingly poorly equipped in terms of appropriate skills. This is the only meaning "cultural deprivation" can have in context of the plural system.

Proletarian ization

We have noted that Slobodin (1966:135, 142, 148, 160) refers to the Metis of the Mackenzie River as a regional proletariat. Fried (1968) and Fainberg (1965) apply this concept to Canadian Eskimos. Honigmann (1968b) takes strong objection to this usage on several counts. We can take only partial agreement with Honigmann.

He rejects Van Stone's (1963:110), Bernard James' (1961:725,743), and Cecil French's (1963, 1967) claims that Indians and Metis have been assimilated to a "poor-white" way of life through primary contact with representatives of Euro-American society. The case can probably be made that this is true in many areas, especially in situations of migrant labour or urban migration, although it may be less systematically tenable of the Mackenzie Delta. In context of Honigmann's own analyses (e.g., of drinking behaviour in the Mackenzie area), however, he seems to argue with Lemert (1954) that Native people learned many ways of acting, which offered norms of the

middle-classes, from poor-white whalers, trappers, and traders. Nor is it irrelevant to his observations that Delta Metis children seem to learn special motivations and attitudes from their poor-white fathers (Honigmann 1968a:96-99 cf. also Honigmann 1969, 1970), which in fact allow them to be more successful in Outsider terms than their non-Metis peers. Impressionistically, one might say that in the Mackenzie Delta poor-whites have in fact been assimilated "more to the Native role than vice versa. They have come to think of themselves as "Natives" and at the present time are universally married into the Native sector. Poor-whites who continue to move into the Delta seem to find their friends and intimate contacts among Native people rather than among other Outsiders. Their impact cannot be totally absent, although it is probably less than in other areas. Only intensive research with this focus can clarify the situation, but in any case the observation is not the central one of proletarianization.

Honigmann (1968b:3) objects to what he calls the "thesis of convergence" in the proletarianization concept. This thesis states that similar technoeconomic and socioeconomic processes affecting Indians and Eskimos throughout North America elicit similar sociocultural responses which indicate that similar processes of deculturation and cultural impoverishment have taken place on a continental scale. He takes "convergence" to mean a *total* sociocultural homogenization, which we believe is not necessarily a feature of proletarianization. Proletarianization is primarily a specialized structural concept of stratification on a societal scale. There can be no doubt that Canadian Indians and Eskimos occupy the lowest position in Canada's stratified system. This is amply documented in the "Hawthorn Report" (Hawthorn 1966, 1967). Most Mackenzie Delta Native people belong to families dependent upon unskilled casual labour and trapping, hunting, and fishing. These fall at the very bottom of the prestige scale of Canadian occupations (Pineo and Porter 1967; Blishen 1967). Income and educational achievement levels are among the very lowest in the country. White prejudice against them is strong. These add up to an extremely low class position. This class position must be seen in terms of the wider social context which generates it.

The proletarianization hypothesis states that *certain* fundamental cultural similarities will develop in response to the similar conditions implied by his class position. It does not state that *total* cultural similarity will develop, for classic definitions of the proletariat state that it is organizationally and attitudinally fragmented and it is because of this internal differentiation that superordinate social segments (proportionately more organized and bureaucratized) can maintain control over it — crudely "in division is weakness." In Canada those segments of the popu-

lation which might be said to form a proletariat are historically of a multiplicity of ethnic origins; are geographically widely distributed; are often isolated in urban enclaves, Indian reservations, and the more remote parts of the country; and appear to have far less singleness of identity and purpose than even the differentiated middle classes (note plural). Yet their position in Canadian society is in considerable part influenced by structural processes of stratification at a societal level. With isolation they share equally low rates of geographic and vertical social mobility. Variation among the proletariat is to be expected, but the development of certain fundamental cultural similarities, class-specific cultural attributes in effect, is almost a truism in social science (though very poorly documented). It requires further work, not out-of-hand rejection. When we confine ourselves to smaller regional segments of the proletariat, cultural similarities are more evident. Insofar as Canadian policy and directed change is implemented on a regional basis with respect to Indians and Eskimos, and insofar as this directed change intrudes into virtually all domains of the Native cultures with the same "logic" and technique, it should come as no surprise that similar responses are encountered. The responses of human beings are not determined solely by historical, cultural heritage but are also influenced by the limited range of possibilities for dealing with structurally similar conditions.

With Honigsmann, we reject those ethnocentric definitions of proletariat which see it as "a recruiting ground for thieves and criminals . . . living on the crumbs of society, people without a trade . . ." (Honigsmann 1968b:3) at least with reference to the Mackenzie Delta.

Marginality

We have had cause to reject many of the dimensions of the concepts of the subculture of poverty, deculturation, cultural deprivation, and proletarianization as inadequate to understand the processes of social and cultural differentiation in the Native/Outsider plural system. Each concept has its own vivid and contentious polemic history. The examination of each, however, has shown how yet other dimensions are of considerable relevance to the Delta social system. These are conveniently, if somewhat imperfectly encapsulated in a concept which has had a contentious history—that of "marginality." We do not use marginality in the sense intended by Dunning (1958) in his study of ethnic relations in northern Canada. Dunning's concept "marginal men" seems to be rooted in Stonequist's (1937:2-3) classic definition of the marginal man ". . . who through migration, education, marriage, or some other influence leaves one social group or culture without making a satisfactory adjustment to another and finds himself

on the margins of each but a member of neither." Dunning uses it to refer to many Northern Outsiders who operate in geographic and social isolation from the norms and sanctions of wider Canadian Society. The term is frequently used in the North to refer to Native people who are seen as stuck in arrested development between an aboriginal social system and that of modern Canada.

We use it in the sense intended by Antonovsky (1956:57) who refers to cases ". . . where some members of one group for one reason or another come under the influence of another group . . . and where racial and/or cultural barriers serve to block full and legitimate membership within another group." The emphasis here is on the isolation of the role "Native" in the Delta and the relatively impermeable barriers established by the control of the dominant Outsider sector. The Native sector is marginal to wider Canadian society. Economically, socially, culturally, emotionally Native people must cope with the realities of Canadian society for they are under increasing pressure to share its values and modes of action. They are not accepted as members belonging to a distinct and variable culture with values in its own right, nor are they yet accepted fully as part of the larger society. Marginality is a situational context in which Native people are compelled to order their existence and simultaneously to come to terms with the larger Canadian society with which they are now inextricably intertwined. The social patterns which make Native life viable and bearable in the daily circumstances in which they are bound to live are not in harmony with those of most of Canadian society. This dissonance is reflected in the position to which they are allocated in the Canadian order of stratification and are summed up in what it means to "act like a Native." We now turn to a consideration of two of the main features of "acting like a Native," namely the management of intoxicants and sexuality, which are of considerable importance in shaping Outsider/Native interaction. In context of our foregoing formal analysis of the Native way of life, we now examine the "folk-model" of the role of intoxicants and sexuality in Native peoples' lives.

Drinking and Sex: Foci of Cultural Differentiation and Conflict

One of the first things Outsiders hear about Native people and say about Native people is that "they have a liquor problem." Closely linked to this are statements about their promiscuity and profligacy. These comprise a large portion of what Outsiders think it is "to act like a Native." For this reason, we discuss intoxicants and sexuality at some length. Rather than attempt to determine psychodynamic or deep-level cultural factors which explain Native behaviour in these areas, we shall attempt to describe reasonably

typical events to illustrate this kind of behaviour and perhaps above all to record what Native people say about them. In no sense can these statements be said to constitute "motivations" in a technical sense, but they are "reasons" which Native people offer for such behaviour. They are patterned and systematic and many subscribe to them so that they may be said to constitute a "folk-model," which accounts for drinking and other behaviour and makes them intelligible to Native people. When a specific event can be interpreted by Native actors or bystanders in terms of these statements they are satisfactorily accounted for, made reasonably acceptable, and anxiety is proportionately allayed.

From our discussion it should emerge that intoxication and sexual behaviour offensive to Outsider norms, are not the uncontrolled release of libidinal urges or the total lack of self-control which many Outsiders believe them to represent. They are deeply rooted in the contemporary way of life and are surrounded by norms and controls of their own which have positive significance for Native people. This is not to say that Native people are not immensely aware of some of the painful consequences of, for example, frequent intoxication. If a Native person is asked the question "what would you say is the biggest problem down in this country?" The reply almost always elicits statements about the evils of drinking. It is seen as a great problem, but people like to do it. Some are more skilful in dealing with its problems than others. Many associate drinking with violent behaviour and perhaps especially with behaviour involving sexuality. Many kinds of sexual behaviour are thereby included with alcohol in the same problem category. Many, too, associate drinking with economic privation and insecurity.

A. Drinking

Honigmann (1968a) has made a meticulous analysis of drinking behaviour and some of the ways that different sections of the Native sector in a lower Mackenzie Valley town have come to cope with it. Most of his analysis is based on detailed data gathered from the purchase slips at a government liquor store. Amounts of purchase are correlated with ethnicity, age, and other variables. Substantial verbatim accounts by Native people speaking about the role of alcohol in the community are also included. Honigmann's analysis is extremely valuable, but has many shortcomings for understanding the role of drinking in other Delta settlements.

First of all, since his analysis is based on analysis of liquor purchase slips at the liquor store, it excludes analysis of consumption patterns at the other main outlets of liquor patronized by Native people, the beer parlour and cocktail lounge in the settlement where

his study was done. Such data would be extremely difficult to gather, but cannot be ignored because both Outsiders and Native people consider these public drinking places as a very important focus for the problems associated with alcohol.

Secondly, Native people buy a substantial amount of beer over the counter at the beer parlour, usually towards closing time in order to continue a well-established bout of intoxication. Many problems with the law are encountered during the consumption of such purchases. Many of the community's strongest feelings surround this late-night consumption of beer, as is testified by the number of petitions which have been circulated demanding curtailment of over-the-counter sales or counterpetitions defending them. It is our impression that a substantial amount of the beer consumed by Native people comes from this source, so that liquor store purchase slips do not reflect this important aspect of Native drinking patterns. Wine and distilled spirits are available only at the liquor store or the cocktail bar. We find evidence to suggest that drinking parties involving spirits are quite different from those involving beer.

Thirdly, the use of other substances, notably home brew, but also vanilla extract, liniments, after-shave lotions, hair sprays, antiseptic solutions, and other liquids are perforce left out of Honigmann's analysis. These substances have been an important part of Native drinking patterns for several decades as opposed to the fifteen years or so that beer and spirits sales to Native people have been legal. They are an important part of the drinking style, especially in the other Delta settlements, for none has a liquor store or public drinking place. The making of home brew is so much associated with the Mackenzie Delta and Mackenzie Valley that Cohen (1962) has referred to it as the "Mackenzie Valley Home Brew Culture Area." Brewing introduces problems quite different from that associated with beer and spirits. The use of unconventional intoxicants has caused a number of deaths and several physical impairments in recent years. They too are part of the Native view of drinking.

Finally, Honigmann's collection of statements by Native people about alcohol was made in a structured interview situation. This has produced invaluable data, but the spontaneous reactions of Native people to others who are intoxicated, or their own actions while inebriated, are also very important. These can usually only be recovered by the observer being present and recording the reactions in the heat of the moment. Yet other data arise during daily conversations. Native people talk a lot about drinking and the drinking habits of others. Particularly in post-alcoholic depression they may become very introspective about the role of drinking in their own lives.

In this study, we can only point to these additional features not included in Horigmann's study, although we believe that more extensive analyses of Native drinking are required. As in other social systems, the motivations for drinking are probably immensely complex and the explicit rationalizations of drinking behaviour are equally diverse. It is a fallacy to assume that what people do or say in intoxication constitute their motivation for drinking, but MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969) have shown very clearly that there is considerable intercultural variation in the kinds of behaviour which occur under intoxication and that changes in behaviour under intoxication occur within socially defined limits.

B. *Intoxicating Substances*

We avoid the suggestion that alcohol is the only intoxicant used by Native people. Although by far the most common intoxicating substance consumed is alcohol, the Native definition of what constitutes an intoxicating substance is considerably wider.

By taste, most Native people prefer bottled or tinned beer to anything else, although some hardened drinkers say that the taste of beer is not particularly pleasant. However, Native people do not drink for the taste of the substance; they drink for its effect. Beer has the added attraction of volume. Wine is not much used because it is felt to be sickeningly sweet, and people say that it induces nausea too readily. Cheap, sweet sherry-type wines are the only wines used, and are usually only consumed when beer stocks run low before the first large shipment of the summer. "Hard stuff," distilled spirits, is favoured by only a few. Many dislike the taste so much that it is consumed quickly in weak dilution with water, but more preferably with hot tea. Soft drinks are occasionally used as a mix, but at thirty cents per 12 oz. tin it is considered extravagant. Drinking parties called for a special occasion usually centre around beer and a small amount of "hard stuff." One or more "pots" (home brew) may also be provided, but are considered inferior to purchased beer.

At present, home brew is a sort of "poor man's drink." It has the virtue of being low in cost and high in volume. "Setting a pot" is usually a call for a fairly large party. People restricted from legal purchase of liquor by being on the Interdict List (or "Indian List" as it is often called), by court order or by personal request depend to a large extent on brew.

Each person has his own recipe for brew. It is usually made in bulk, seldom less than five gallons at a time and often over twenty. It may be made in "honey bucket bags" (plastic bags used for lining dry toilets) or in buckets, oil drums, or large garbage pails which are usually, but not always, lined with plastic bags or

sheeting. The base is boiling water in which is dissolved a considerable amount of white sugar. According to availability this may be up to one pound of sugar per gallon of water. Granulated baker's yeast is added, usually 2 oz. for each five gallons of water. Malt (preferably not hop-flavoured) may be added in variable amounts. This is the base of brew, but various mixtures of dried rice, raisins, dried fruit, dried beans, corn meal, flour, oatmeal, breadcrumbs, or other sugary or starchy substances may be added. There is considerable dispute about ingredients. Some refuse to drink brew containing beans because it is believed it will cause blindness. Others claim that dried fruit causes undue nausea, although most people expect to vomit after drinking brew. Concentrated fruit juice bases are added by some to make brew more palatable. Some add amounts of anti-septics, liniments, flavoring extracts and other supposedly intoxicating substances in order to fortify the mixture.

After the brew has been mixed the container is covered and then wrapped in blankets or caribou skins, and usually placed in the rafters, or near the stove in order to "cook." Brew is usually drunk immediately after the yeast appears to have stopped working. This may take up to seventy-two hours, but usually inroads have been made on a pot after it is about ten hours old. It is sweet, sticky, very yeasty, and usually drunk warm. Alcohol content appears to be very low. A few samples were taken and tested for specific gravity. These values indicate that most brews have an alcohol content of about 1%.

At a party, a pot is put in a convenient place for guests to dip into with teacups. It is usually consumed quickly in great gulps with rests in between for smoking and chatting. Any drinking party usually begins with a handful of invited guests, but as these walk about the settlement in later stages of intoxication others are attracted and a party may conclude with thirty or forty people present.

As the drinking supply runs out, people begin moving from house to house searching for any intoxicant in order to "keep the high." Hence a small party usually develops into a public event that involves a large number of participants and bystanders. Other supposedly intoxicating substances are never used to start a party, but serve to continue established intoxication.

C. *Drinking Behaviour*

Drinking is intensely gregarious. Very seldom does it involve only the members of one household or only one or two friends. In Inuvik the beer parlour is the preferred locus of action. There even the penniless can usually have a drink handed out by the most

affluent; although each member of a group is expected to “stand a round” in his turn if he is able. A “round” may involve several tables and may cost \$20 or more. People visit back and forth between tables, go out for walks or pay visits to friends. Jokes and stories are told, noisy arguments arise about apparently trivial points (i.e., the present location of Noah’s Ark or whether God wears a parka—to cite specific examples), gossip is exchanged, accusations of thievery and infidelity are hurled back and forth, and fights break out. It is a loud and animated scene. Big house parties are similar, but smaller parties are considered dull. The more public the scene of action the better. Often, after considerable intoxication people will move in small groups to dances, public meetings, or house parties where scuffling and arguments may occur. There is considerable anxiety about wandering “drinkers.”

Only in the case where under-age drinkers are present is there some attempt to keep the party enclosed. Since brew is often the source of intoxication for interdicted persons, brew parties are more concealed. Also, permits are required for brewing and most Native people do not have them. There is a certain persistence of secretiveness about brewing stemming from the days when all alcohol consumption was proscribed for Native people and when home brew was about the only intoxicant available.

Brewing and the consumption of intoxicants such as shaving lotions were almost certainly learned from early whalers and traders. This is difficult to document, but we know that brewing was quite widely practiced by early Outsiders. Jenness (1964:14) says that in the Eastern Arctic at the turn of the century:

... the whaling captains had carried only limited stocks of intoxicating liquor, and had restricted its consumption very largely to their own crews. In the Western Arctic, on the other hand, they not only distributed liquor to the Eskimos with full hands, but taught them how to make it by distilling molasses or potatoes from one five gallon coal-oil can to another. Within a year it converted Herschel Island and indeed most of the Mackenzie Delta, into a hive of debauchery. . .

The drinking of extracts and lotions also seems to have been learned from poor-whites. During field work a newly arrived poor-white Outsider introduced Native people to the drinking of aerosol lacquer hair-sprays. I was present when he first showed them how to release the pressurization of the aerosol tins safely and mix the contents with fruit juice. Hair-spray came to enjoy considerable popularity because it was readily available at trading outlets.

Words in the Native languages referring to intoxication are various. One of the most common in Eskimo

means “to be deranged, to act insanely.” Another means “to be possessed,” (like a shaman). The words used in Bush English are those heard among Outsiders—i.e. “plastered,” “loaded,” “stoned,” “smashed,” “pissed,” “out of your mind.” More specifically middle-class Outsider expressions are never heard amongst Native people, although local Outsiders have a lengthy list of adjectives such as “bomber,” “freaked,” “anaesthetized,” “pie-eyed,” “rigid,” “croaked,” “screaming,” “flying,” “three sheets in the wind,” “poll uted,” and, most revealing “gone Native” or “gone Indian.”

Public drinking is quite markedly segregated. In Inuvik Native people drink mostly beer in the beer parlour although a few occasionally visit the adjoining cocktail lounge to drink spirits. Poor-whites drink with the Native people in the beer parlour. Other Outsiders drink in the cocktail lounge and only visit the Native beer parlour after they have already been drinking heavily in order to be “entertained” by the drunken behaviour of Native people. These Outsiders also have access to liquor in private clubs to which Native people are very rarely, if ever, invited.

House parties are just as rigidly segregated. Outsiders have closed parties to which Native people are usually not invited. A Native/poor-white party finds others hammering on the door for admission. The party may shift back and forth between several houses. In contrast, parties among other Outsiders are very self-contained, and Native people would never dream of demanding admittance to them; disruptions and fights which may develop are considerably more concealed.

In other words drinking, like other social behaviour, occurs in a markedly stratified context in the Mackenzie Delta. The question whether Native people have learned to drink from a poor-white model then becomes somewhat obtuse. Both Native people and poor-whites drink in the same kinds of milieux, so that the question may more appropriately be phrased “to what extent have both poor-whites and Native people learned certain ways of managing drinking within the context of sanctions, norms, pressures, etc., common to the position they share in the Delta social system?” The question phrased as Native people learning from poor-whites is too “directional.” They probably learn from each other, or more accurately, develop similar responses to similar conditions and stimuli. This does not imply that they are identical, but that they share many important features of action.

The question as to what extent Native drinkers are clinically alcoholics is a difficult one. Many are “binge-drinkers” who will with intentioned forethought drink steadily in great volume for days and even weeks on end. They become physically ill,

emaciated, impoverished; they have troubles with the law; their families suffer privation and disruption; they are treated with ambivalence by other Native people, but they continue to have periodic drunks with longer or shorter periods (sometimes months) of sobriety, abstinence, and hard work. There does not seem to be any guilt feelings associated with this behaviour, and usually no remorse unless some atypically destructive consequence occurs. It is too much part of the way of life, typical, recurrent, somewhat predictable, and to some extent accepted. Guilt and remorse are in effect irrelevant, for in the sense Outsiders usually think of them they adhere to behaviour opposed to one's conventional roles. Native people are heavy drinkers, and may be said to be "problem drinkers," but it is difficult to detect any prevalence of biological or psychological addiction. That is a question for technical analysis beyond this kind of study. One wonders whether the apparent lack of success of the Alcoholics Anonymous organization is related to our observation. Their programme seems to be directed at people who are true clinical alcoholics. Perhaps different strategies are required to make this type of organization relevant to the kind of role alcohol plays in the lives of Native people.

Drunken behaviour is highly variable between individuals, the type of intoxicants consumed, and the location of drinking activity. Individuals show considerable variation in their responses in different settings. At the risk of generalizing too far, we suggest the following sequence as reasonably typical of a drinking party:

- Stage 1: Euphoria; loud talking, noisy arguments, dancing, singing, laughing, gambling. At this stage, a party remains basically self-contained.
- Stage 2: People become at first more silent and withdrawn, then more irritable and volatile; some weep; others appear to become more and more angry and go about looking for fights; the party becomes less self-contained, more people arrive, original members go about visiting other houses on the pretext of looking for drinks and become aggressive when refused; overt sexual behaviour begins — exhibitionism, sexually oriented horse-play, women may have intercourse with several men in succession either in a room separate from the party, or occasionally in the presence of the group; robberies, burglaries, thefts, "rolling" of unconscious participants may take place in order to get money for more drink.
- Stage 3: Unconsciousness; men still in stage 2 may go about having sexual intercourse with women who have already "passed out."

Stage 4: Post-alcoholic depression and irritability; fights occur with those offended by previous drunken behaviour.

Not all parties reach stage 3 but nearly all reach stage 2. Often, since the party becomes more public in stage 2, people who are drunk or brawling may be apprehended by the police. This usually serves to disperse the participants, but a succession of other disruptions may take place as they move to other houses or towards home.

Mild-mannered, shy people often become extremely garrulous and jocular in intoxication. Others become maudlin and sad without any preceding euphoria and quickly move to unconsciousness. Others simply become aggressive, argumentative and violent. Whatever the details of behaviour, drunkenness stands in marked contrast to the sober role. Wife-beating, crimes of passion (murder, rape, assault, robbery), and loud aggressive behaviour almost never take place except during intoxication, yet the drunken role is quite well integrated into community life. People know how to cope with it, at least in its routine forms. Virtually all cases of behaviour which come to the attention of the courts are either specific infractions of liquor control legislation or liquor associated crimes or legal infractions.

Parties which involve "hard-stuff" in any appreciable amount proceed very quickly through stage 1. "Hard-stuff," like other intoxicants, is consumed quickly and in volume. Intoxication comes quickly. Parties involving purchased beer or home brew seem to take longer to reach later stages, possibly because of the relatively great dilution of the intoxicant. James (1961:741) has noted that Ojibway often appear to become considerably more drunk than the actual amount of intoxicant consumed would normally entail among Outsiders. The question arises often among Outsiders whether this behaviour is biologically or socioculturally determined. In this study, we maintain the latter. Roughly stated, in the Delta the expectation is "if I drink a substance I believe to be intoxicating, then I must act the intoxicated role." This is consistent with the observation that Native people sometimes become sober very quickly indeed. If the behaviour consequence of an intoxication episode is broken by the intrusion of the police or by the occurrence of some unusually destructive act (i.e., an act socially defined as outside the drunken role). By "sober" we mean the suspension of behaviour which defines the drunken role, while biological impairment of motor coordination and reflexes may continue. However, even staggering and slurring of speech seem to be in part socially defined as belonging to the drunken role. Despite arguments by local medical authorities that Native people metabolize alcohol differently (and hence behave differently) from Outsiders, there is no credible evidence that this is in fact

so. MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969) have shown how such biological explanations of alcohol-induced disinhibition are untenable in the light of cross-cultural evidence that the drunken role is socioculturally defined. The drunken role is quite complex, and should perhaps be described in the *plural* as drunken *roles*, not only to describe variability, but also to take cognizance of the sequence of transformations the role may go through in any event of intoxication.

The consumption of other substance in lieu of beer, "hard-stuff," or brew is not a spontaneous act of irrationality. It is based on a set of ideas about what intoxicants are, and is supported by experience of intoxication with a number of substances. Any chemical fluid which has the pungent, aromatic smell and taste of "hard stuff" may be considered suitable. The "model" is perhaps cheap rye whisky, or perhaps the pungent bitter molasses, or potato "screech" which Native people have learned to make (although now less often than brew). There is an order of preference among these substances. Each is drunk with a specific mix to make it palatable. There is a certain "connoisseurship" here, because some name-brands are preferred over others and persons who use an inappropriate mix are considered gauche. These substances can be arranged in categories in order of preference, as shown in Table IV. 2.

No stigma attaches to persons who prefer Group 1 intoxicants. Although many drink substances in the other categories, there is increasing stigma attached to persons who prefer substances ranging through group 4. A number of people are permanently impaired physically and some have died from using these intoxicants, but others continue to use them. They feel justified in doing so "because I've drunk it before and nothing happened," or "yes, X died from it, but look at Y, he drinks it all the time and nothing happens." Group 1 and Group 2 intoxicants may on occasion form the basis of a party; Group 3 and Group 4 intoxicants are almost always consumed after inebriation has taken place with purchased alcohol or home brew in order to prolong the effects when these have run out of supply. It is disputable to what extent some of these substances produce physical intoxication, but with their consumption intoxication takes place. Their socio-cultural definition as intoxicants seems to be of considerable significance.

D. Reasons for Drinking

Native people seldom rationalize their own or others' drinking behaviour simply on request to do so. The question "why do you drink?" (or more subtle of it) will usually only elicit the reply "because I want to" or "because I like to." This is also a reflection of the aversion to probing questions of any kind. But there

TABLE IV. 2: Preferred intoxicants other than Spirits, Beer, Wine, or Home Brew

Intoxicant	Appropriate Mix
Group 1	
Flavoring extracts. Any may be used, but extract of vanilla much preferred. Said to have the virtue of leaving absolutely no hangover	Cola with vanilla extract; citrus drinks with others
Group 2	
Shaving lotions—most preferred because more volume for price	Hot tea, coffee, soft drinks, or fruit juice according to brand
Colognes	Grapefruit juice
Aerorol hair spray (least preferred)	Grapefruit juice
Group 3	
Rubbing alcohol (most preferred)	Citrus soft-drinks or juices
Mouthwash	Citrus soft-drinks or juices
"canned heat"	Citrus soft-drinks or juices
Shoe polish (heated and strained)	Citrus soft-drinks or juices
Group 4	
Alcohol antifreeze	Citrus soft drinks or juices
Aromatic solvents	Citrus soft drinks or juices
Glycol antifreeze	Citrus soft drinks or juices
Duplicating machine fluid	Citrus soft drinks or juices

is probably no single, or even small group, of reasons why a Native person drinks. However, observations shows that "reasons" tend to fall into several relatively clear categories, any one, or a combination, of which may adhere to a given occasion for drinking. These categories are summarized below.

(i) Drinking and Euphoria -

One of the most common expressions attached to drinking is "it makes you feel good, real happy." One may often hear "come on, be happy, have a drink with me," "gee I feel fed up, lonely, I want to feel good." People, at least in the initial stages of intoxication, are happy. They may call even strangers by kin terms, laugh, sing, dance — in a word "boy, he's real happy tonight." "To be happy" is an expression for being drunk, especially in Stage 1 in our sequence. Happy events such as marriages, births, holidays, pay days, successful trapping trips, a local team winning a trophy— as in other cultures, these may all be occasions for drinking to celebrate. "Feeling good" is another expression for intoxication, especially Stage 1. The euphoric effect of drinking is one exploited in many societies including that of middle-class and poor-white Outsiders, although it is by no means the

response of all peoples. But drinking among Native people as individuals or in parties seldom sustains euphoria for **more than the initial phases.**

(ii) Drinking and Aphrodisiac

Just as the effects of intoxication are not always euphoric, neither do they always entail disinhibition, for example in sexual behaviour. In sobriety Native people are somewhat "puritanical." Nakedness and overt sexuality in speech or demeanour are not approved. The change to the drunken role can be dramatic. People may speak and gesture in a way which would be obscene in sobriety. Men and women may caress and fondle each other openly and even on occasion indulge in sexual intercourse in the presence of others. This may reach "orgy" proportions where a man may have intercourse with a number of women in succession and where women make it clear they will entertain nearly anyone who is willing. On occasion, aggression and violence may accompany this sexual behaviour. For example, in the spring of 1967, a drunken Eskimo man rushed into a house where women were drinking. He was naked and brandishing a knife with which he intended to threaten any woman who refused sexual intercourse with him. During fieldwork another Eskimo man brought a young girl home with him, to whom he proposed sexual intercourse. When she refused he beat her viciously and raped her in the presence of his wife and children. In the same period a young Eskimo male became drunk and broke his way into a house to steal money to buy more drink. He discovered a woman unconscious from drinking in one of the rooms and he raped her. His brother had enticed a drunken woman away from a dance only a few weeks before, and had beaten her and raped her. These are extreme cases, but by no means isolated. All were tried before the courts during fieldwork. Other cases do not come to the attention of Outsiders.

Of perhaps more sociological importance is the belief among many young Native males that they are sexually impotent except when drunk. Closely aligned with this is the frequent theme of male aggression in sexuality and female rejection of the male. Women have several euphemisms for male sexual attentions, including "to be used" and perhaps even more commonly "to be bothered" by men. We note the prevalence of males having intercourse with unconscious women. The emphasis is on individual male gratification. Gratification for the female seems secondary.

[It is also the case that the beer parlour and drinking parties are the chief clearing houses for extra-marital or spontaneous, single-occasion sexual encounters. There is also evidence that older widows initiate

younger men and boys in sexual intercourse; apparently this only occurs when drinking is involved.

Finally, women as well as men report heightened sexual desire during intoxication. Many men believe drinking makes them more potent, and have on many occasions reported drinking specifically with the intent of establishing a sexual encounter and of having the courage to make the initial approaches.

(iii) Drinking and Aggression Release

Consistently associated with drinking is heightened aggressiveness. Verbal harangues, vicious arguments, the hurling of abuse and accusations, and physical violence so typically involved with drinking stands in stark contrast to routine sober interpersonal relations. Most assaults tried before the courts involve drunkenness. It is almost as if people saved up interpersonal spites and vengeance for occasions of intoxication. Husbands and wives, or friends, may begin to experience strain in their relationship through holding back feelings of anger. One can see people in strain saying to each other with almost cunning, knowing intent "we should set a brew pot" — the pot is set, the actors become intoxicated, they become aggressive and violent with each other airing all their hurts and suspicions of each other, and eventually collapse into unconsciousness after tearful and impassioned reconciliations. In other cases, long-harboured hard feelings between acquaintances simply erupt if the actors come into contact at the same party. In the spring of 1967 an elderly Indian man encountered a young drunken Indian for whom he had a long-standing dislike. The elder began taunting and teasing the younger until he finally erupted with violence and beat the elder so savagely that he lost one of his eyes. The younger man was tried and sentenced to imprisonment. Drunken people have been known to maim and kill their tethered dogs in fits of uncontrollable rage. Wives are beaten and children are maimed. There is practically no such thing as a peaceful drinking session, or a drinking session which does not entail aggressiveness at some point in its development or aftermath.

(iv) Drinking as an Anesthetic

Drinking is intentionally and explicitly used to allay anxiety, despondency, boredom, and fear. On many occasions people were heard to say words to the effect "I'm going to drink real heavy now for a long time; just want to forget; I hope I pass out real quick, maybe for two weeks this time." People often drink quickly and in volume with the single purpose of becoming unconscious. In addition, aggressive, hostile, and other drunken behaviour is spoken of almost as a catharsis. It is the time to 'get things off

your chest.' People report feelings of tranquility and peacefulness after hard drinking sessions. People who can drink themselves into unconsciousness with ease are almost envied, and it is considered the sign of manly skillful drinking.

(v) *Drinking as an Absolver*

Above all, perhaps, being drunk is taken as a legitimate excuse for the many kinds of disruptive and non-sober behaviour which accompany it. If a person can say "I couldn't help it, I was drunk" he makes an account for his behaviour that most others, if sometimes reluctantly, will accept. Alcohol is the accepted disinhibitor; the strains and tensions of sober interpersonal behaviour are lifted. Drunkenness is "time out" (MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969:83-99). The avoidance of emotional display, anger, and interference associated with the sober role finds its alternative there, as do the anxieties, pressures, and boredom associated with routine sober life. The emphasis on personal reasonableness and rationality is suspended. It is a "vacation," "time out" from a system which we have suggested has some fundamental internal conflicts. Drinking may be a short-term resolution of some of these conflicts, but it generates problems of its own, not least with Outsider laws, norms, and values to which this aspect of Native behaviour stands in such effective contrast. This style of drunkenness is very much part of what it means "to be Native" in the eyes of Outsiders, and as Honigmann (1968a) has shown, in the eyes of many Native people. Outsiders attach negative cultural and moral connotations to it, and surround it with sanctions and laws. It is one of the chief features they wish to change about Native social life. Native people continue to drink; it is not an easy feature of the social system to uproot, for it has comprehensive significance in that social system. It constitutes one of the main visible cleavages between Natives and Outsiders, and is fraught with tension, hostility, and misunderstanding.

E. *Drinking and the Law*

Northerners, including Outsiders, seem to drink far more than southern Canadians. The difference of experiences with the law between the various groups, however, is striking. Accurate and comprehensive data on charges for liquor offences are not readily available, although an examination of Justice of the Peace records for 1965 and 1966 in Aklavik shows some interesting trends. Table IV. 3, for example, shows that while Outsiders make up 17.7% of the Aklavik population, none were charged with liquor offences in our sample period. Eskimos, 41.2% of the population, constitutes 48.7% of the liquor offender population and Indians, who make up 21.9%

of the population constitute 34.7% of the liquor offender population. In other words, Eskimos and Indians are "over-represented" in the offender population by 7.5% and 12.8% respectively. In contrast, Metis are under-represented in the offender population by 2.2%. When we consider total charges by ethnic group, we find that Eskimos account for 55.2% of the liquor charges (an "over-representation" of 14.0%) and Indians account for 28.9% of the liquor charges (an "over-representation" of 7.0%). In other words, although Indians as individuals have more encounters with the law over drinking compared to other groups, Eskimos have more repeated offenders, as shown in Table IV. 5. Table IV. 4 presents the situation even more clearly by considering Native people only, since Outsiders never appeared

TABLE IV. 3: Percentage of Liquor Offenders and Percentage of Liquor Charges, by Ethnic Group, Compared with the Ethnic Composition of Aklavik 1965/1966

Ethnic Group	Settlement Population		Liquor-Offender Population		Liquor Charges	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Eskimo	277	41.2	21	48.7	42	55.2
Indian	158	21.9	15	34.7	22	28.9
Metis	134	19.2	7	16.6	12	15.9
Outsider	104	17.7	-	-	-	-

Source: Justice of the Peace Records, Aklavik
 *Liquor offender population is the total number of persons, regardless of repeated offences, ever charged and convicted of infractions of liquor laws
 Note: Dismissed charges omitted

in court on liquor charges. These findings are consistent with Honigmann's (1968a) study of the incidence of prosecutions for liquor offences in a Mackenzie Valley town. The question arises as to how one accounts for the over-representation of Indians and Eskimos in liquor-offender populations and the under-representation of Metis and especially Outsiders. Honigmann offers an explanation in terms of cultural differences between the various groups. We are unwilling here to make a single leap from incidences of liquor charges to propositions of cultural differences. Cultural differences may indeed exist but many factors intrude between the commission of an illegal act and the bringing of a charge against an offender.

Police practice in Aklavik during the term of fieldwork was fairly liberal. Occasional offenders against liquor laws would often be taken home or sent home with a warning. Occasionally a drunken person would be kept in custody for a few hours and dismissed

TABLE IV. 4: Percentage of Liquor Offenders and Percentage of Liquor Charges, by Ethnic Group, Compared with the Ethnic Composition (Native People Only) of Aklavik 1965/66

Ethnic Group	Settlement Population		Liquor-Offender Population*		Liquor Charges	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Eskimo	277	48.6	21	48.7	42	55.2
Indian	158	27.8	15	34.7	22	28.9
Metis	134	25.6	7	16.6	12	15.9

Source: Justice of the Peace Records, Aklavik

*For definition see Table IV. 3

Note: Dismissed charges omitted

without charge. Nearly all encounters of drunken Outsiders with the law were treated this way. But it is our impression that if a person appears in court on a misdemeanor to which is attached a liquor of fence he is less likely to be dismissed with a warning on future encounters with the police over drunkenness. In effect he develops the identity of being a more serious or more flagrant offender. For this reason we believe that appearances in court on liquor charges are a poor measure of the total encounters of liquor offenders with the agents of the law. A prosecution for infraction of liquor laws is often accompanied by charges for other of fences such as assault or disturbance of the peace. The main of fence which precipitated arrest was not necessarily the liquor law infraction, but a person who is apprehended for one of these misdemeanours and is also drunk seems to stand a far higher chance of being prosecuted on a liquor charge; he is likely "to have the book thrown at him." Liquor of fences cannot be considered in isolation, for many "more serious" of fences are liquor-related and the liquor charge may be subsidiary to the main reason for coming to the attention of the law. In some cases an offender will be charged only with the more serious of fence, with the liquor charge omitted. In fact, discussions with persons who have

appeared in court indicate that there are many occasions on which a person has a brush with the law but for various reasons (such as incomplete or conflicting evidence) will only appear in court on a lesser charge such as public intoxication. Proof that a specific person in a group was responsible for illegal brewing or supplying liquor to a minor is often difficult to establish. In such cases the charge is simply intoxication. Table IV. 6 shows the number of charges for various types of liquor of fences in 1965 and 1966 in Aklavik. Table IV.7 shows all other charges for the same period with the number of these charges definitely known to have been related to drinking or accompanied by charges for liquor of fences. Only three out of a two-year total of ninety-two charges against Native people were not liquor related or made for liquor law infractions.

TABLE IV. 6: Charges for Various Liquor Law Infractions, by Ethnic Group, Aklavik 1965/66

Charge	Ethnic Group				Total
	Eskimo	Indian	Metis	Outsider	
intoxication (includes minors)	39	20	12	0	71
making home brew	2	1	0	0	3
supplying liquor to minor	1	1	0	0	2
TOTAL	42	22	12	0	76

Source: Justice of the Peace Records, Aklavik

Note: Dismissed charges omitted

Table IV. 8 shows the relatively marked seasonality in liquor charges in Aklavik for 1965 and 1966, and for Inuvik in 1965. The peak in both cases occurs in the summer months, presumably since these are the months in which cash income from end of season trapping returns and from casual jobs is highest. In

TABLE IV. 5: Number of Persons, by Ethnic Group, with Repeated Liquor Of fences, Aklavik, 1965/66

Ethnic Group	One Of fence	Two Of fences	Three Of fences	Four Of fences	Five or More Of fences	Total
Indian	20	1	0	1	.	22
Metis	12	0	0	0	0	12
Outsider	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	66	4	4	1	1	76

Source: Justice of the Peace Records, Aklavik

Note: Dismissed charges omitted

the case of Inuvik the higher summer incidence of liquor charges against Outsiders is probably related to the marked increase in these months of seasonally employed summer transients from southern Canada.

Table IV.7 shows that Indians show a far higher incidence of charges for violent acts in association with charges for liquor offences than either Eskimo or Metis. It is difficult, on the basis of evidence here, to decide whether Indians are culturally more truculent and aggressive in intoxication than are Eskimo and Metis, although Northern stereotypes state that they are. Honigmann (1968a) suggests a cultural basis for this difference which is consistent with his other analyses of northern Indians.

That Metis experience fewer difficulties with the law over liquor than do other Native people is clear from our evidence and is amply supported by that of Honigmann (1968a). Honigmann suggests that the presence of White fathers in many Metis households has tended to inject norms for behaviour into these households which make them more similar to Outsiders than those of other Native people. Perhaps more important is Honigmann's "stake in society" concept which states that those with more to lose by problem drinking —e.g., loss of steady or preferred jobs—are less likely to have legal problems over drinking. This seems to apply to Aklavik, where the majority of Permanent Employees are Eskimos; and Eskimos fare better with the law over drinking than Indians who are more frequently irregularly employed

TABLE IV. 7: Charges for All Ofences other than Liquor Law Infractions and Number of such Ofences Liquor-related by Ethnic Group, Aklavik 1965/66

Charge	Ethnic Group				Total
	Eskimo	Indian	Metis	Outsider	
Disturbing peace	1	8	0	0	9
(liquor related)	(1)	(8)			(9)
Wilful damage	0	1	0	0	1
(liquor related)		(1)			(1)
Child neglect	9	1	0	0	1
(liquor related)		(1)			(1)
Common assault	0	2	0	0	2
(liquor related)		(2)			(2)
Trespassing	1	0	0	0	1
(liquor related)	(0)				(0)
Theft	0	0	0	1	1
(liquor related)				(0)	(0)
Dog ordinance	1	1	0	0	2
(liquor related)	(0)	(0)			(0)
Aeronautic act	0	0	0	1	1
(liquor related)				(0)	(0)
TOTAL	3	13	0	2	18
(liquor related)	(1)	(12)		(0)	(13)

Source: Justice of the Peace Records, Aklavik
Note: Excludes dismissed charges and all criminal proceedings in higher courts

TABLE IV. 8: Seasonal Incidence of Charges for Liquor Law Infractions, by Ethnic Group. Aklavik 1965/66 and Inuvik 1965

Ethnic Group	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total		
(a) Aklavik (totals 1965/66 combined)															
Eskimo	1	4	2	2	6	7	4	*	2	*	2	4	9	2	42
Indian	2	0	2	0	4	2		3*	4*		2	1	2	1	22
Metis	1	1	1	1	0	1		1'	4*	0	1		0	0	12
Outsider	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0*	0*	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	4	5	5	3	10	10	8*	0*	4	6	11	3	76		
(b) Inuvik (1965)															
Eskimo	11	16	14	21	10	19	16	41	22	37	14	16	237		
Indian	4	9	10	13	13	16	17	22	37	8	12	3	64		
Metis	9	8	6	5	11	17	8	18	5	14	9	3	115		
Outsider	2	2	2	1	0	2	4	6	5	2	2	1	29		
TOTAL	26	35	32	40	34	54	45	87	69	61	37	23	545		

Note: Dismissed charges omitted

*Records for 1966 only available, so figures shown should be approximately doubled

and unemployed. Metis in Honigmann's study spent more on alcohol but had the least number of prosecutions. They are also more highly represented in the Permanent Employee category than Indians.

Sexuality

Perhaps as often as drunkenness, Outsiders refer to the "promiscuity" of Native people. To "act like a Native" has, for many Outsiders immoral or at least amoral connotations. These may be expressed in some form of culture concept. In cruder forms they are said to have little self-control, are child-like, or are savages. The same idea finds elaboration in concepts such as "immediate gratification."

Perhaps what offends Outsiders most is the high rate of illegitimacy amongst Native people, for unwed mothers and their dependents make a heavy demand on social assistance funds. Approximately half of the total social assistance funds distributed go to such cases (see Table IV. 1); consequently the Native management of sexuality comes in for severe and persistent criticism.

Perhaps no less offensive to Outsiders is the aggression and violence often associated with sexuality. Violence and sex are often associated at drinking parties. In addition, among teen-agers several instances of rapes or near-rapes of young girls by a group of young men have come to public attention. Cases of incest (father-daughter), sometimes involving force, have been tried and convicted by the courts, and cases are known and corroborated in which parents have prostituted their daughters by force to single Outsiders. Three or four young Native men in Aklavik have been found by Outsiders to be "peeping toms." These and several others are known to have stolen female underclothing from the wash-lines or even from the houses of single Outsider women. Only somewhat less "pathological" in the eyes of Outsiders, but of as much nuisance value, is the practice of groups of young teen-age Native boys who prowl about the settlement at night peering in at windows hoping to see people involved in sexual acts. When they find such an occasion they seek to disturb the couple involved and subsequently tease them in public about it. This is nothing more than light-hearted mischief, but Outsiders take strong objection to it as a manifestation of a kind of "pathological" sex interest. Many marital quarrels, some of which erupt in physical violence, concern accusations and counter-accusations of infidelity. In short, Native management of sexuality provides many occasions of offence to Outsiders, who see little of the deep affection which is maintained between spouses or sweethearts. Outsiders see the disruptive and violent side of Native sexuality and consequently hold strongly disapproving attitudes towards it. Native people

also have negative feeling about the disruptive effects of sexual behaviour, particularly those of high illegitimacy rates and violence. Negative feelings adhere to some of the effects, but not necessarily to sexuality itself. The effects are not seen as an inevitable outcome of sexual behaviour.

Native children in their earliest years know a considerable amount about the "mechanics" of sexuality. It is a topic of frequent discussion, they have many occasions to observe various kinds of explicitly sexual behaviour in their crowded houses, and at drinking parties. They usually begin sexual experimentation amongst themselves by their mid-teens. Although individual sexual relationships, outside of those at drinking parties, are rather discreet nearly everyone knows about them. Sexual affairs are a chief source of gossip, rumour, and public interest. They are a source of pleasure and warm intimacy, as elsewhere.

Values of self-determination and those concerning the management of emotion probably underly the behaviour of individuals who seek gratifying personal relationships in a situation which emphasizes the legitimacy of self-determined action. [In this sense the disapproval of other Native people or Outsiders, although expressed in many ways, may have limited impact on an individual's decisions for action.

Sexuality appears to be a clear focus for some of the conflicts and anxieties internal to Native subculture. Some dimensions of interpersonal conflict in sexuality express ambivalence over intimacy/non-intimacy (see self-sufficiency and its alternatives); others the ambivalence between self-determination and determination of action by the sensitivities of others. "Being used" or "being bothered" are statements about threatened self-determination; forced or insistent sexual attentions in spite of these are then defined as aggressive. Anger and antagonism often result and may be considerably intensified in their open-expression during intoxication. Lubart (1970) has suggested that anger of this kind maybe displaced on to persons and situations other than those immediately precipitating it.

Drinking and sex are two foci for Native behaviour which powerfully shapes relationships between them and Outsiders. Honigmann (1970) sees them as essential components in what, following Yinger (1960), he designates as the "contraculture" of Native people. Although we object to the use of the culture concept to describe partial domains of what we consider to be a wider subculture, Honigmann by speaking of "contraculture" brings attention to those specific behavioral features which so clearly demarcate the Native subculture and its class-specific components. These foci state more clearly and visibly than many others what it is to "act like a Native" with

all of the moral, class and cultural connotations placed upon it by people in the Delta.

Not all Native people participate with equal vigour in these behaviour patterns. Some reject them completely. Interestingly, those who demonstrate such rejection receive a considerable measure of approval and encouragement from Outsiders, which allows them to be successful and to a great extent to be upwardly mobile in the Delta social system. Commitment to Pentecostalism has been one of the most effective ways for Native people to opt out of Native modes of behaviour and simultaneously to receive approval from Outsiders.

Pentecostalism: An Alternative Way of Life

After a particularly uproarious brew party at which I was present, a prominent Native Pentecostal (once an extremely heavy drinker) came to me to express his concern at my association with such carry-ings-on. He came as a good friend concerned that I should live a better life consistent with my Outsider background and avoid the aspects of Native life of which he strongly disapproved and assumed that I as a responsible Outsider should reject too. In his impassioned pleas for me to reform, he asked me if I knew the most important text of scripture for Native people. Feeling on safe ground, I replied "Yes, it is John 3:16 "For God so loved the world. . . ." (a favourite Pentecostal text). To my surprise he replied emphatically "No! No! Even before that you have to understand Habakkuk 2:15-16, which he proceeded to expound and interpret for me. This text in the King James Version reads:

"Woe unto him that giveth his neighbour drink, that putteth thy bottle to him, and maketh him drunken also, that thou mayest look on their nakedness. Thou art filled with shame for glory; drink thou also, and let thy foreskin be uncovered: the cup of the Lord's right hand shall be turned unto thee, and shameful spewing shall be on thy glory. "

Conversion of life, such an important feature of Pentecostal doctrine, was conceived by him explicitly as a rejection of those two things which Outsiders so closely associate with Native life — intoxication and promiscuity. For him both are inextricably bound together. Rejection of one means rejection of the other.

In Aklavik, over two-thirds of the Permanent Employees are Pentecostal. The remaining 20% are closely related by kinship to the Pentecostal leaders and have periodic attachment to the Pentecostal Church (locally often known as "the Independents" to denote their rejection of the established Anglican and Roman Catholic missions). In Inuvik about half of the very prosperous Native members of the Inuit

Housing Co-op are Pentecostal and permanently employed. Many of the other members have had Pentecostal connections. Outsiders value the thrift, sobriety, and determination of Pentecostal Native people and liberally encourage them with good jobs and other signs of esteem. They are "dependable" and they have "made it" in Outsiders' terms. They are also the "Uncle Toms," the "mean stingy high Christians" to the other Native people whose way of life they explicitly reject and from which by their evangelical fervour attempt to win more converts.

It seems fair to say that Pentecostalism provides a comprehensive alternative way of life to that followed by most Native people. Its fundamentalist approach is explicit, tolerates no ambiguity, and extends into all spheres of human behaviour. It clearly defines change from the "Native way" in moral terms, and prescribes strategies for change. It provides a cohesive group identity with built-in encouragements and supports for those tempted to backslide. It equips its members with doctrinal, social, and emotional defenses against antagonists. Its egalitarian ethic provides an inversion of the usual social structure. For example, the leaders and preachers are often Native people, and prestigious Outsiders, such as school teachers, have been ordinary congregation members with no leadership or executive functions. In one case the school janitor was congregation minister and the school principal was one of his parishioners. In this respect the Pentecostal Church is quite unlike other voluntary organizations in the Delta. Its highly personal doctrines of individual salvation and personal endeavour are consistent with some of the more traditional Native values of self-reliance, but adherence to the Pentecostal variant provides conspicuous rewards in the current social system.

Finally, it is not stretching the point too far to suggest that the intense social relationships in the congregation and the emphasis on rousing singing and ecstatic behaviour (such as glossolalia) provides a socially acceptable analogue to boisterous drinking and the intense sociability accompanying it. A common, exuberant theme one encounters among Pentecostals is "I don't need liquor any more! I'm drunk with the Holy Spirit! I'm never lonely or bored or scared any more!" Drunkenness in this case has high social value and it is an important component in the Pentecostal way of life. Alcoholic intoxication too has high social value among Native people, but contrary to the Pentecostal experience, it generates behaviour and conditions which are fraught with ambivalence and hostility and may entail costly sanctions by Outsiders.

Economic Pluralism and Poverty

Economic pluralism in the Mackenzie Delta is in part a reflection of national patterns of socio-economic stratification which consistently find Native people at the bottom end of the socio-economic scale, of differential access by Outsider and Native populations to major sources of wealth and means of investment, and of cultural differentiation with respect to the ways in which Outsiders and Native people are organized for economic production and consumption. This economic pluralism simultaneously constitutes an important basis for the perpetuation of that differentiation.

The Outsider sector operates according to the principles of modern capitalism which it shares with the rest of the nation. Its members are bureaucratically and commercially sophisticated, linked with national bureaucratic and commercial interests, and share with other Canadians a general set of motives of maximization. In fact, the Outsider sector in the Western Arctic represents a regional intensification of corporate capitalism and large scale bureaucratization over the last two decades both in government; and progressively in the "private" sector (oil, gas, and mineral exploitation by large corporations) over the last decade. Historically, this role was dominated by fur trade interests. This local condensation of activities typical of North American economic organization are, in a sense, much more prominent and visible in the Delta than in many other Arctic regions. There is a primacy of concentration on economic ends expressed both publicly in bureaucratic and mercantile conceptions of "Northern Development" and in the personal profit-motives which make many Outsiders seek a temporary Northern posting with its economic perquisites and its promise of a chance to save an amount of money away from the costly demands of city life.

In contrast, the Native sector is oriented around traditional subsistence and fur trade activities and the supply of relatively unskilled labour on demand to the Outsider sector. Mercantile or entrepreneurial interests are minimal or non-existent, production is carried on at an individual or kin/friendship basis, and links with the national economy are indirectly mediated through local Outsider bureaucratic and mercantile structures. In the cash economy they assume a dependent and particularistic relationship to Outsiders: dependent because Outsider organizations are the only source of cash and provide the only means by which it can be spent; particularistic in that there is no major set of means by which cash can be exchanged between Native people (except by kin sharing, gifts, and gambling), so that an individual's or family group's economic links by money exchange tend to be "vertical" to the Outsider sector rather than "lateral" to other Native people. This militates against capital accumulation in the Native sector. In such a situation conditions and events in the Outsider

economic structure are often acutely reflected in the Native sector, which is very vulnerable economically. The economic privation and distress precipitated by relatively dramatic fluctuation of fur prices on the international market, the seasonal variability of furbearers, the seasonal availability of casual jobs, and the "boom and bust" trend in Northern building or development projects over the past two decades provide clear examples. In particular we wish to examine how this pluralistic relation consistently results in relatively marked economic privation for the Native sector in comparison to the relative affluence of local Outsiders.

Poverty

The Economic Council of Canada in its *Fifth Annual Review (1968)* has rightly pointed to the analytical difficulties involved in defining a poverty threshold in terms of real income. The "poverty line" can be expected to vary through time according to trends in the cost of living, economic inflation, and so on. Perhaps even more important are difficulties involved in defining a poverty line which is comparable between the economically very diverse regions of Canada, between rural agricultural and urban situations, and across major socio-cultural cleavages such as that between Eskimos, Indians, and other Canadians. It is sometimes very difficult to assign cash equivalents to home-grown products or to wild foods acquired in subsistence activities, and these constitute an important basis for life among many Canadians. Poverty is more than simple income deficiency. It is a condition which makes one a non-participant in many of the chief institutions of the society in which one lives. Poverty is a relative term. There is increasing recognition in Canada that poverty is not simply a lack of subsistence essentials, but a lack of access to the goods, services and amenities which are available to those who have money but which both the poor and the relatively rich have learned to value in the North American consumer society. To understand poverty fully one must understand the cultural and social-psychological dimensions of self-perceived deprivation.

Nevertheless, there is considerable value in considering poverty in terms of money income, for money is a circulating medium of exchange which allows individuals to exert considerable influence over the conditions which affect their lives. Money is like power, for it allows individuals to exercise choice among a multitude of life-goals and the means of achieving them.

Psychologically, the greater use of money has the effect of increasing the functional autonomy of the individual, his sense of mastery and independence . . . it is a tool for Maslow's "coping behaviour". . .

TABLE V.1: Average Income from Employment after Taxes and Payroll Deductions per Earner and per Capita, Aklavik Residents, 1966

Category	Ave. Income per Earner from Employment	Ave. Income per Capita from Employment ²
I Outsiders	\$6,599 Range: \$4,000-9,000	\$3,210
II Native People		
(a) Permanent Employees	\$3,849 Range: \$1,282-5,421	\$ 940
(b) Casual Workers	\$1,338 Range: \$32-4,675	\$ 194
(c) Bush People	\$1,475 Range: \$280-542	\$ 34
All Native People	\$1,887	\$ 274

¹ Average Annual Income per Earner was calculated by the simple formula: total income by all earners in a given category divided by the number of earners in the category.

² Average per Capita Income was calculated by the formula: total income by all earners in a given category divided by the number of earners and dependents in the category.

or White's "effectance motivation" and "competence". . . (Hughes 1965:49).

Given the realities of the world in which Delta Native people now find themselves, the importance of money as an adaptive mechanism cannot be underestimated. Income in cash and kind comes to Delta Native people from a variety of sources. Not all of these sources provide the freedom and flexibility of cash in hand for allocation to ends of Native people's own choosing. We shall consider each of these types of income in turn and trace some of their implications for Delta social organization.

Occupations

Cash income from employment in permanent and casual jobs is an important source of income for all Outsiders and for many Native people. The data which we present here refer to the settlement of Aklavik for the calendar year 1966. Although the amounts of income in dollars cannot be generalized to other Delta settlements, perhaps especially Inuvik, the general trends and relationships are probably broadly representative. Likewise there is no assur-

ance that the data necessarily reflect a stable condition through time. However, a consideration of income from employment illustrates rather clearly some of the main dimensions of socio-economic stratification. Although Native people are not always as fully employed in the occupational subsystem as they would wish to be, they value jobs as an important source of cash both for immediate necessities and wants and for the acquisition of equipment for land-based subsistence activities in which they maybe involved. Table V. 1 presents the average income per earner and per capita from employment. The amounts shown represent net payroll amounts after income tax and other payroll deductions —or, in other words, disposable income from this source. They include amounts for Food Allowance and Isolated Posts Allowances paid to northern employees who have worked for a minimum of ninety consecutive work days. These subsidies are paid to steady employees in monthly installments, but occasionally to casual workers in lump sums at the end of a calendar year.

All Outsiders in Aklavik were fully employed, and all held relatively well-paid positions (Area Administrator, School Principal, teacher, engineer, etc.). For both these reasons average income per earner was relatively high. Since almost half of the Outsiders were single with no dependents and since married Outsiders were relatively young people with small families the number of people dependent on the income of this group was small, and consequently the Average per Capita Income was relatively high. The difference between Outsiders and Native people with respect to income per earner and per capita is considerable.

Among Native people, all Permanent Employees were fully employed in the year under consideration with no major periods of time lost through sickness or involvement in other activities. The fact that nearly all of the Permanent Employees were employed in relatively menial service jobs (janitor, dishwasher, garbage collector, general labourer) is reflected in their lower Income per Earner compared to Outsiders. All of these were heads of households containing a considerably larger number of children and other dependents than the Outsider households. This is reflected in the sharp differentiation between Outsiders and Native Permanent Employees with regard to Income per Capita.

Among Native Casual Workers there was considerable variation in length of time spent in employment (a few days to several months). Still others who do occasional casual work were not employed during the observation year. Both of these factors account for their relatively low Income per Earner. Most of these belonged to households whose members were in some measure dependent upon their incomes from employment. These dependents included wives,

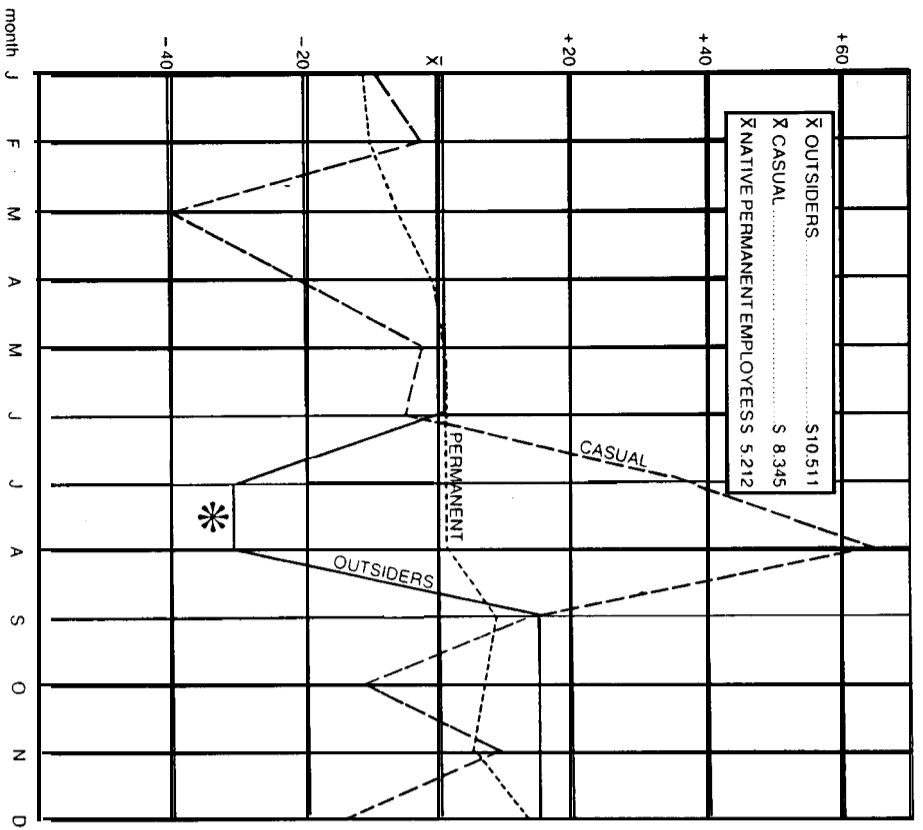


Fig. V-1
 Monthly Percentage Deviation from Annual Mean
 of Income from Employment, by Employment
 Category, Aklavik, 1966.
 (See Appendix Table C-1)

* Note: Low total income in summer months reflects
 absence of teachers on vacation who are
 employed on ten-month (Sept.-June) contracts.

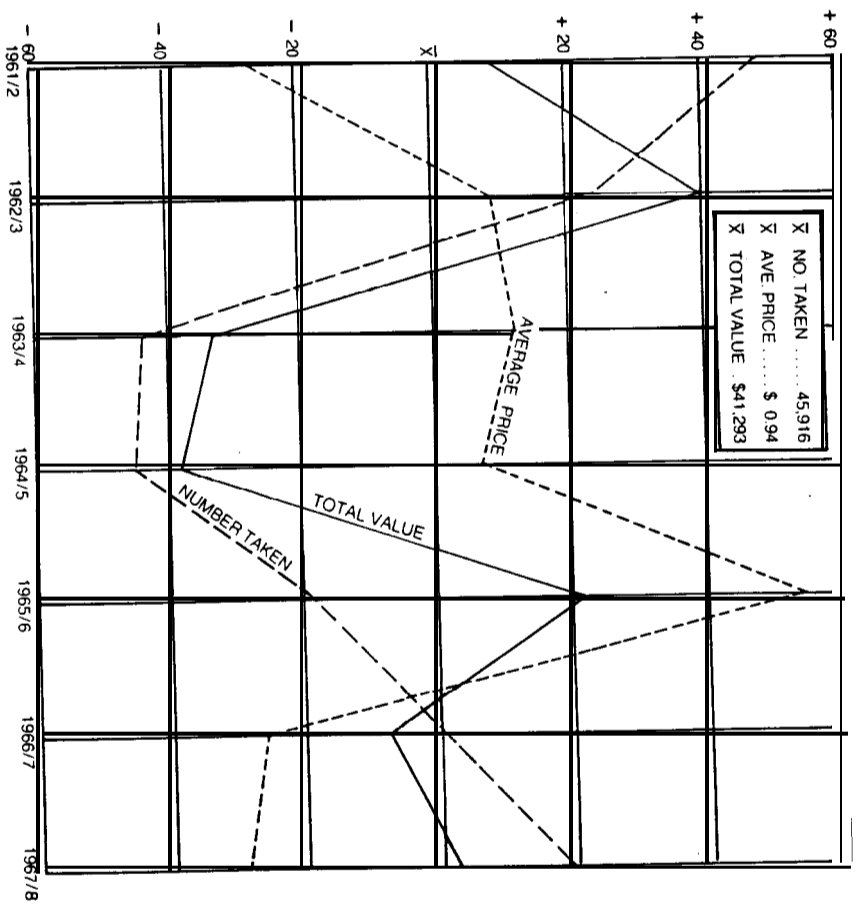


Fig. V-2
 M
 Percentage
 Seasons of Number of Muskrats Taken, Average
 Price Paid and Total Value, Aklavik,
 Seasons 1961/62 to 1967/68.
 (See Appendix Table D-1)

relatives, and aged or unemployable kin and friends. This also accounts in part for the low Income per Capita from employment of this kind.

Among Bush people only a few younger men and women were employed in short term casual jobs. Income from this source is low, and the proportion of earners to the total population of this category yields a very low Income per Capita from this source.

As we shall see, however, this low and unstable source of income is nevertheless the major component in the Actual Income of most Native people. Employment income is usually highest in the summer months since that is the time when government building and maintenance projects are most active. For those who do not trap actively in the winter months there may be real economic privation. Instability of income effectively prevents long-term economic planning and investment where monthly credit instalments are required (even on the assumption that this were possible on low incomes) although an extensive credit system eases immediate pressure in some cases. Figure V. 1 shows the considerable monthly fluctuation in casual employment income in contrast to the relative stability of employment income for permanently employed Native People and Outsiders. This instability is as important a feature of poverty as low income, for it deprives a large portion of Native People from the means of applying what money they have to ends of their own choosing in the same ways available to the permanently employed. Living "hand to mouth" is perhaps less a cultural feature than a situational one.

Trapping, Hunting and Fishing

Fur trapping has historically played a chief role in the economy of the Native sector. Although its importance has declined considerably in the last twenty years, it remains an important source of cash income second only to employment. Not only is income from trapping unstable because of dramatic annual fluctuation in fur prices according to demands on the international market, there is considerable annual fluctuation in the availability of furbearers. In addition, income from furs is available only in the winter and spring months. November and December are chiefly occupied in trapping fine furs (mink, fox, lynx, and some marten). These furs pay a relatively high price per pelt, and income from this source is important for subsistence in the winter months and for acquiring equipment and supplies for the spring fur season. Muskrat makes up the largest part of the spring catch. Although they pay a low price per pelt they are trapped and shot literally by the thousands from mid-March until the end of May. Beaver is also trapped or shot in the spring, and although only a small number are taken they pay a high price per pelt.

The dynamics of a furtrapping and trading economy are extremely complex as Usher (1970) has shown. We are concerned here less with details of how this historically important set of activities works than the role furtrapping income plays at the present time as a component in total cash income to Native people in Aklavik.

The species of chief economic importance in the Delta in recent times are muskrat, mink, beaver, and lynx. These are taken by vigorous trapping and hunting. Fox is taken largely by accident in traps set for other species, as are ermine and squirrels, which are of little economic significance. Table V. 2 shows the proportion of income derived from the chief species over five trapping seasons (approximately 84% to 98% of total income from trapping, an average of 89.8%). Muskrat is the most important of these, followed by mink. Cyclical and seasonal variation in abundance, and fluctuations in market price make income from these species, and indeed the whole trapping enterprise, somewhat unstable and unpredictable. The effects are felt most immediately by Bush People and Casual Workers who also depend on trapping.

TABLE V. 2: Proportions of Income from Sales of Various Pelts and Skins by Percentage of Total Income from Fur Sales, Aklavik, Seasons 1963/64 to 1967/68

	Percent of Total Income from Fur Sales				
	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
Muskrat	48.36	59.76	75.76	71.06	85.05
Mink	38.01	21.96	6.23	8.35	5.05
Beaver	0.40	0.90	4.67	7.32	6.63
Lynx	1.73	1.64	1.01	3.90	1.18
Subtotal	88.50	84.26	87.67	90.66	97.91
All Others	11.50	15.74	12.33	9.34	2.09
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Trader's Fur Record Books, Aklavik

Total Annual Income is affected by the number of skins and pelts taken in the year, and by market price. The total number of pelts taken in a given year reflects both variation in species availability and trapping effort. We cannot separate these two factors on the basis of our data. Figures V.2, V. 3 and V. 4 show the relationship between number of pelts taken, average price paid per pelt, and total income from sales of muskrat, mink, and beaver respectively as percentage deviations from means over a seven-season period for which reliable data are available.

TABLE V. 3: Average Prices Per Pelt Paid by Traders for Various Furs, Aklavik, by Month, 1966/67 Season

	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June
Muskrat	—	—	—	—	1.00	0.87	0.61	0.59
Beaver	—	21.33	—	—	14.50	—	21.25	11.84
Mink	34.78	26.47	12.55	23.77	23.79	—	—	—
Marten	—	19.26	16.26	13.83	16.00	16.00	—	—
Lynx	24.29	26.81	22.93	12.82	23.25	—	—	—
Squirrel	0.51	0.50	0.45	0.45	—	0.43	—	—
Weasel (ermine)	1.07	0.88	1.09	0.71	—	—	—	—

Source: Trader's Fur Record Book, Aklavik

Muskrat (Figure V. 2): Total annual income from muskrat sales follows the supply line quite closely but is quite markedly depressed or elevated by major fluctuations in market price (see depressions 1961/2 and 1966/7, 1967/ 68; elevation 1965/ 6). Unlike mink and beaver, annual abundance and market price are in a general inverse relationship, following reasonably clear supply and demand lines. Given a more stable market price, total income would obviously follow the supply line much more closely. In any case, it is clear that total income from muskrat sales shows considerable seasonal variation.

Mink (Figure V. 3): Total seasonal income from sales of mink pelts varies just as considerably as that from muskrat sales. While the market price is somewhat more stable than that for muskrat, total income from mink sales follows fairly closely the line of supply.

Beaver (Figure V. 4): The market price for beaver is considerably more stable than that for either muskrat or mink. Consequently, total seasonal income from beaver sales follows the supply line very closely. Like income from muskrat and mink sales there is considerable seasonal fluctuation in total income from beaver sales.

Income from fur sales is subject not only to cyclical variation over several seasons, but to fluctuations in species abundance and market prices within a single season. Mink and lesser furs are available in prime pelage in the deep winter months. Virtually all of these furs are trapped. Muskrat and beaver season falls at the end of winter and in the spring months. A number of muskrat and beaver are taken by trapping, but by far the largest proportion are shot with rifles from canoes dragged over the river ice between pools of open water in May and June before the ice breaks up completely. The greatest peak of income from furs falls in the spring. Table V. 3 shows the monthly variation in average prices paid per pelt in the 1966/67 trapping season. The sporadic, relatively unpredictable nature of fur income is clear. Approximately 61 % of total fur income becomes available in a single month (June), at the peak of the muskrat hunting season.

Table V.4 indicates the estimated total fur sales per capita in each socioeconomic category.

TABLE V.4: Estimated Total income from Fur Sales per Capita by Socioeconomic Category, Aklavik, 1966

Category	Fur Sales	No. of Persons in Category	Average Fur Sales Per Capita
Permanent Employees	\$ 2,975.00	61	\$ 48.77
Casual Workers	21,173.00	449	47.15
Bush	6,393.00	60	106.55
All Native People	\$30,544.00	570	\$ 53.58

Source: Trader's Fur Record Book, Aklavik; Field Investigations

Fur income is a very important source of cash in hand for most Native people, although in the pattern of trading, much of it maybe applied directly to outstanding accounts with traders for supplies necessary to fur-harvesting. A considerable number look upon it, particularly in muskrat season as an important source of pin-money. A borrowed ,22 cal. rifle, a handful of shells and transportation with someone else's dog team to productive areas may be all that is required to carry on activities at this level. However, households which depend upon fur-harvesting as an important feature of their economy require a substantial amount of capital investment in expendable supplies such as motor fuel and ammunition. Several people may make use of one "outfit" — one sleeps while the other hunts — so that it is not an easy matter in many cases to calculate the amount of capital investment and supplies against the profit from fur sales alone of any single person or readily identifiable group of persons. In addition, some of the main capital items for trapping are also essential for hunting and fishing, gathering wild foods, and simply for transportation. Certain symbolic or

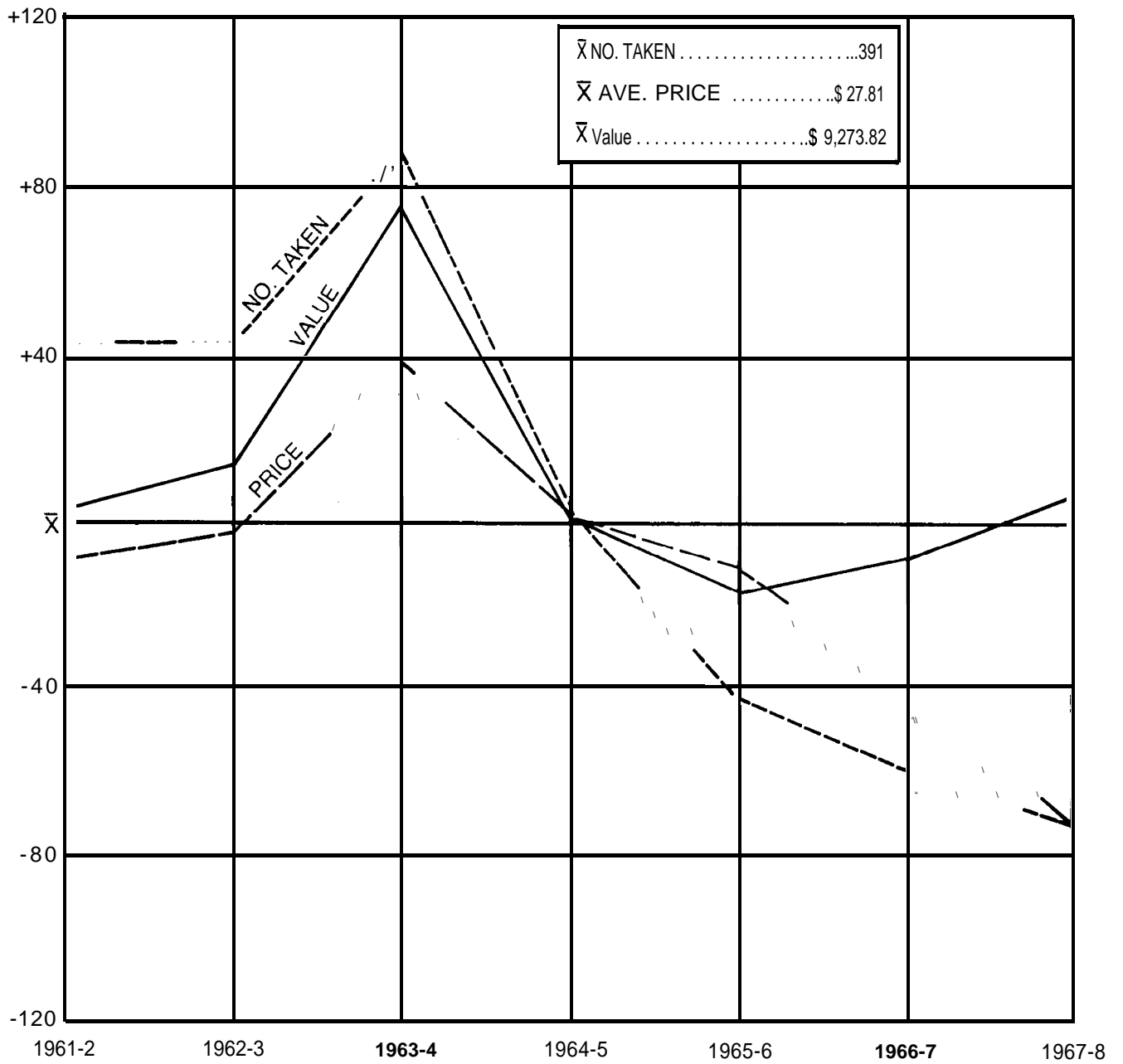


Fig. V.3
 Percentage Deviations from Seven-Season Mean
 of Number of Mink Taken, Average
 Price Paid and Total Value, Aklavik,
 Seasons 1961 /62 to 1967/68

(See Appendix Table D.2)

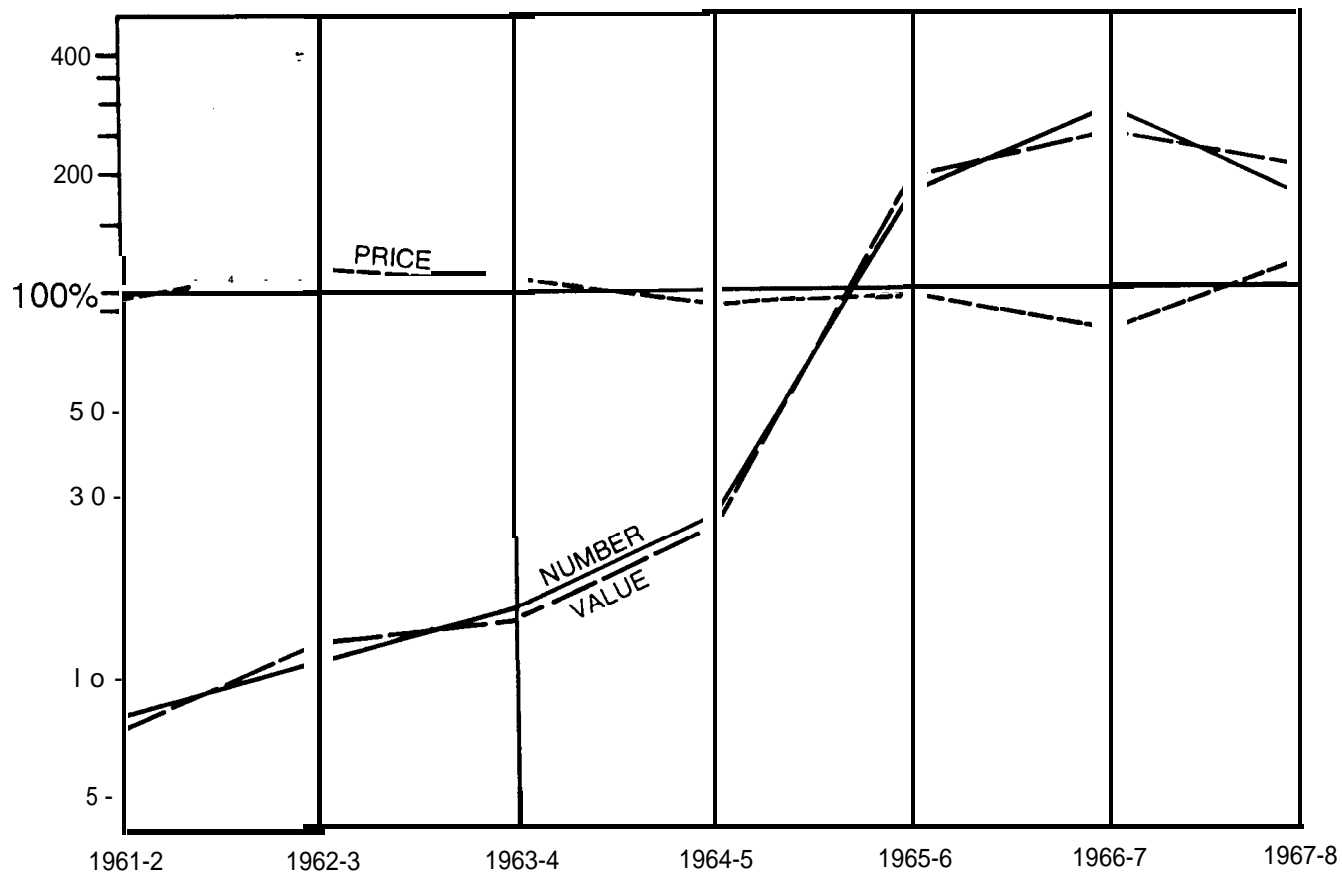


Fig. V-4
 Percentage Deviations from Means
 of Seven Seasons of Number of
 Beaver Taken, Average **Price**
 Paid, and Total Value,
 Aklavik, Seasons 1961/2 to **1967/68**
 (See Appendix Table D-3)

emotional meanings too are attached to keeping a dog team and a basic outfit, sometimes at considerable economic expense, by people who seldom use them for productive purposes (e.g., Bush People recently moved into employment in the settlement will sometimes insist on keeping dogs; a decision to get rid of them is almost like burning one's bridges back to the bush life).

On the basis of an inventory of most Aklavik households, however, it is possible to determine what constitutes a basic list of items and supplies which are essential to carry on trapping at more than a marginal level, although some of the equipment is also necessary to other activities. Depreciation costs on capital items are also calculated on the basis of this inventory and the owners' statements of expected life for each item. Some people have much more than this basic list. They may have motor toboggans, speedboats, expensive "prestige" rifles, more tents, more dogs, or a large number of traps. Others have less and may depend on the goodwill of friends for loans of equipment and supplies such as dog-feed, Tables V. 5 and V. 6 summarize basic capital equipment and operating costs.

The tables are constructed to show a low and high average investment. Operating costs are similarly constructed, essentially since costs of supplying dog-feed follow two general modes: (a) active fishing and hunting of small game such as rabbits for dog-

feed, partially augmented with purchased oatmeal or corn-meal and fat supplements; (b) feeding of dogs essentially with purchased fish and oatmeal/fat supplements (common among Casual Workers unable to fish actively in summer months).

These data show that a capital investment of over \$1110.00 is required for equipment necessary for effective trapping and hunting. This figure should be considered as a low average. It will be noted that - some of this equipment has a very short expected life. For example, people who buy cheap .22 cal. rifles often find they need to replace them yearly. Tents and harnesses (especially those of cheap canvas webbing) deteriorate rapidly with use. The rate of depreciation on cheap equipment is about 30% per year, while that on better quality equipment is some 5% less at a rate of 24.86%.

Our data on operating costs (not considering replacement of depreciated capital goods) show that a minimum of \$650-\$700 is required. Persons who are unable to produce wild food for feeding dogs due to their involvement in summer casual labour require a considerably higher amount of cash or credit (at least \$1 700) to meet operating costs. To meet capital replacement, another \$375-\$640 are required. These amounts of capital investment and operating costs, though relatively small by Outsider standards, are substantial for people who have low and sporadic incomes like those of Native people.

TABLE V. 5: Capital Investment and Depreciation, Basic Trapping and Hunting Equipment, Aklavik 1966

	Replacement Value		Expected Life in Years		Annual Depreciation	
	Low*	High*	Low	High	Low	High
A. Trapping and Hunting Equipment						
Traps (50-1 00 size 1%; 150-400 size 1)	\$ 225.00	\$ 625.00	10.0**	10.0**	\$ 22.50	\$ 62.50
- .22 cal. rifle	30.00	85.00	1.5	4.5	20.00	21.66
.3030 carbine or .243 cal.	95.00	165.00	5.0	5.0	19.00	35.00
12 gauge shotgun	65.00	130.00	6.0	6.0	10.83	21.66
2 fishnets with twine	65.00	65.00	2.0	2.0	22.50	32.50
	\$ 480.00	\$1,070.00			\$104.83	\$173.32
	Mean: \$780.00				Mean: \$139.07	
B. Traveling and Camping Equipment						
Canoe (18 ft.-24ft.)	\$ 450.00	\$ 575.00	4.5	4.5	\$100.00	\$127.77
Outboard motor (15-30hp)	375.00	575.00	3.0	3.0	125.00	191.66
10 ft. toboggan	65.00	65.00	2.0	2.0	37.50	37.50
Harness (nine dogs)	90.00	140.00	2.0	4.0	45.00	35.00
Canvas cariole	25.00	25.00	2.0	2.0	12.50	12.50
Tent	85.00	100.00	2.0	2.0	42.50	50.00
Stove	25.00	25.00	2.0	2.0	12.50	12.50
	\$1,115.00	\$1,505.00			\$375.00	\$466.93
	Mean: \$1,310.00				Mean: \$420.96	
TOTAL	\$1,595.00	\$2,575.00			\$479.83	\$640.25

● Low versus high replacement value basically reflects alternative preferences of quality of goods
 ● *Disregards losses of traps

Data are not readily available which would allow us to estimate with accuracy for individuals the amount of capital investment and direct operating costs which should be charged against gross income from fur sales in order to determine net profit from this activity. However, an over-all estimate of total operating expenses for trapping, hunting, and fishing was determined on the basis of a community inventory. This estimate is only approximate. Against it we can compare the income from fur sales and the total cash-equivalent value for land food products in order to make a rough estimate of net profit from all land activities. This comparison of total cash and cash-equivalent income from productive activities with estimated operating expenses excludes estimated values for other activities such as traveling to visit friends and kin, expenses for which are also included in our estimated operating costs. Our estimate of net profit applies to the year 1966 only, for seasonal fluctuation of resources and income from these resources appears to be considerable. Reliable data are not available in order to determine trends through time.

TABLE V. 6: Basic Operating Costs and Depreciation on Capital Goods for Trapping and Hunting, Aklavik 1966

Commodity	Annual Expenditure	
	Low	High
Ammunition		
.22 cal. (2000 rounds)	\$ 45.00	\$ 45.00
.3030 (150 rounds)	33.00	33.00
12 gauge (150 rounds)	39.00	39.00
Dog-feed for nine dogs		
(a) basically purchased	—	900.00 ¹
fish (9000 lbs.)	—	240.00
cats (1 200 lbs.)	—	87.50
tallow (250 lbs.)		
(b) basically self-produced	—*	—
fish (1 0,000 lbs.)		
cats (500 lbs.)	100.00	—
tallow (250 lbs.)	52.50	—
Gasoline (250 gals.)	122.50	122.50
Motor Oil (30 qts.)	27.00	27.00
Naphtha (50 gals.)	34.50	34.50
Miscellaneous***	200.00****	200.00***
	(est.)	(est.)
Total operating costs	\$ 656.00	\$1,731.00
	(Mean \$1,193.50)	
Depreciation on capital		
(see Table V. 4)	479.83	640.25
	\$1,135.83	\$2,371.25
	(Mean \$1,753.54)	

● Minimum cost of fish in sales between Native people is \$0.10/lb.

*Excludes cost of self-production of fish—not known

● **Expendable items such as axes, nails, ropes, chains, buckets, camping kitchen gear, etc.

TABLE V. 7: Percentage Depreciation Rates per Annum on Capital Investment in Trapping and Hunting Equipment, Aklavik 1966

Category	High Rate	Low Rate	Mean
Trapping and Hunting Equipment	21.84%	16.19%	17.83%
Traveling and Camping Equipment	33.63	31.02	32.13
Total Rate all categories	30.08	24.86	26.79

See Table V. 6

Appendix F outlines the method by which cash equivalent values for land food products were derived. Table V.8 indicates the estimated distribution of these values in each socio-economic category. It will be noted that Permanent Employees have a high income for land foods for although they hunt mostly on weekends and holidays they are vigorous trappers. They can also afford high quality equipment and motor toboggans for rapid long-range transport. Bush People have a high land food income, a large proportion of which is fish.

Table V.9 shows that a net profit of \$37,940 was derived from land activities, or a return on costs of 30.9%.

TABLE V. 8: Estimated Total Income as Cash Equivalent Value of Wild Foods, by Socioeconomic Category, Aklavik 1966

Food Type	Permanent Employees	Casual Workers	Bush People	Total
	Caribou ¹	\$11,236	\$35,047	\$ 7,223
Moose ¹	1,638	671	1,638	3,947
Mt. Sheep ¹	265	132	265	662
Bear ¹	588	795	795	2,178
Fish ²	6,400	38,400	19,200	64,000
Rabbits and Fowl ²	965	1,969	2,881	4,495
Total	\$21,092	\$77,814	\$32,002	\$130,1'08
No. of persons in Category	61	449	60	570
Average per Capita Income, Wild Foods	\$ 343	\$ 173	\$ 533	\$ 228

Source: Field investigations

¹ Close estimates

² Rough estimates

Table V.1 O indicates estimated per capita costs in each socio-economic category-, and Table V.1 1 compares these costs with income from land activities in order to determine net profit in them for each category.

TABLE V. 9: Estimated Aggregate Operating Expenses and Depreciation on Trapping, Hunting, and Fishing Equipment, and Net Profit from Land Activities. Aklavik 1966

A. <i>Operating Expenses:</i> est. 70 outfits at \$1,193	\$ 83,510
B. <i>Capital Depreciation:</i> est. 70 outfits at \$560	39,200
(a) Total	<u>\$122,710</u>
C. <i>Income</i> Fur Sales	\$ 30,544
Value of Land Foods	130,106
(b) Total	<u>\$160,650</u>
D. <i>Net Profit</i> (b minus a) as percentage of costs	37,940 30.9%

TABLE V. 10: Estimated Operating Expenses for Hunting, Trapping and Fishing, per Capita, by Socioeconomic Category, Aklavik 1966

Category	No. of Outfits	costs Total Amount"	No. of Persons in Category	Average Cost per Capita
Permanent Employees	12	\$ 21,040	61	\$345
Casual Workers	47	82,170	449	183
Bush People	11	19,500	60	325
All Native People	70	\$122.710	570	\$215

Source: Field Investigations

● Mean operating costs and capital depreciation are used to determine amount by category

TABLE V. 11: Net Profit from Trapping, Hunting, and Fishing, Aklavik Native People, by Socioeconomic Category 1966

Category	Fur Sales	Wild Food	Total	Ave. per Capita Costs	Net Profit	
					Amount	%
Permanent Employees	\$ 49	\$343	\$392	\$345	\$ 47	13.6
Casual Workers	47	173	220	183	37	20.2
Bush People	107	533	640	325	315	96.9
All Native People	\$ 53	\$228	\$281	\$215	\$66	30.9

Source: Field Investigations

The determination of net profit by the technique we have used is very important. It shows that in broad perspective trapping, hunting, and fishing, are economically viable activities in the Aklavik area. However, the determination of income from land activities as cash-equivalent obscures the direct cash income from sales of land products. It does not represent profit in the commercial sense. If the total of direct cash income from land activities were compared with operating expenses, one would find that land activities entail *net cash loss*. This assertion is true of the community as a whole. Three individuals, White trappers with Native wives and families, typically realize a net cash gain of about 20% on operating expenses according to their own reports, although they were unwilling to make available detailed data in order to document their cases.

It seems fair to say that most Native people look at profit and loss in trapping and land activities in another light. Most would argue that a basic hunting outfit is required for harvesting subsistence land products. With a somewhat higher outlay in operating expenses one can also harvest furs effectively and cash income from fur sales then appears essentially as profit. The importance of trapping is that it provides immediate cash in hand. Its hazard is the seasonal and cyclical fluctuation which is so marked in the trapping enterprise. Like hunting or the pursuit of seasonal casual labour it places the Native person at relatively high risk in the sense that high outlay in effort and cash can, on the expectation of high yield, easily be a liability in a fluctuating market and fluctuating resource base both of which from the Native person's position is relatively unpredictable and largely beyond his control. Apart from fluctuating resources, other fluctuations (e.g., market, occupational system) are rooted in the Outsider Sector. These fluctuations in Outsider-controlled markets and employment demands have, for Outsiders, coping mechanisms rooted in national bureaucracies (e.g., government fiscal systems and national and international markets). Historically, for Native people in the North, there have been moderately effective mechanisms for coping with seasonally and cyclically variable income from gainful employment either in traditional fur trade land activities or in wage employment in settlement jobs. The fur trade grubstake credit system is one of these, but government social assistance programmed have recently become important in this field.

Coping with Income Fluctuation: Credit and Social Assistance

Credit and social assistance both provide means of coping with temporary economic privation, but have different socioeconomic implications for Native people which are important to understand.

In the past, especially before 1940, long-term credit was an important feature of household economics in the Native sector. Traders would often extend a complete "winter outfit" or "grub-stake" to a trapper in order to permit him to carry on intensive trapping. Large amounts of credit for major capital items such as whaling schooners were extended against a person's seasonal income from trapping. Traders would often compete with each other by offering more attractive deals to individual trappers, who would make their fur sales to the traders who backed them.

At the present time grub-stake system has virtually disappeared, although some independent traders carry it on at a reduced level with a few full-time trappers. For most Native people, credit with traders has been reduced to an average maximum of about \$100 and for large capital items a down-payment of at least 50% is normally required. Although independent traders sometimes carry larger accounts, one notes that their customers tend to be less affluent or more subject to drastic income fluctuation than those of the larger trading networks. Independent traders in this situation stand at somewhat higher risk than large companies and are compelled to charge higher prices for staple commodities, in many cases at least 10% higher than prices at trading outlets of large companies. Correspondingly, Native people who are affluent or are subject to great variation in income, while receiving more liberal terms of credit, pay more for their basic supplies than do the more affluent. The trend over the last thirty years has been for the northern credit system to fall much more into line with southern Canadian mercantile practices and away from the large grub-stake pattern of the traditional fur trade. In a few very affluent trapping communities, such as Banks land, the large grub-stake and long-term credit system still functions, but notably through large trading companies in southern Canada (Usher 1970:41 7) rather than through northern trading companies. Large-scale, long-term credit appears to be much more viable for both trader and customer when the customer has reasonable assurance of producing substantial amounts of fur, even if lean years intrude. It seems less viable when the customer's income depends more on the seasonal availability of casual jobs. Persons in constant wage-employment do not normally require long-term credit specifically to protect themselves from income variation. In the case of seasonal casual jobs both traders and customers are less likely to be able to predict the availability of income, for the factors which determine the availability of jobs generally lie outside those factors of economic significance over which they have at least some measure of control (such as trapping effort, local variations in fur prices, special trading concessions, etc.). In the Delta, the large-scale, long-term credit system appears to have been viable in a basically single-enterprise economy such as trapping/fur trading while that activity

operated at relatively high income volume. In the contemporary situation, where trapping constitutes only about one-fifth or less of total income in the community and total trapping income is less than one-tenth of what it was in the early 1940's (see Appendix E), and in which alternative sources of income have been multiplied in the employment system, it is clear why the previous fur trade credit system has become attenuated.

Social assistance programmed, among other functions, now play some of the role that the credit-system did in the past. They are a means of tiding individuals over lean periods when income from trapping and job employment is low. Among the several administratively recognized criteria for social assistance eligibility is a category called "economic reasons". Funds in this category are paid to people suffering economic privation through unemployment, poor hunting conditions, and low trapping returns. Funds in this category in 1966 were allocated to forty-six households and amounted to \$17,700 or 41.25% of the total social assistance paid out in that year. Three-quarters of these issues were for \$600 or less (Table V.1 2). Most of the households receiving over \$600 in the year had household heads

TABLE V. 12: Number of Households in Aklavik Receiving Social Assistance for Economic Reasons, by Total Amount Received in 1966

Amount	No. of Households	Amount	No. of Households
over \$1500	3	700-799	2
1400-1499	0	600-699	2
1300-1399	1	500-599	4
1200-1299	1	400-499	0
1100-1199	2	300-399	4
1000-1099	0	200-299	4
900- 999	2	100-199	10
800- 899	2	under 100	- 9

Source: Welfare Office Files, Aklavik

unemployed for nine months or more. In terms of cash income, social assistance for economic reasons is relatively stable except for a marked reduction at the peak income period from trapping (Figure V.5). The general disassociation between social assistance of this type and the marked fluctuations of cash availability indicate that social assistance responds poorly to deprivation defined in terms of cash income. This category of social assistance is also defined administratively, however, to include deprivation of wild foods from hunting and fishing. Our data on monthly totals of cash-equivalent values for wild food are not sufficiently reliable to allow month by month comparison with social assistance figures. However, since hunting and fishing are at their peaks

TABLE V. 13: Social Assistance Payments to Aklavik Native People by Amount and as Percentage of Total Yearly Issue, January 1 to December 31, 1966

	Groceries	Clothing	Fuel	Shelter	Misc.	Total
Health ¹	\$ 3,736.90 (8.62%)	\$ 177.43 (0.41%)	\$ 459.36 (1.06%)	—	\$186.49 (0.43%)	\$ 4,560.18 (10.52%)
Dependent ²	16,609.50 (38.3%)	834.47 (1.93%)	1,254.59 (2.89%)	\$100.00 (0.23%)	175.28 (0.40%)	10,873.84 (43.78%)
Children	14,285.32 (32.96%)	709.58 (1.64%)	2,265.55 (5.20%)	258.11 (0.60%)	369.71 (0.85%)	17,879.27 (41.25%)
Economic ³	1,599.35 (3.69%)	147.92 (0.09%)	—	—	95.00 (0.22%)	1,842.27 (4.25%)
Child Welfare ⁴	—	40.00 (0.34%)	—	25.00 (0.06%)	20.00 (0.05%)	85.00 (0.20%)
Miscellaneous						
TOTAL	\$36,231.07 (83.60%)	\$1,909.40 (4.41%)	\$3,970.50 (9.15%)	\$383.11 (0.89%)	\$846.46 (1.95%)	\$43,340.54 (100%)

Source: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Files, Aklavik, Inuvik, Ottawa
¹"Health"—Payments to people in economic distress due to serious illness, hospitalization of husband/father, etc.
²"Dependent Children"— Payments to unwed mothers and their children lacking other economic support
³"Economic"— Payments to people in economic distress to unemployment, poor hunting or trapping, etc.
⁴"Child Welfare"— Payments on behalf of children lodged in foster homes

in summer and autumn months it would seem that the disassociation between the availability of social assistance and cash income would be reduced by the inclusion of cash equivalent values for wild foods.

Social assistance is a very important source of basic subsistence for many Delta people. Often it is the primary source of income for unwed mothers with dependent children, for households suffering from economic deprivation due to serious illness or hospitalization of its main earners, or for battered or abandoned children placed in foster homes. Table V.13 shows the distribution of social assistance payments in these various categories. Unwed mothers claimed 43.78%, or the largest proportion, of the total yearly issue in Aklavik in 1966. Households deprived through ill-health claimed slightly over 10% of the issue, and foster children 4.25%. Vouchers for food and fuel oil for heating houses claimed 92.75% of the total issue. Social assistance

is designed to provide temporary relief only at a reasonable minimum of staple necessities. In 1966 the maximum issue for one adult was set at \$35 per month. Children received lesser amounts on a scale graded by age. The average issue per recipient per month in the three main categories of social assistance is given in Table V.14. Table V.15 indicates the per capita distribution by socioeconomic category.

Almost all social assistance is received in the form of vouchers, issued monthly on application, redeemable for goods and services at local traders. In 1965 fairly strict limitations applied to kinds and amounts of food-stuffs that one could purchase with these vouchers. For example, the amounts of sugar, yeast, malt, and tobacco one could purchase were limited partly to ensure reasonable diet but also to make it more difficult to acquire the ingredients for making home-brew.

TABLE V. 14: Average Monthly Social Assistance per Recipient, Aklavik 1966

Category*	Total Amount	No. of Person/months	Average per Month
Health	\$ 4,560.18	209	\$21.81
Dependent	19,873.84	705	28.18
Children	17,879.27	1012	17.66
Economic			
Total	\$42,313.29	1926	\$21.96

Source: Welfare Office Files, Aklavik
 *For definitions see Table V. 13
 ● *Person/month is defined as the total number of months in which a recipient received social assistance

TABLE V. 15: Average per Capita Income from Social Assistance Aklavik Native People, by Socioeconomic Category, 1966

Socio-economic Category	Total Amount	No. of Persons in Category	Av. per Capita
Permanent	Nil	61	Nil
Casual			
Workers	\$37,558.45	449	\$ 96.35
Bush			
People	5,781.55	60	83.64
Ail Native			
People	\$43,340.00	570	\$176.03

Source: Welfare Office Records, Aklavik

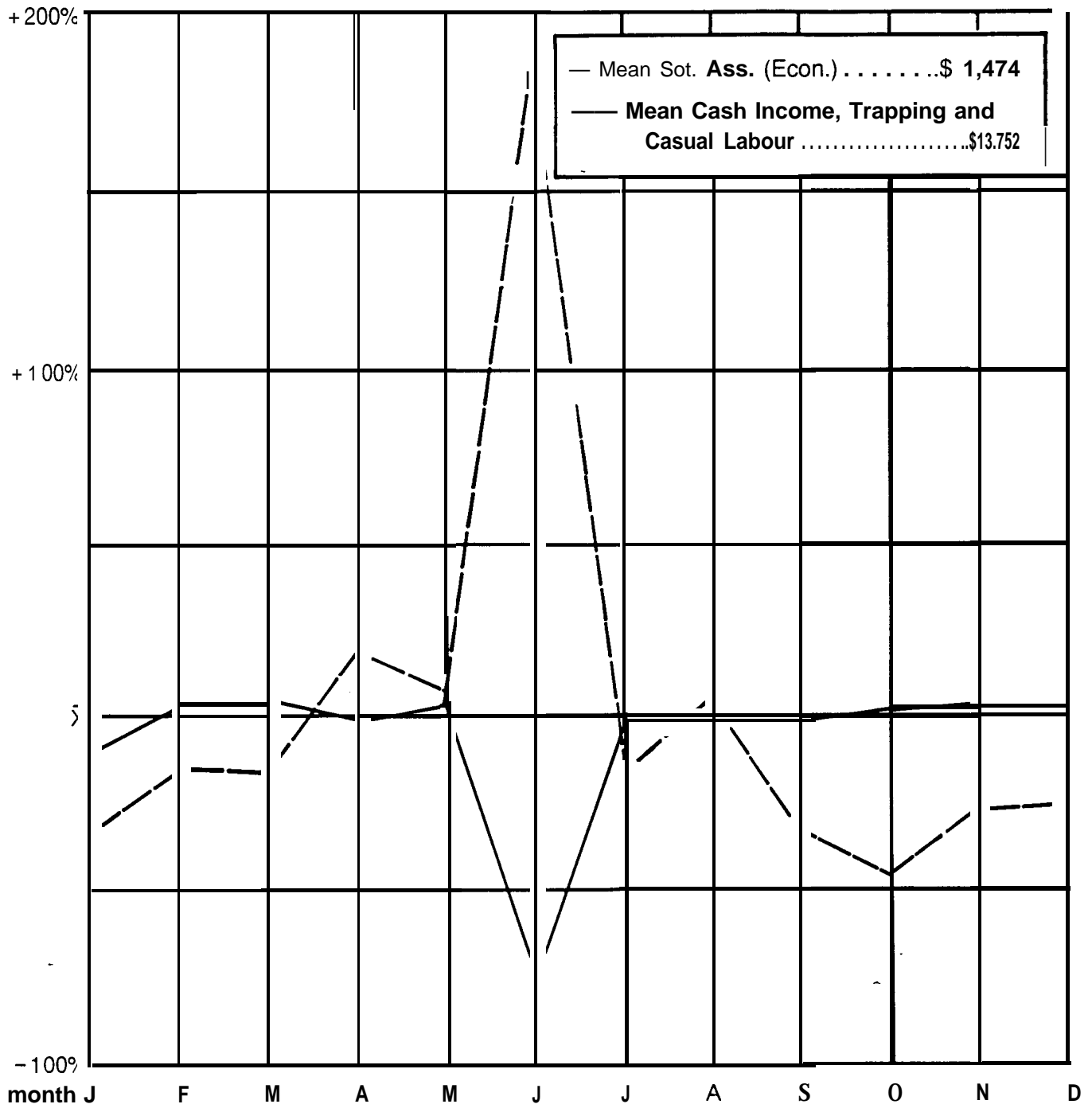


Fig. V.5
 Monthly Percentage Deviations
 From Twelve-Month Mean Social Assistance
 Issued For Economic Privation and Total
 Cash Income from Casual Labour and
 Fur Sales, Aklavik, 1966.

In addition to the credit system and social assistance, savings play a minor role in coping with income fluctuations. In 1966, no bank or credit union existed in Aklavik, although both existed previous to the building of Inuvik. A modified system of savings was used by some people who in times of relative affluence would deposit money on their trading accounts to be drawn in kind or cash as needed. A few permanent employees bought small government bonds (usually \$500) through small monthly payroll deductions. These were purchased usually with a specific capital purchase in mind. When the bonds were completely purchased they were almost always immediately redeemed at face value without allowing interest or dividends to accrue and the total amount then paid as a substantial down-payment or full purchase price for a canoe, outboard motor, or motor toboggan. Another form of savings is practiced in Aklavik, although one or two full-time earners keep chequing accounts by mail in a bank at Inuvik.

Statutory Payments

Statutory payments, mostly Old Age Pensions and Family Allowances, paid by the Federal Government to all eligible Canadian citizens form a small but stable cash income to Delta Native families. The day of each month on which Family Allowance cheques are paid out is locally called "Ladies Pay-Day." In 1966, Family Allowance was given in monthly installments of \$6 for children under 10 years of age; \$8 for children aged ten to sixteen; and a supplementary Youth Allowance of \$10 for children sixteen to eighteen years of age so long as they were attending school. Old Age Pensions were paid in monthly installments of \$75 to persons over sixty-nine years of age. A household including a pensioner and two or more school-age children could thus be assured of a steady monthly cash income amounting to over \$1000 per year.

Local Indians subject to Treaty No. 11 (1921 ; and Adhesion of 1922) are paid annual Treaty Money of \$5 for each band member, \$15 for each Councillor and \$25 for each band Chief. In addition, the chief is to be given a "suitable suit of clothes" every three years, and each person "who continues to follow the vocation of hunting, fishing, and trapping" is given an allocation of fishing nets and ammunition to the value of three dollars annually. The Average Annual per Capita Income (1966) from all statutory payment sources for Permanent Employees, Casual Workers, and Bush People was \$64, \$61, and \$63 respectively.

Average Annual Per Capita Income

Income to Native people in Aklavik can be divided into several components: (a) cash income from em-

ployment; (b) net profit on trapping, hunting, and fishing; (c) social assistance; (d) statutory payments. The role that each of these components plays in the economic affairs of persons in each socioeconomic category is quite different. In order to facilitate comparisons between the categories and between other Delta area settlements, Average per Capita Incomes in each of these components in each socioeconomic category has been calculated. The Total Annual per Capita Incomes shown in Table V.16 are not cash incomes, for they include cash-equivalent values for wild foods. Net Per Capita Cash Incomes would be considerably less. It is necessary to stress this point, for we have shown that the average annual operating cost in 1966 was over \$1700. Cash income from payrolls and statutory payments, amounts of staples derived from social assistance, and credit manipulation of gross income from sales of furs or small amounts of wild foods may all be necessary in order to meet required operating costs. Cash income is an absolute necessity. Particularly in the case of Casual Workers and Bush People cash income should be viewed as necessary for incorporation into the domestic subsistence economy in order to make it function in the modern milieu. It is perhaps more true of Permanent Employees to say that the products of subsistence activities are incorporated into the cash economy. Many claim to trap basically in order to help finance meat-hunting activities, to provide variety to store-bought foods, and to provide access to some of the pleasures of bush life.

The average amounts of Gross Cash Income per Earner and per Capita before costs in 1966 are shown in Table V.17.

TABLE V. 17: Average Gross Cash Income per Earner (before costs) Aklavik Native People, by Socioeconomic Category 1966

Socio-economic Category	Payrolls Ave.	Fur Sales Ave.	Social Assist-ante Ave.	Statutory Payments Ave.	Ave. Gross
Permanent Employees	\$3849	\$248	Nil	\$300	\$4,397
Casual Workers	1338	450	\$802	578	3,168
Bush People	475	581	523	343	1,922
All Native People	\$1887	\$420	\$621	\$498	\$3,426

Note: "earner" here is defined as adult workers or trappers, usually household heads

TABLE V. 16: Average Annual Per Capita Income from All Sources, by Socioeconomic Category, Aklavik Native People 1966

Socio-Economic Category	Payrolls**		Net Profit Land Activities		Social Assistance		Statutory Payments		Total* Per Capita	
	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%
Permanent Employees	\$ 940	89.43	\$ 47	4.47	Nil	Nil	\$ 64	6.10	\$1051	100
Casual Workers	194	51.60	37	9.84	\$ 84	22.34	61	16.22	376	100
Bush People	34	6.70	315	62.00	96	18.90	63	12.40	508	100-
All Native People	\$ 274	42.56	\$ 231	35.88	\$ 76	11.80	\$ 63	9.78	\$ 644	100

● After deductions

● *Total Per Capita Income including cash-equivalents for wild foods; Total per Capita Cash Income would be less

The Average Net Annual per Capita Income in 1966 for Native people, as we have derived it, appears to be in line with that for other Delta area settlements (Table V.18), although it is by no means clear by what method the figures for the other settlements were derived. No distinction appears to be made between disposable cash income and cash-equivalent income in wild foods, and the method by which operating costs are applied to gross income is obscure.

TABLE V. 18: Average Annual Net per Capita Income, Aklavik, Other Delta Area Settlements and the Northwest Territories as a Whole

Settlement	Year	Ave. per Capita Income	Reference
Aklavik	1966	\$644	Table V. 15
Aklavik	1965	653	Bissett (1 967:135)
Arctic Red River	1965	753	Bissett (1 967:187)
Tuktoyaktuk	1965	510	Bissett (1 967:218)
Northwest Territories Indians	1964	510	Canada, <i>DIAND, North west Territories Today (1 965)</i>

The Average Net Incomes of Aklavik Native people compare unfavorably with those of many other Canadians, although direct comparisons of income from trapping and from wage employment are beset with as many difficulties as comparisons between for example, farm and non-farm income elsewhere in Canada. Table V.19 compares Net Income per Earner and per Capita, and net income converted to an hourly rate for a standard work week for Aklavik people, Indian bands elsewhere in Canada and selected occupational categories in the Canadian economy as a whole.

It can clearly be seen that Aklavik Native people, including the Permanent Employees who are reasonably affluent in local terms like many other Native

people in Canada fall decidedly at the low end of the national income scale. In 1961, an Indian Affairs Branch study revealed that 78.5% of Canadian Indian households had annual incomes of less than \$3,000 per year, 54.5% had less than \$2,000 and 28.2% had less than \$1,000 (Economic Council of Canada, *Fifth Annual Review, 1968*). It takes little imagination to see that poverty is endemic among Canadian Native people. However, when one attempts to determine poverty thresholds in terms of a fixed annual income level, one runs into many of the analytical problems that bedevil such undertakings elsewhere. For example, the buying power of a dollar in the Mackenzie Delta in some commodity areas is much lower than in other places in Canada. Although clothing and hardware prices are comparable with the rest of Canada, food prices are considerably higher. [In addition, the large volume of wild foods in Aklavik make it difficult to compare food costs. The structuring of at least part of the housing rent rates in the North around ability to pay makes it difficult to compare housing expenses with southern Canada. Federally subsidized health programmes make it difficult to compare medical expenses. In short, fixed poverty thresholds based on southern Canadian income and expenditure patterns cannot be applied very effectively to Aklavik incomes. There is little agreement between various estimates of poverty thresholds for Canada as a whole. Podoluk (1968) defines poverty as annual incomes of less than \$1500 for single persons, \$2500 for families of two, and \$3000, \$3500, and \$4000 respectively for families of three, four, and five or more persons. On this reckoning, every single Native household in Aklavik is below the poverty line. The United States government defines poverty as an annual income of less than \$3000 per family, or \$1500 per single person. On this basis, all of the Aklavik Permanent Employees and about 15% of the Casual Workers would be above the poverty line. The special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council defines the poverty level as a per capita income of less than \$62.50 per month or \$750 per year (cf. R. A. Jenness 1965). On this

basis virtually all Aklavik Native people with the exception of the Permanent Employees are below the poverty line.

All of these attempts at definition of poverty by absolute income levels depend on lists of subsistence necessities. Consequently, variations in time and place of the availability and costs of these necessities are obscured, and the application of lists of necessities based on, for example, urban conditions and life-styles to conditions such as we find in Aklavik is extremely questionable. With Townsend (1962), Runciman (1961) and Valentine (1968) we hold that a sociological concept of poverty relates not primarily to subsistence but to relative deprivation. Physical subsistence efficiency in human social systems cannot be divorced from a consideration of self-perceived well-being and the organization of society.

Aklavik Native people consider themselves to be deprived, especially in comparison to the visible wealth and well-being of Outsiders who live among them. They see themselves deprived not only in terms of income levels, but in terms of the stability and security which so obviously accompany Outsider affluence. Outsiders appear to be far less often victims of seasonal and cyclical variation in natural resources and the employment system. They appear also to have ready access to stable income in the form of government subsidies in housing and food expenses. To the Native person, Outsiders appear to be safe economically, to be spared many of the hazards which make Native economic conditions so trying. Briefs by Delta Native people to the Economic Council of Canada in 1966 speak primarily to this point of economic hazard. Typically they suggest the establishment of floor prices for furs and staple

commodities and measures to increase the availability of long-term credit mechanisms which would allow substantial capital investment in equipment, housing, and major consumer items. These suggestions speak directly to both the issue of income levels and income stability. The favour with which producer and consumer cooperatives have been received in some areas in the North represents similar concerns.

Poverty, Money and Power

Translated into other words, the concern of Native people about levels and stability of income are statements about their economic powerlessness in comparison to Outsiders. Factors which control income are largely outside the control of Native people. Low and unstable incomes make it very difficult to develop substantial capital investment, to use credit systems on a wide basis, or to practice saving at any significant level. These prevent development of productive capacities, and at any rate expanded production under current conditions would be even more susceptible to the hazards of economic instability.

The Outsider, after he has met basic expenses, is often able to set aside substantial amounts of money in savings or investments many have considerable investment in mutual funds and bonds and they follow the stock market avidly. Others take advantage of a northern posting to set aside money for investment in major consumer items on their return to southern Canada. Apart from daily expenses, they are able to make their money work for them in ways not normally open to Native people. Their ability to do so is facilitated not only by relatively high incomes, but also by relative economic security which guarantees being able to meet installment payments

TABLE V. 19: Comparisons Between Annual Net Income per Earner and per Capita, and Net Income as Hourly Rates, for Aklavik Residents, Selected Canadian Indian Bands, and Selected Occupational Categories in All Canada

Population	Net Annual income per Earner	Net Annual Income per Capita	Net Annual Income per Hourly Rate	Source
1. Aklavik 1966:				
(a) Permanent Employees	\$2,647*	\$ 706	\$1.27	Field data
(b) Casual Workers	1,418*	199	0.68	Field data
(c) Bush People	272*	183	0.13	Field data
(d) All Aklavik Native People	1,673*	293	0.80	Field data
2. Aklavik Outsiders	6,599	3,210	3.20	Field data
3. Native Trappers, Banksland, NWT	6,137	1,786	2.95	Usher 1970:404
4. Skidegate, B.C.	4,642	1,252	2.23	Hawthorn 1966:49,51
5. Mistassini, Que. (Middle-range, Indian)	1,853	341	0.89	Hawthorn 1966:49,51
6. Piapot (Lowest, Indian)	—	55	0.50	Hawthorn 1966:49
7. All Canada, Mining	—	—	2.73	D.B.S. (1966)
8. All Canada, Manufacturing	—	—	2.31	D.B.S. (1966)
9. All Canada, 1966	—	2,069	—	D.B.S. (1967)

● Net income equals gross income (see Table V. 16) minus estimated average operating costs.

on conditional sales agreements for consumer items and to set aside capital for investment.

In contrast, the relatively low income of Native people means that basic expenses consume most of it leaving little for investment. In settlements such as Aklavik where there are currently no banks or credit unions, savings and investment occurs only on a limited *ad hoc* basis through local traders. For the majority of Native people, income is so variable and irregular that long-term and large-scale credit purchasing or regular savings and capital accumulation are virtually impossible. Structurally, they are unable to make their money work for them in the same way that Outsiders are able to do.

In addition, there is considerable contrast in the "power" that may be exercised through different kinds of income. For example, freely disposable cash from gainful employment can be applied by an earner to ends of his own choosing even if those ends are directly related to daily subsistence. He is able to use such money in exercising relatively free choice over expenditures. That is a kind of power. Next most powerful are "credit dollars," money he is able to arrange through "paper transactions" in order to allow him to invest capital or to see him through periods of economic privation. They are less powerful than disposable cash income dollars, because limitations on amount and type of expenditure normally adhere to credit arrangements. "Social assistance dollars" are even less powerful, for their availability depends upon an applicant's being in some measure deprived in the first instance, and because amounts and types of expenditure are limited by administrative definitions of how such money may be appropriately used. "Cash-equivalent dollars for wild food" are least powerful, except when converted into disposable cash by direct sales, for although they are income of a kind, they are not in the form of a freely circulating money through which purchasing power can be exercised. They are not entirely powerless, for in some measure they ease demands on freely disposable money accruing from other sources. In a general sense then, money of different kinds occupies different positions on a continuum scale from most powerful to least powerful. In decreasing order of power, there are: (a) money in excess of routine expenditures which can be invested in order to make more money; (b) freely disposable cash from gainful employment for direct expenditure; (c) money arranged by credit; (d) income from social assistance; (e) income in kind. It is obvious that the income of Native people belongs primarily to the lowest end of this scale of "money as power," and that there is considerable variation in economic power in the sense intended here between the socioeconomic categories of Native people. Table V.20 indicates the distribution of these types of money among Native people by socioeconomic category.

The amounts shown represent Income per Capita after income Taxes and standard payroll deductions but before expenditure for operating costs or expenses of any other kind. It will be noted that while Bush people have a higher Gross Income than Casual Workers, only 13.4% consists of freely disposable income. Casual Workers' freely disposable income amounts to 49.8% of their total income. Permanent employees have a higher income in dollar value in wild food than Casual Workers, reflecting their higher income (flesh-meat in particular, at least in part a reflection of their ability to purchase better equipment and rapid means of transport. They are the economically "most powerful," having a freely disposable cash income nearly four times larger than that of Casual Workers and amounting to 74.5% in their gross income.

Low, unstable incomes of which relatively small proportions consist of freely disposable money, place Aklavik Native people in a very vulnerable economic position in Canadian society. Relatively small economic changes in the Outsider sector such as fluctuations in market prices of furs or the availability of funds for projects requiring Native casual, unskilled labour are sometimes reflected in considerable privation and economic instability for Native people. There are few mechanisms in the Native sector for coping with temporary privation other than kin-sharing networks. Native people are correspondingly dependent to a considerable extent on Outsider controlled mechanisms (such as social assistance) for coping with economic hazard. This condition can only be described as economic marginality.

TABLE V. 20: Distribution of Gross Income per Capita in Terms of Economic Powerfulness as Amount and as Percentage of Total Income by Socioeconomic Category, Aklavik Native People, 1966

Income "Power Category"	Permanent Employees	Casual Workers	Bush People
(a) Most powerful (disposable cash income from pay-rolls, fur sales statutory payments)	\$1,004 (74.5%)	\$225 (49.8%)	\$97 (13.4%)
(b) Next most powerful (social assistance)	Nil	84 (16.4%)	96 (13.2%)
(c) Least powerful (income in kind)	343 (25.5%)	173 (33.8%)	533 (73.4%)
Total	\$1,347 100%	\$512 100%	\$726 100%

**Occupational Aspirations and
Social Structure: A Test Case in
Social Malintegration**

It is commonly assumed that Northern Native people have what are often called "low aspirations." This means, it is believed, that they prefer outdoor, seasonal, unskilled jobs, living in small traditional settlements or in the bush, and that they show a distaste for indoor, professional, urban-type, steady-paced occupations which demand prolonged training. It is believed that most Native people prefer self-employment to working for someone else (especially in large-scale impersonal situations), and in general have a fundamental different scale of evaluation for occupational interests and rewards. These characteristics, it is also generally believed, are derived from their distinctive aboriginal cultures. General failure, so far, of Native people to penetrate the full range of occupations in Canada, their tendency to cluster in unskilled, service jobs of low and sporadic monetary return, and their apparent reluctance to undertake intensive or specialized training in order to improve their individual or collective lot, are thereby explained as predictable (though not entirely laudatory) responses of people who operate by different cultural rules, have different (and somehow inscrutable) motivations, and are subject to distinctive Native urges (such as the call of the wild, the excitement of the chase, and the pride of battling the formidable elements singlehanded).

Undoubtedly Native people do have characteristic ways of thinking and of doing things. It is true that Canada's Native people occupy the very lowest occupational categories in the prestige scale, that they appear most frequently in outdoor, unskilled, seasonal, low-paid occupations, have a high drop-out rate from schools and vocational training programmes, and form a strong component of the poverty segment in Canadian society. As we have shown Mackenzie Delta Native people belong well within the national trends for Native people. To say that they occupy this position by preference is to commit the basic fallacy of confusing statistical trends with cultural patterns (i.e., "they are poor because they want to be; they consistently choose that kind of job because it is most compatible with their cultural values." Such ideas are expressed in many Outsiders' stereotypes of Native people. Evidence will be offered here that at least some of these assumptions are current amongst Outsiders in the Mackenzie Delta. One can hear them in nearly any conversation with Outsiders on the "Native problem." They underly many of the projects for the development and "up-grading" of Native people. They occur as well in the writings of journalists and social scientists.

Questionnaire Survey of Occupational Evaluations

In order to test the validity of some of the foregoing assumptions about Native people, a questionnaire was designed for completion by Native and Outsider

students in order to elicit their evaluations of occupational prestige, their individual occupational aspirations, and the conditions under which they would most prefer to work. Responses to these questionnaires were made in a form suitable for statistical comparison between ethnic groups (see Appendix B for questionnaire forms and tabulated responses).

Design of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of two main sections. *Part A* contained two subsections: Subsection (1) consisted of list of 48 occupations commonly seen or heard about in the Mackenzie Delta presented for ranking by preference. Initially, a list of about two hundred job titles was prepared, covering as many distinctions as possible between jobs actually held in Delta settlements with the addition of several titles of jobs mentioned in conversation by Native people or which it was known were held up to them by vocational counselors and others. With a table of random numbers, fifty job titles were drawn. Since two of these titles seemed to be duplicating other job titles in the sample they were dropped, resulting in the final list of 48 titles in the administered questionnaire. Students were asked to rank each of these titles on a scale of one (very good) to five (undesirable).

Subsection (2): students were asked to answer a series of eight questions designed to elicit data on which single job they would most like to do and least like to do. They were also asked questions about what they would consider to be fair wages, preferable working hours per week, and their parents' stated aspirations for them.

Part B. Three sets of alternatives for ranking in a fashion similar to Part A (1) were presented. The first asked respondents to rank from one to five each of the names of twelve settlements, cities, or regions in which they would prefer to work. The names of two cities in Southern Canada were listed. These are frequently referred to in the Delta in connection with training programmed, work opportunities, and are places to which quite a number of Native people have paid visits, either for recreation, hospitalization, or to serve prison sentences. The names of other settlements in the North were selected because they seemed to be most frequently mentioned amongst Delta people. The second question asked respondents to rank in order their preferences for indoor and outdoor work, and the third question asked for a similar ranking of preference for work with small or large companies or in self-employment.

Administration of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered in the schools of three Delta settlements (Aklavik, Inuvik, and Fort McPherson) to all students in grades seven to twelve, and, in the case of Inuvik, to the "occupational class" (a class of students 16 years of age or over, three or more years age-grade retarded, involved in an upgrading and vocational training programme). Rather than to a sample, the questionnaires were given to every student in the specified grades who was present on the day it was administered. All grades in separate classrooms were given the questionnaire simultaneously. Administration of the questionnaires in Inuvik and Fort McPherson was done by the school teachers according to a mimeographed set of instructions. The students were asked to read carefully instructions attached to the questionnaire and to proceed as directed. No time limit for completion was set. Each student was also asked to indicate his name, sex, age, home settlement, and school grade achieved. Ethnic identifications were made by comparison with school registers, Indian Band Lists, Eskimo Disc Lists, household censuses and genealogies. Hence, "Eskimos" are those whose names appear on Eskimo Disc Lists for whom there is no evidence of recent white ancestry. Similar criteria were applied to Indians. Our category "Metis" applies to people with either Eskimo or Indian and white ancestors who are known to live a "Native" style of life, who are excluded from Band Lists or Disc Lists because of white ancestry, or who, although listed as Indian or Eskimo are acknowledged to have white ancestry. In this way, our categories do not exactly coincide with legal definitions, and although probably based on better sociocultural criteria than the legal definitions should not be taken to represent complete accuracy.

Tabulation and Statistical Analysis of Responses

Response data were tabulated and analysed in part by computer techniques, in part by subsequent statistical analysis of computer out-put (see Appendix B).

Objectives of Questionnaire Study

The main purposes in constructing and using the questionnaire were:
 (1) to determine as objectively as possible the occupational prestige evaluations of Native people; (2) to determine in statistically manageable form the patterns of individual occupational aspirations among Native people; (3) to determine in part some of the specific reasons Native people have for expressing their occupational preferences; (4) to compare and contrast the responses of Native students with their Outsider classmates.

The school population of high-school age was selected for several reasons:

- (1) since the questionnaire required written responses, literacy was necessary;
- (2) the School population provides a well-defined population easily reached; and
- (3) most importantly, the high-school population represents a cohort of Native people who will be coming into the Delta labour market within the next five years. It is important to know what their aspirations and expectations are in order to evaluate their chances of maximizing them on entry to the labour market. It is also true, while the responses of the school population can be expected to differ from other segments of the Delta population, that their responses provide data for a test-case analysis of specific institutional means prevailing in the Mackenzie Delta by which upward social mobility among Native people is permitted or impeded.

Characteristics of the Respondent Population

For purposes of analysis, the respondent population is divided ethnically in two ways:
 (a) by differentiation into Eskimo, Indian, Metis, and Outsider sub-populations (see criteria above); (b) by differentiation into two categories (i.e., all Native categories combined on the one hand, Outsiders on the other).
 These two types of ethnic distinction were used to establish whether, (a) there was internal differentiation according to ethnicity among Native people, and (b) to determine whether they could be distinguished as a whole from Outsiders.

Distribution by ethnic group of the test population is shown in Table VI.1 .

TABLE VI.1: Distribution by Ethnic Group and Sex of Mackenzie Delta Respondent Population, Occupational Survey Questionnaire 1967

Sex	Indian	Eskimo	Metis	Total Native	Outsider	Total All Groups
Male	29	45	27	101	49	150
Female		40	33	104	50	154
TOTAL	69	78	58	205	99	304

It will be noted that, although the ethnic segments are unevenly matched and the sex distribution in the Native segments is uneven, the sex distribution among Outsiders and all Native categories combined is quite evenly matched. Although the uneven sex and ethnic group distribution amongst the Native segment of the study population possibly affects statistical comparison between them to some extent, it would appear that the Outsider/Native comparison is unaffected.

TABLE VI.2: Distribution by Ethnic Group and Age of Mackenzie Delta Respondent Population, Occupational Survey Questionnaire 1967

Age	Indian	Eskimo	Metis	Total Native	out-sider	Total All Groups
Not known	2	0	0	2	2	41
20	PIUS	8	4	4	16	17
19	1	10	5	16	3	19
18	11	10	8	29	11	40
17	10	8	3	21	12	33
16	11	22	11	44	19	63
15	9	11	12	32	13	45
14	7	9	10	26	18	44
13	9	4	3	16	19	35
12	1	0	2	3	1	4
TOTAL	69	78	58	205	99	304
Median Age	15.7	15.7	15.2	15.5	14.5	15.4

Examination of Table VI.2 will show that the median age of Outsider respondents in the study population was lower than that for Native people. This is a reflection of the age-grade retardation usually noticeable in Native populations throughout Canada.

Although most of the respondents in our study population stated their permanent residence to be in the Delta proper, a number of Arctic Coast Eskimos, Upper Mackenzie Valley Indians and Metis, and some Outsiders claiming other northern settlements as their place of present residence, are also included.

TABLE VI.3: Distribution by Ethnic Group and Place of Residence of Mackenzie Delta Respondent Population, Occupational Survey Questionnaire 1967

Settlement of Residence	Indian	Eskimo	Metis	Total Native	Out-sider	Total All Groups
Aklavik	9	20	19	48	1	49
Inuvik	6	20	11	37	88	125
Fort McPherson	33	0	10	43	0	43
Arctic Red River	5	1	0	6	1	7
Reindeer Station	0	2	1	3	0	3
Arctic Coast	0	37	1	38	2	40
Upper Mackenzie Valley	16	0	14	30	7	37
TOTAL	69	78	58	205	99	304

All of those indicating residence outside the Delta were attending the residential schools at Fort McPherson and Inuvik. Most of the Outsider students belonged to families stationed in Inuvik. Table VI.3 shows the distribution of respondents by settlements.

The greatest majority of respondents of all ethnic groups clustered in the achievement level of grades seven to nine (junior high school) as shown in Table VI.4.

Analysis of Responses

Rather than piecemeal discussion of tabulated responses to sections of the questionnaire, data will be drawn from several sections to assist in the confirmation or rejection of a series of hypotheses which originally motivated the preparation of the study. Detailed tabular data and mathematical procedures are found in Appendix B.

TABLE VI.4: Distribution by Ethnic Groups and School Grade of Mackenzie Delta Respondent Population, Occupational Survey Questionnaire 1967

School Grade	Indian	Eskimo	Metis	Total Native	out-sider	Total All Groups
12	1	4	6	11	9	20
11	7	6	6	19	13	32
10	7	7	5	19	13	32
9	13	11	8	32	16	48
8	3	6	8	17	8	25
7	26	33	21	80	40	120
Occupational	12	11	4	27	0	27
TOTAL	69	78	58	205	99	304

It is a common assumption among Outsiders that Native people culturally define and evaluate job prestige in a fundamentally different way from Outsiders. Nevertheless, it became a strong conviction on my part, after an initial period of contact with younger Native people, that they seemed to differ little in this respect from their Outsider counterparts. Consequently, a hypothesis was formulated stating that there is no difference between Native and Outsider students in their evaluation of occupations (see Hypothesis I).

H YPO THESIS 1: WITH RESPECT TO PRESTIGE EVALUATION OF OCCUPATIONS THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BET WEËN NA TIVE AND OUTSIDER STUDENTS

To confirm this hypothesis a high positive correlation between the prestige ranking scales of occupations given by Natives and Outsiders is required. This was in fact obtained by the method outlined in Appendix B and summarized in Table VI.5.

TABLE VI.5: Summary of Correlations between Preference Ranking of Occupations by Mackenzie Delta Ethnic Groups.

	Indian (N-69)	Eskimo (N-78)	Metis (N-58)	Total Native (N-205)	Outsider (N-99)
Indian	—	—	—	—	—
Eskimo	+.89	—	—	—	—
Metis	+.86	+.89	—	—	—
Total Native	—	—	—	—	+.92
Outsider	+.89	+.85	+.90	—	—

(Note: All correlations are highly significant at the .01 level)

Correlations of this order amply confirm the fundamental similarity between Native and Outsider students, prestige evaluations of occupations. In order to determine whether the responses of Mackenzie Delta Outsider students were markedly deviant from the National prestige index, twenty-five comparable titles from Blisshen's (1967) study of Canadian national prestige ranking were compared with the rankings given by the Delta Outsider students. It was found (see Appendix B, Table B.9) that the two ranking systems bore a high positive correlation of + .85 (significant at .01). It may be concluded that the prestige ranking system of Inuvik Outsider students is remarkably close to the national index considering the fact that they are a very small sample to compare with a national trend and are selective in terms of age, educational achievement, and social class. Correlation of the national values for the same twenty-five job titles with the rank order given by Mackenzie Delta Native people also yielded a moderately high positive correlation of + .75 (significant at .01). In brief, Mackenzie Delta Native students are similar to their Outsider colleagues in the Delta and to national respondent populations in their perceptions of occupational prestige ranking.

It is necessary to note at this point that relatively high correlations between cultural and national groups have been obtained using a standardized questionnaire similar in principle to the one we have used in the Mackenzie Delta (cf. Inkeles and Rossi 1956; Hedge, Treiman and Rossi 1966) .These analyses suggest that people tend not to develop distinctive

occupational prestige evaluations because of unique cultural dispositions, but rather because stratification of prestige positions is basically similar in the various industrial societies. A "structural list" explanation is preferred (i.e. that various national and cultural groups exposed to the same structural system of occupational alternatives will tend to develop very similar occupational evaluations). The point is an obvious one in relation to the Mackenzie Delta. The only series of occupational alternatives open to - Natives and Outsiders alike is a local replica of the general order of occupational stratification for all of Canada. There are no major "Native" alternatives to this occupational system, at least in the sense of a series of occupational roles defined by the aboriginal cultures. A possible exception is hunting and trapping, except that it must be acknowledged that even the role of hunter and trapper as it now exists is largely the creation of Outsider economic and social interests. In the face of the collapse of the fur trade there is little incentive for Native people to consider it a viable alternative.

In considering the ranking of occupations given by Native people, a number of general observations of some interest can be made. It will be noted that Native people tend to rank semi-professional and highly skilled operations in a way very similar to (and often higher than) Outsiders, but they tend to rank the classic professional occupations (lawyer, scientist, teacher, clergyman) considerably lower than do Outsiders. As yet, no satisfactory explanation can be given why this is so.

It will also be noted that those job-titles most intimately associated with government training projects, even when they involve jobs of a skilled variety, are down-graded more by Native students than by Outsiders. For example, "boat builder" is ranked 38 out of 48 by Native people, but only 27-out of 48 by Outsiders; likewise "tannery worker" is rated 43 out of 48 by Native people but only 37 out of 48 by Outsiders. A government tannery was briefly established in Aklavik in 1966, and a large boat building course in Victoria, B. C., was available only to Native people at the same time. Informal conversations with Native students strongly suggest that they reject these and other similar government training and employment projects which involve only Native people. This sort of job has become "Native-identified" and is rejected in favour of other occupational alternatives open, without regard to ethnic affiliation, that do not carry the same stigma of government "make-work" projects which offer little opportunity for further advancement, pay increments, and so on. It should also be noted that two other government project occupations held exclusively by Native people ("fur-garment worker" and "reindeer herder") are assigned virtually identical, and rather low, ratings by Native and Outsider students alike.

It maybe noted, too, that certain rather stereotyped jobs are ranked considerably higher by Native than Outsider students. For example, "typist/office worker" is ranked rather higher by Native students. Interview data strongly suggests that the office worker or typist is a sort of prototype of a "successful" job for the Native person. It somehow epitomizes the sort of occupation identified with Outsiders. Similar observations also seem to apply to such job titles as "nurse's aide", "radio-operator", "store clerk", "airline stewardess", "airplane pilot", and "settlement administrator". These variously represent prestigious or exotic jobs usually strongly identified with Outsiders. Such titles as "nurse's aide" probably appeal rather more strongly to Native students since not only are they "Outsider-identified", but a number of local girls have successfully completed courses in this field.

During frequent discussions and interviews with Delta Outsiders, it became apparent that they subscribed to a series of stereotypes of Native people which implied that Native people valued outdoor, relative lytraditional, seasonal, unskilled occupations. In order to estimate some of the dimensions of this stereotype, a group of Outsiders (all teachers at one Delta school) were given the same questionnaire as the students. Each teacher was asked to complete it as if he were a Native student after being specifically instructed to avoid marking occupations according to what might be thought most appropriate or suitable for Native people to do. In this way, we have two sets of questionnaire responses which can be statistically compared: one set of responses by Outsiders indicating what they think Native students' preferences to be, the other representing preferences expressed by Native students. Hypothesis II states the relationship between Native preferences and Outsider conceptions of them as formulated on the basis of informal interviews and interactions.

H YPO THESIS II: WITH RESPECT TO PRESTIGE EVALUATION OF OCCUPATIONS, NATIVE PREFERENCES AND OUTSIDER CONCEPTIONS OF NATIVE PREFERENCES ARE SHARPLY DIVERGENT

This hypothesis would be supported by a negative correlation between Native prestige rankings and those given by Outsiders are representative of Native preferences. In fact, a negative correlation of $-.35$ (significant at $.01$) was obtained (see Appendix B, Table B.8), confirming our hypothesis.

Since only forty Outsiders, all in one occupation, completed the questionnaire, it would be very unwise to generalize their responses to the whole of the Outsider population. Nevertheless, the results indicate a certain strong trend for which similar investigations

in other segments of the Outsider population, had they been possible, would quite likely have provided support. While the results cannot be generalized, they nonetheless assume a very important significance in that they were given by people grouped together in the same organizational sphere as the students with whom their responses are compared. Considering that the teachers are in daily contact with Native students, presumably frequently directing them in vocational choices and related matters, the divergence of their responses from those of Native people becomes of acute sociological significance. It represents the very wide social distance and lack of communication between segments so distinctive of plural systems, even within one clearly defined organization. Forty-eight percent of the Outsiders involved indicated that they had resided in the North for one year or more and about one-third of them had lived in the North for five years or more. Eighty-one percent described their opportunity for contact with Native students as "frequent", while nearly fifty percent described their opportunity for contact at home and in recreation, as "occasional."

It is useful to consider another section of the questionnaire which supplies data bearing upon preferred places to work. Combined with the common Outsider assumptions that Native people prefer unskilled, seasonal, exciting, basically traditional occupations is the natural corollary that they favour life in the bush or in the smaller, more traditional Arctic settlements and reject the newer urban centres (such as Inuvik) of the Arctic or the cities of Southern Canada. It rapidly became the author's conviction in fieldwork that many Native students, although not particularly well informed about urban centres outside the Delta or about the cities of the south, nevertheless seemed to express a preference for what they believed to be a "citized" way of life. Although many expressed much pleasure in life on the land, it was a conditional thing. Weekend hunts, participation in muskrat shooting trips in the late spring and other similar activities were much relished, but continuous life on the land or closely associated with it in the smaller settlements, seemed to be categorically rejected. This gives rise to hypothesis III.

H YPO THESIS III: WITH RESPECT TO PREFERRED PLACES TO LIVE AND WORK, NATIVE STUDENTS DO NOT DIFFER FROM OUTSIDER STUDENTS

To support this hypothesis, a strong positive correlation is required between the ranking scales of preferred places of work (questionnaire Part B (1)) given by Natives and Outsiders. This strong positive correlation was obtained by the method outlined in Appendix B and is summarized in Table VI.6.

TABLE VI.6: Summary of Correlations between Preference Ranking Scales of Places to Work given by Mackenzie Delta Ethnic Groups, Occupational Survey Questionnaire 1967.

	Indian (N-69)	Eskimo (N-78)	Metis (N-58)	Total Native (N-205)	Outsider (N-99)
Indian	—	—	—	—	—
Eskimo	+.86	—	—	—	—
Metis	+.82	+.73	—	—	—
Total Native	—	—	—	—	+.87
Outsider	+.88	+.79	+.69	—	—

(Note: All correlations are significant at .01)

The order of preference given by Native people placed southern cities at the top of the list, followed by urban centres in the Arctic (such as Yellowknife or Inuvik), followed by the small traditional Delta settlements, with life on the land being accorded the lowest preference of all. Now this order of preference appeared to be the inverse of what Outsiders normally expect. This is stated in Hypothesis IV. As with occupational prestige scale, the Outsider teachers were asked to rank the settlements in order of what they thought Native students' preferences to be.

HYPOTHESIS IV: WITH RESPECT TO PREFERENCE EVALUATION OF PLACES TO WORK, NATIVE PREFERENCES AND OUTSIDERS' CONCEPTIONS OF NATIVE PREFERENCES ARE SIMPLY DIVERGENT

To support this hypothesis, a negative correlation between the rankings of Native students and the Outsider teachers is required. A very high negative correlation of $-.87$ (significant at .01) is obtained by the method outlined in Appendix B, completely confirming our hypothesis. The rank order given by teachers of their conception of Native student preferences placed life on the land at the top of the list, followed by the traditional Delta settlements, the urban centres of the Territories, with southern cities assuming last place.

It is a common assumption among Outsiders that Native people have a strong desire for individual autonomy in the work situation showing a preference for self-employment and its associated freedoms, rather than the constriction of individual initiative and impulse thought to accompany working in the authoritarian structure of a large corporation. This is usually explained as a continuity from the aboriginal hunting practices. It became clear in fieldwork that Native people did not really feel this way. Part B of the questionnaire asked Native and Outsider students

to rank order 1 (most preferred) to 3 (least preferred) a set of three alternatives: working for a small private company, for a large business or corporation, or self-employment. Analysis of the responses (see Appendix B, Tables B.21 to B.25) shows that Native and Outsider students give the same order of preference to these alternatives giving most preference to working for a large business and least to self-employment. It seems, however, that Native people (with the exception of Indians) while rejecting self-employment, do not do so as strongly as Outsiders. It should also be noted that Native students looked a little more favorably on working for a small company than did Outsiders. However, the tendency is clear and strong: Native students are generally similar to Outsiders in their preference for type of work organization and fail to confirm the usual Outsider stereotype of them.

It is commonly assumed by Outsiders that Native people are culturally predisposed to an outdoor life and that they prefer not to be burdened with jobs requiring them to be indoors for extended periods. This may have been true in the past even for a segment of the Native population today, but it certainly is untrue of the Native students of our study. Part B(III) of the questionnaire asked respondents to rank-order alternatives of indoor and outdoor work. Analysis of their responses (see Appendix B, Tables B.18 to B.20) shows that Native students, like their Outsider colleagues, give least preference to outdoor work (although Eskimos and Metis seem to give slightly more preference to it than either Indians or Outsiders); give only moderate preference for indoor work; and give greatest preference to work providing an opportunity for both outdoor and indoor activity. Once more the Outsider stereotype of Native people fails to be confirmed in our Native student study population.

So far, our data shows that contrary to stereotype, Native students differ little from their Outsider counterparts. They esteem professional and skilled jobs, urban-type working conditions, and reject the seasonal, unskilled, rural and outdoor sorts of occupations with which Native people have so consistently been identified in the past. The questionnaire responses we have considered to this point constitute broad contours of evaluation which we take to represent the central tendencies of preference characteristic of the ethnic groups in our study. They tell us nothing of what the preferences of individuals, their aspirations or expectations for themselves, might be. Rather, the data show us the terms of reference within which we may expect persons to make their individual choices. The terms of reference of Outsiders and Native students have been shown to be remarkably similar.

In order to determine what the individual occupational aspirations of Native people were as well as their comparability with those of Outsider students, all respondents were asked to indicate on the questionnaire which single job they would like to have for themselves. Responses to this question were classified into occupational categories using the scale designed for the Canadian national population by Pineo and Porter (1967) as shown in Table VI.7.

It appears from these data that while Native and Outsider students are basically similar in their prestige evaluation of occupations, there is a fairly marked

TABLE VI.7: Classification of Individual Most Preferred Occupations, Native and Outsider students, Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey Questionnaire 1967.

Occupational Category	No. of Titles	Native (N-179)		Outsider (N-96)	
		N	%	N	%
1. Professional	5	13	7.26	25	26.04
2. Semi-professional	3	35	19.55	16	16.66
3. Proprietors, Managers, Officials (Large)	2	3	1.67	0	0
4. Proprietors, Managers, Officials (Small)	3	1	0.55	4	4.16
5. Clerical and Sales	5	64	35.75	29	30.20
6. Skilled	10	28	15.64	13	13.54
7. Semi-Skilled	10	23	12.84	8	8.33
8. Unskilled	10	12	6.70	1	1.04
Responding		179	87.30	96	96.90
Non-responding		26	12.70	3	0.10

divergence in their actual aspirations for themselves. For example, 26.04% of Outsider respondents indicated aspirations to professional occupations, while only 7.26% of Native respondents did so. The slightly higher preferences by Native respondents for semi-professional, clerical, and skilled occupations appear to be significant. It is in these three categories that the occupations more esteemed by Native students than Outsiders on the prestige scale maybe classified (i.e., "nurse", "pilot", "nurse's aide", "typist", "store clerk"). Although Native respondents indicate slightly greater preference for semi-skilled and unskilled occupations compared to Outsiders, the balance of their preferences are quite definitely for semi-professional, clerical, and skilled occupations. Only a few Native respondents indicated preference for the traditionally Native jobs such as trapper, fur garment worker, or reindeer herder.

An opinion often heard amongst Outsiders is that Native parents dislike their children attending school

since the children are then "educated away" from their parents. It is also believed that for the most part Native parents would prefer their children to follow a more "Native" way of life, either hunting and trapping or employment in one of the occupations traditionally identified with Native people. To test this assumption, a questionnaire item asked respondents to indicate what job, if any, their parents had "suggested to them as desirable. Native parents do indeed frequently express ambivalence about their children attending school, but Table VI.8 suggests that this is probably not related to a desire on their part for their children to take up traditional or unskilled jobs. Rather, they seem to express a desire even stronger than that of Outsider parents for their children to reemployed in semi-professional, clerical, and skilled occupations. However, while they lay less emphasis upon professional aspirations for their children than do Outsider parents, they actually stress professional aspirations for their children more strongly than do the children themselves. It should be noted that Outsider parents also appear to have stronger professional aspirations for their children than do the children themselves.

TABLE VI.8: Parent's Occupational Aspirations for Their Children as Reported by the Children, Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey Questionnaire 1967

Occupational Category	No. of Titles	Native (N-139)		Outsider (N-69)	
		N	%	N	%
1. Professional	5	22	15.8	33	47.8
2. Semi-professional	3	32	23.0	8	11.6
3. Proprietors, Managers, Officials (Large)	2	0	0	1	1.4
4. Proprietors, Managers, Officials (Small)	3	0	0	1	1.4
5. Clerical and Sales	5	30	21.6	19	27.5
6. Skilled	10	37	26.6	6	8.9
7. Semi-skilled	10	9	6.5	1	1.4
8. Unskilled	10	9	6.5	0	0
Responding		139	67.8	69	69.7
Non-responding		66	32.2	30	30.3

It would be an extremely difficult matter to determine in a statistically manageable form the reasons ("motivations" in the broad sense) members of the study population have for evaluating the prestige of one occupation or alternative working condition over another. One section of questionnaire items was designed to elicit a rank-ordering of a series of reasons for choosing one occupation over all others as a life vocation. This section of the questionnaire was administered to two random samples of thirty

Native and thirty Outsider students from the Inuvik high school. Stated as a hypothesis, the relationship of Native and Outsider reasons for preferring occupations is:

H YPO THESIS VI: WITH RESPECT TO REASONS FOR CHOOSING A LIFE OCCUPATION, NATIVE STUDENTS DO NOT DIFFER FROM OUTSIDER STUDENTS

To support this hypothesis a high positive correlation between the rank-ordering of reasons given by Native and Outsider students is required. A very high correlation of $+ .97$ was obtained, providing strong confirmation for the hypothesis. The rank order of reasons for preferred vocational choice is given in Table VI. 9.

TABLE VI.9: Rank Values of Reasons Given for Vocational Choice, Outsider and Native Students, Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey 1967

Reason	Native		Outsider	
	Median	Rank	Median	Rank
Interest in job	1.25	1	1.29	1
Aptitude	2.16	2	2.35	2
Family approval	4.70	6	4.37	6
Prestige	6.12	7	5.91	7
Monetary Reward	4.00	5	4.10	4
Security	3.37	3	3.60	3
Help others	3.66	4	4.25	5

The emphasis by Native students on job interest and self-perceived ability, their moderate emphasis on monetary reward and their low evaluation of prestige and approval of others as reasons for vocational choice represent not only a system of evaluation very similar to that of Outsider students but one which appears to differ from that of the majority of older Native people.

At this point we may summarize our questionnaire data by saying that Mackenzie Delta Native students, contrary to Outsider stereotypes, differ little from Outsider students in their evaluation of occupations or the conditions in which they would prefer to work; they are oriented to generally urban-type semi-professional and skilled occupations in urban working situations, and their reasons for preferring these occupations and conditions are virtually identical to those of Outsider students.

Occupational Choice— Aspiration and Reality

We must now ask whether, in the plural system of the Delta, Native and Outsider students have equal opportunities to achieve their aspirations which we have shown to be so similar. In theory, all residents of the Northwest Territories are completely equal in their access to educational facilities. In fact, in many cases, the Native person is provided with extra considerations not given to the Outsider. Throughout his years at school, if he happens to be in a residential system, he is housed, fed, and clothed almost totally at public expense. He is also provided with a small amount of pocket money, usually from mission sources. If he chooses to go on to university, all his expenses will be met from public funds in the form of a loan which is cancelled if he returns to serve in the Territories for three years. In theory, massive assistance is provided for Native people but there are many other practical difficulties.

In the first place, many Native people until recently have failed to complete a secondary school education. The drop-out rate of Native students at legal school-leaving age (16 years) is high, although the transience of Outsider students makes it impossible to compare the groups. Until the early 1950's most Native children who went to school were given six years of education in mission residential schools. In these schools usually half of each day was spent in academic subjects (basic literacy) and the other half in manual labour assisting in the maintenance of mission facilities. These residential schools accommodated children of people on the land. Settlement residents for example in Aklavik, where either in an informal mission day school, or latterly in a government operated day school. Accordingly, until 1959 in Aklavik (then the administrative centre of the Mackenzie Delta) there were three schools: two mission residential schools (Anglican and Roman Catholic) offering essentially basic literacy programmed and a day school accommodating students up to grade 9 (completion of junior high school). With the building of Inuvik all curricular and educational matters in the schools were taken over by Federal Government authorities while the missions continue to operate residential hostels. It is only since the early 1960's that complete secondary school facilities have been available in the Delta. Prior to that time, students wishing to complete their secondary education had to do so in residential schools in the upper Mackenzie Valley, some hundreds of miles away, or in southern Canada.

In these circumstances, relatively few Native people until recent years completed secondary education. Needless to say, the basic changes in the Delta school system are now reflected in a much higher number of Native students with completed secondary education. An analysis of the individual cumulative records of Aklavik residents aged 18 to 30 in 1967, the age-

group shown by Clairmont (1963) to have increased occupational aspirations but little chance of achieving them, shows that most drop-outs left at grade 6 in terms of level achieved or at age 16 (legal school-leaving age) (see Table VI.10). Since grade 6 is primary school completion only, most of these drop-outs can be considered essentially illiterate, or at least unable to compete with Outsiders for the relatively few skilled jobs available in recent years.

TABLE VI.10: Age at School Leaving, by Last Grade Completed, Aklavik Native Residents Age 18 to 30 in 1967

Age at Leaving	Last Grade Completed											Total
	1	0	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
2	0	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	5
19	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
18	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
17	-	2	1	3	3	1	-	-	1	-	1	11
16	1	1	3	4	4	6	1	-	5	-	2	25
15	-	-	-	2	5	1	1	1	1	2	1	13
14	4	-	-	-	2	2	1	2	3	1	-	16
13	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	2	-	-	6
12	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	3
11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	4
TOTAL	2	4	8	11	15	13	5	7	16*	3	8	83

Source: Aklavik Federal Day School cumulative files on individual students

Note: These figures refer to school-leavers still resident in Aklavik; others have moved away, others completed secondary school, three have attended university. They show that, of the 18-30 years of age group in Aklavik, most are essentially illiterate

* Includes several persons given basic literacy courses during extended hospitalization

In addition, the members of the age-group 18 to 30 still resident in Aklavik show a marked degree of age-grade retardation (see Table VI.11). This simply shows that in terms of age, most were two to five years behind the level of achievement they should ordinarily be expected to have. Late school entry, grade failures, and interrupted schooling accounts for most of the age-grade retardation observed in this category. Persistent grade-failure or other marked under-achievement seems to have been an important component in the decision to leave school for several of these persons. Most were children of people dependent to a degree now uncommon in the Delta on land resources. Seasonal absences in hunting and trapping camps accounts for a large part of their irregularity of schooling, and it appears in interview data that parents at one time were less determined than now that their children continue in school.

TABLE VI.11: Age-Grade Retardation at School-leaving of Aklavik Native Residents Age 18 to 30 in 1967

Years Age-Grade Retarded	Ethnic Status ¹			Total
	Eskimo	Indian	Metis	
0	1	1	-	2
1	2	4	1	7
2	7	3	3	13
3	10	4	1	15
4	6	6	3	15
5	7	2	1	10
6	4	-	2	6
7	3	-	-	3
8	6	1	-	7
9	1 ["]	1 [']	-	2*
10	-	-	-	-
11	1*	1 ["]	-	2*
12	-	-	1*	1 ["]
TOTAL	48	23	12	83

Source: Student cumulative records, Aklavik Federal Day School

* persons never having attended school but given basic literacy courses during extended convalescence in Aklavik hospital

¹As shown in school register

Several attended school for a year or two in their teens. Three persons, handicapped or mentally retarded, left school at the completion of grade one or two.

There is a suggestion (see Table VI.12) that age-grade retardation may be less in the category of students now attending school in Aklavik, who represent over 95% of the school-age children in the settlement and its environs.

TABLE VI.12: Age-Grade Retardation in Native Students Attending Aklavik Federal Day School (Grades 1 through 8), June 1, 1967

Years Age-grade Retarded	Ethnic Status ["]			Total
	Eskimo	Indian	Metis	
-1 (advanced)	-	-	4	4
0	35	20	21	76
1	19	8	9	36
2	10	2	1	13
3	2	1	1	4
4	3	1	1	5
TOTAL	69	32	37	138

Source: Student cumulative records, Aklavik Federal Day School

● As shown in school register (note: only 3 Outsider students were in attendance)

The figures for Aklavik presented in Table VI.12 represent a more favorable position than that reported by Slobodin (1966:118) for an upper Mackenzie Valley elementary school in 1963.

For the Native person who drops out of school, three general alternatives are open:

1. *He may leave school and "drift" — taking seasonal unskilled jobs, depending upon social assistance and marginal land dependence in between. This appears to have been the most common pattern in the last few years. A II live in the settlement, rejecting bush life as a preferred pattern. This is the group showing most frustration and "deviant" responses as shown in Clairmont's (1963) study.*

2. *He may enter, more or less immediately after school-leaving, a vocational training programme (such as the tannery project started in Aklavik in 1966/67, the boat-building course offered in British Columbia, heavy equipment operating courses in Alberta). A number of persons have taken this alternative, but the drop-out rate is extremely high and very few proceed to continuous employment in the field in which they were trained. Slobodin (1966: 133) lists only ten persons out of 29 as "employed as trained", while Clairmont (1963:25) reports three out of 39 Aklavik people employed in occupations for which they were trained.*

3. *After a period of drifting, he may enter one of the upgrading and basic literacy courses now offered in the Delta in order to improve his official grade-level achievement. These have been operating for such a short time that their effect is difficult to evaluate.*

The net effect is that most of the persons in this category are still drifting. A small number have established themselves as successful skilled employees, but whether their subsequent adjustment can be traced to the general social learning experiences associated with vocational training outside the home settlement environment rather than to the particular occupational skills they were intended to acquire through the courses is difficult to say. There are two other striking exceptions, one of whom became a very successful local businessman, and another a semi-professional. Both were trained in Alberta with the personal encouragement of a devoted Outsider.

For those who complete secondary schooling, yet another pattern prevails. It is difficult to estimate the number of Native persons who have completed secondary and post-secondary education, for until recently education to Grade 12 was unavailable in the Delta. Three persons are known to have attended university: (a) one male "Eskimo-Metis" graduate engineer (1969); (b) one male "Eskimo-Metis," bachelor's degree (1968), now in medical school; (c)

one female "Eskimo-Metis," sibling of (b), second year of Arts Programme (1969). One Eskimo girl now living in Ottawa is a registered nurse. Others have gone on to complete their secondary education at places throughout southern Canada. A few have successfully completed secretarial courses. Our concern here is not with those who "make it" in the school system — they appear to fit readily enough into the employment system of southern Canada — but with the greater majority who do not.

For the Native person who successfully completes secondary school in the Delta three alternatives appear to be open:

1. *direct entrance to the employment system, but this is seldom possible since:*

2. *"further training" is frequently required and those who go on to "further training" have a modestly high drop-out rate. These drop-outs are either employed in jobs below their capacity, or take the alternative of drifting.*

3. *university entrance (seldom in fact chosen).*

An examination of the post-secondary school experience of Outsider and Native students shows that Outsiders are much more strongly represented in university programmed and the professions while Native students are most strongly represented in clerical/managerial training programmed and occupations. Table VI.13 presents data showing the distribution of Grade 12 graduates from the Delta school system over the five-year period 1963-68 in occupational categories.

TABLE VI.13: Distribution of Delta Native and Outsider High School Graduates 1963-68 in Occupational or Occupational-Training Categories, June 30, 1969

Occupational or Training Category	Native		Outsider	
	N	%	N	%
University/ Professional	6	18.6	12	50.0
Technical/				
Semi-professional	4	12.5	3	12.5
Clerical/Managerial	14	44.1	2	8.3
Skilled Trades/				
Trades-training	2	6.2	1	4.2
Unskilled	0	0	0	0
Not known	2	6.2	2	8.3
Unemployed (girls now married housewives)	4	12.5	4	16.6
TOTAL	32	100.1	24	99.9

Source: Files at Samuel Hearne High School, Inuvik.

Data are not readily available to show the time trend of Native students' involvement in various occupational categories, but it is obvious that they have progressively approached an Outsider pattern. It is to be hoped that the present, obviously selective distribution will not become intensified or rigidified in years to come. As the situation now exists, Native students (compared with Delta Outsiders) are strongly over-represented in the clerical /managerial categories and very much under-represented in the professions. Highly complex socio-cultural factors are at work.

In terms of the school system, Native students show a strong tendency toward the "diploma course" (a general, non-academic stream) rather than the "matriculation course" designed to lead on to university entrance. Outsider students show a much stronger tendency to enter the matriculation programme (see Table VI.14).

TABLE VI.14: Distribution by Sex of Native and Outsider High School Graduates 1963-1968 in Diploma (General) and Matriculation ("University Entrance") Courses

	Native		Outsider	
	Diploma ("General") N	Matriculation ("Univ. Entrance") N	Diploma ("General") N	Matriculation ("Univ. Entrance") N
Male	11	5	3	11
Female	14	2	4	6
TOTAL	25	7	7	17

On graduation, Outsiders typically leave the North and go on to university, but Native people tend to stay in the North. In this case, the majority of occupational options are available in the clerical and trades categories. Any entrenchment of this pattern could lead to the formation of a local Native office-worker and skilled worker class. There is potential here for a self-perpetuating Outsider/Native inequality according to the class connotations of these occupational adaptations. In a sense, what has happened over the years in the Delta is that both Outsider and Native students have come to occupy generally higher positions on the occupational class ladder but the relative difference or distance between them which places Outsiders "above" Native people has persisted.

The contrast between Native and Outsider students is clear. It is to be expected that a high proportion of Outsider students should go on to university, since on the whole they are a selected group of the Canadian middle class. Their parents are mostly technical and

semi-professional personnel. What is important here is the contrast in life chances which must inevitably be visible to the Outsider students and their Native colleagues. It is important to the extent that Outsider students and their achievements are held up as examples for Native students to emulate. This is built into the school system. Relative to the Outsider reference group, the Native students on the whole can hardly be said to fare very well.

The social and cultural factors which lead to relative lack of success in the school and employment systems by Native people are complex. Given that success for Native people is relatively less than that for Outsiders, we are bound to ask what happens to those who are unsuccessful. An answer to this question requires an examination of the basic structural principles of Canadian society and the assumptions on which it is based, especially as they are brought to a particular focus in the school and occupational system of the Mackenzie Delta.

Occupational Choice, the School, and Social Mobility

In modern industrialized states, the school system has become institutionalized as perhaps the most important, socially approved, and legitimate means of upward social mobility. Industrialized states with highly developed administrative, economic and political systems have a voracious demand for "trained personnel," the production of which has been primarily allocated to a vast organizational complex of schools, universities, and technical training colleges. The individual's demand for social mobility in these relatively open systems combines in a mutually reinforcing relationship with the societal demand for trained personnel. This is nowhere more true, perhaps, than in North America. The system is further reinforced by a certain amount of myth and rhetoric about the sanctity of education, the "little red school house," and a fund of anecdotes about "poor boy makes good in spite of lack of formal education." In North America, if not quite at the standards of the mythical idea, the school system acts as a very important social ladder. For those who do not "make it" in the system a series of other alternatives are open which are also moderately efficient (if less valued than accreditation by a school system), such as entering father's business, "marrying up," exploiting an entrepreneurial alternative (often with the financial and social assistance of kin and friends), attending night school or taking correspondence courses, and so on.

Indeed, the school system is an important and effective means of upward mobility. The feature of such a system which is often ignored, is that it must inevitably also be about the most important differentiating

mechanism in society, for its "meritocratic" ideals of maximum mobility are true only for what must inevitably be the minority who pass through all of its grades and achievement levels. Many rejects or drop-outs from the system, as we have seen, have at least the potential for some upward mobility by other, more or less approved, means.

In Canada's North, perhaps the most frequent solution posed for social development is "more, more, and more education." If education is defined in the ideal sense as the transmission to all members of society of a basic complement of intellectual, social and emotional skills, maximizing the potential for self-actualizing productive individuals, then one could hardly disagree. In practice, however, "education" is defined as "what the school does." In the North, the school system has been institutionalized as nowhere else in Canada as the guardian of "education." This primary allocation of education function to the school system is supported by a growing movement among Canadian educators toward professionalization of their status. A common idea amongst Northern teachers is that all "quasi-educational" activities by "unaccredited" teachers or agencies must be fought tooth and nail, because (to quote directly) "no-one knows so much about education as a duly qualified teacher." In such a situation, mobility is confined to those who "make it" in terms of the school system. Unfortunately, "adult education" and "upgrading" courses now being offered in the Delta are seen principally as a means to give the "underprivileged" a sort of second chance to achieve the school accreditation he missed on the first round. As such it is a "salvage" activity, considered by many Outsiders as rather second rate compared to the "real thing". This state of affairs (i.e., "education-as-schooling" rather than "education-as-an-exercise-in-individual-fulfillment") is based on fundamental social commitments and cultural assumptions that would take no less than massive reform to reverse at this stage.

Let us consider the Native student in school. In this organization, to which he is committed by law until age 16, he is educated with the use of a basic curriculum designed for use in the wealthy and industrial province of Alberta. He is constantly informed that he is a member of a highly differentiated society and he is presented with the prospect of a multiplicity of occupational alternatives each having specific educational requirements. Subtly perhaps, but ineluctably, he learns to value highly the professional and skilled occupations. Also subtly, despite a certain amount of protestation to the contrary, he learns with his Outsider colleagues to disvalue the erratic, seasonal, unstable, unskilled occupational alternatives so much associated with Native people in the past. An obvious decline in the viability of trapping (at least as presently practiced) hardly acts as an incentive for him to

value it as a real alternative. In short, he learns to evaluate occupations and social rank in the same way as his Outsider colleagues.

Not only does he learn a system of evaluating, he adopts an idea of where he personally would like to, or be able to, fit into the system. That his ideas, and those of his parents are not radically dissimilar from Outsiders' ideas is amply attested in our interview and questionnaire data. He sees his occupational choice as a reasonable alternative, and there is nothing symbolic about a Native person in the Delta today wanting to be a doctor, pilot, carpenter, or policeman. His occupational choice is more than just a job-aspiration, it is a bid for social mobility, and he sees that the chief means of mobility is schooling. In fact, his own aspirations and those of his parents are cast in the image of the school. Only a mere handful of Native people have been able to make a bid for mobility without schooling and achieve it; for girls by marrying Outsiders, for boys by exceptional circumstances (including the personal assistance of Outsiders), by taking advantage of vocational training opportunities. Most Native people seem incapable of talking about school without talking about jobs, or about jobs without reference to former educational requirements. They see the school in a very "instrumental" light as the means to a "good job."

What happens, then, to the Native person who is unable to complete school, who drops out or is rejected without a mark of accreditation? His chances for his desired job are practically nil, as are his chances for social mobility, for the school is his only legitimate passage to them. We can see that in the case of the Native person less conventional crossings are effectively limited.

Our data and interpretation point to a critical feature of the plural system of the Mackenzie Delta, namely the disjunction or malintegration of Native and Outsider segments. In this case we have shown that mobility between the segments is theoretically possible for only a few Native people, and practically possible for a mere handful. The confinement of channels of mobility largely to the school system serves to foster and then frustrate the chosen life-goals of the majority of Delta Native students at the present time. Frustration of this kind occurs to a certain extent throughout Canada, but it seems to reach critical proportions among her marginal and poverty groups, of which the Native people of the Mackenzie Delta are one. Clairmont's (1963) study of Aklavik shows some of the responses which may be made by people caught in such a position of social malintegration.

**Social Well-being, Social Change, and
the Limits of Action**

The Delta plural system as we have described it consists in a form of differential incorporation of segments which is familiar in stratification theory. The segments constitute classes of a kind but combined with them are dimensions of racial, ethnic, and cultural differentiation. The cultural/ethnic difference is of complex origin. On the one hand the cultural/ethnic segments have "... an origin, a basis of existence, external to, and preceding, the society in which they are now incorporated" (Kuper 1969:461) somewhat on the order of Vogt's "subcultural continuum." On the other hand, they partake of the nature of class subcultures which have emerged in the history of societal interaction between the segments, Leach (1964) shows how classes may be distinguished by different subcultures, and that this subcultural differentiation in turn implicates their position in the hierarchy of stratification. When class and cultural ethnic boundaries coincide as they do in the case of the Mackenzie Delta, the cleavage between the segments is strong. Racial, ethnic, or cultural boundaries are not inevitably bases for class differentiation, but they have been made so in Canadian society. Membership in a plural segment is a *status* which implies a series of restraints and conditions on the kinds of roles that members of that segment may legitimately play. The ethnic dimension of segment membership is particularly powerful in defining this status for

... ethnic identity is superordinate to most other statuses, and defines the permissible constellations of statuses, or social personalities, which an individual with that identity may assume. In this respect ethnic identity is similar to sex in rank in that it constrains the incumbent in all his activities, not only in some defined social situations. One might thus also say that it is imperative, in that it cannot be set aside by other definitions of the situation. The constraints that spring from a person's ethnic identity thus tend to be absolute and, in complex poly-ethnic societies (e.g., plural societies), quite comprehensive and the competent moral and social conventions are made further resistant to change by being joined in stereotype clusters as characteristics of one single identity (Barth 1969: 17).

Systems of stratification are normally accompanied by some degree of inter-class mobility, but in the case of plural systems the conjunction of ethnic and class status induces a very low order of mobility indeed. In this light we see that the Mackenzie Delta social system is one in which whole ethnic groups are stratified with respect to their positions of privilege and power, and is a system which, on the whole, is relatively resistant to change.

To say that the Mackenzie Delta social system is relatively resistant to change is not to say that it is static. There are conditions under which plural

systems change by becoming now polarized (the salience of plural cleavages increases) now "depluralized" (salience of plural cleavage decreases) (Kuper 1969). Analyses of plural systems clearly show (e.g., Kuper 1969), contrary to the ideology and expectations of many Mackenzie Delta Outsiders and members of the bureaucracy, that depolarization by a linear uni-directional process of evolution in which the salience of segmental cleavages progressively diminishes and progressive peaceful assimilation of subject segments is assured, is by no means the typical way in which plural systems are transformed into non-plural systems. The process is typified by periods of polarization in which subject segments become assertive and by periods in which they become relatively quiescent and acquiescent. In the case of subordinate ethnic/cultural segments, such as the Native people in the Mackenzie Delta, in consequence of their enduring, comprehensive, and unique histories there is "... a greater affinity perhaps for sentimental elaboration of identity and a larger capacity for reasserting exclusive loyalties, after long periods of increasing commitment to broader, more inclusive, civic loyalties" (Kuper 1969:461). In the Mackenzie Delta, a long period of relative quiescence on the part of the Native people throughout the peak period of the fur trade and its gratifications of relative affluence with its respectable identity for Native people is now being followed by a period of increasing dissatisfaction. There is a greater and increasing awareness of their relative deprivation in contrast to Outsiders. This has been precipitated by the influx of large numbers of affluent Outsiders and the trappings of their southern life-style coincident with the building of Outsider-oriented Arctic towns such as Inuvik. More recently there has been an influx of corporate interests in pursuit of mineral and oil wealth. This rapid increase in the scale of Outsider operations has occurred in the last phases of the fur trade and the decline of the economically viable and socially rewarding way of life it had to offer for Native people. A process of polarization is at work; pluralism is in effect increasing, even while cultural changes are occurring which would otherwise indicate that Native people are increasingly adapting to certain features of, for example, life in the new towns (cf. Honigmann 1965a). Ethnic differentiation between Native people and Outsiders is strong. The class dimensions of Native and Outsider statuses are increasing. It appears that Native people are now prepared to respond to this situation through mobilization of their sectional identity in Native organizations designed to force settlement of land claims and to demand thereby massive financial compensation which, they hope, will serve to narrow the gap between their perceived deprivation and the recognized affluence of Outsiders. These events do not necessarily indicate a progressive and directional polarization, for as Kuper (1969:483) shows, while polarization through increasing conflict and the reas-

sertion of sectional identities may have potentially destructive consequences in the context of plural systems, heightened conflict, polarization, and assertiveness may be a transitional stage in a process of depluralization. As Raymond Smith (1966) has argued in the case of Creole society, before ethnic differentiation can be *transcended*, ethnic identity must be *asserted* in order to assure the stature, participation, and self-respect of the members of the plural segments in conflict. Kuper (1969:485) rightly points out in this context, however, that:

... racial and ethnic sentiments are not easily controlled, and (are easily) deflected from one goal to another; they seem to be autonomous, subject to their own laws, gathering their own momentum, and releasing fiercely destructive impulses under the guise of altruistic dedication.

The conditions of massive sectional revolt of this kind are simply not found in the Mackenzie Delta, for the Native segment is demographically small, relatively impoverished in material resources, and, compared to Outsiders, politically immobilized by their relative political disorganization, internal divisions, and the acquiescence of potential leaders to a sort of political symbiosis in clientage relationships to Outsider brokers. The naive optimism of perhaps the majority of Outsiders that depluralization will occur through individuation, the winning over and assimilation of individual Native people, contrasts diametrically with the recognition by analysts of plural systems (e.g. Kuper 1969:485; M. G. Smith 1969:55) that the essential sphere of depluralization is in the public domain. It entails the development of inclusive organization and effective political action by subordinate plural sections in order for them to challenge the organized and entrenched structures of the plural system which shape their lives. Local Outsiders and many bureaucrats are dismayed by the potential for collective social action by Native people in the western Arctic. They seem unable to dissociate it from apparent potential for open aggression and violence. But after all, the old Northwest Territories were the scene of the Riel Rebellions, the memory of which endures.

The realization that the Mackenzie Delta plural system now appears to be entering a phase of polarization which, under appropriate conditions, may lead to eventual depluralization is not an occasion for a laissez-faire, wait-and-see attitude. Polarization, conflict, and privation for Native people may increase markedly. It follows axiomatically from the observation in this study that pluralism has resulted in a low quality of life for Native people, that intensification of the plural mode of interaction will in some measure decrease their quality of life even more. It now becomes more important to ask under what conditions the quality of Native peoples' lives will

improve, and further we must ask what an anthropological study of this kind may say about those conditions. We must also ask to what extent the elucidation of these conditions may form a basis for social action.

The Locus of Social Change

There are at least three separable major groups of ideas which are used to account for the present conditions of Mackenzie Delta Native people. For convenience, we refer to these as the (a) "moral," (b) "cultural," and (c) "structural" accounts or explanations.

Moral explanations cover a wide range of sophistication. Basically they imply that Native people are morally incapable of making an attempt to improve their lives. As someone has said "they are guilty of a moral failure to climb in an achievement-oriented society." Morally, according to this point of view, they are spendthrift, lazy, incautious, promiscuous, potentially violent, and unscrupulous. One frequently hears variants of the moral account in current Delta stereotypes. "If only they would get off their backsides and do a hard day's work like decent people ...," "Now take your average Eskimo woman . . ." "They have the manner and morals of dogs; so treat them that way . . ." "Don't turn your back on one of these guys . . ." "They are poor because they *want* to be. . ." The list is lengthy and repetitive. Moral accounts may be subtly transformed into indictments by missionaries, into regulations and restrictions on Outsider contacts with Native people, and even more subtly into complex cultural propositions which purport to explain Native behaviour as atavisms from some primordial period of savagery. These ideas are an essential part of social interaction in the Delta plural system, but they should find no place in the basic propositions of an anthropological analysis.

Cultural accounts are equally varied. Some are little more than speculative transpositions of moral accounts into the terminology of social science. Some are analogues to racist arguments in the quasi-biological field. Others are sophisticated balanced analyses of the socially learned ways of thinking, feeling and acting, of a group of people which state that the differences of Native life-ways are products of their unique histories and experiences. These are the main content of traditional anthropological analyses. Hopefully the present analyses incorporates these to a certain extent.

Structural accounts assert that Native life-ways are a product of, and a response to, the economic political, and social circumstances in which Native people live. Taken to extreme, these represent people almost as automatons mechanically behaving and

reacting to external stimuli. They underestimate the accommodative and creative role of what others call culture. Our analysis is primarily a structural socio-economic one which attempts to include relevant cultural insights.

The decisions about what must be done by Native people for themselves or through the assistance or direction of Outsiders differ significantly if it is concluded that the "causes" of the condition of Native people are moral, cultural, or structural. Moral change would necessitate stringent sanctioning of "undesirable" behaviour and attitudes, or moral regeneration through vigorous re-learning processes, or both. Successful Delta Pentecostal Church members take this as axiomatic, as have other missions, at least in the past. It has played a not insignificant role in legislation regarding alcohol and Native people.

Indeed, enfranchisement provisions (for Indians in particular) have reflected a curious blend of moral and cultural accounts which say that as long as one lives like an Indian he must be classed as an Indian, subject to "protective" and restrictive legislation, for example on the use of alcohol and the self-management of economic affairs.

Cultural accounts imply two general approaches to change. One emphasizes stringent sanctions and directed re-education and rehabilitation. It seems fair to say that many northern teachers hold a variant of this opinion, albeit a sophisticated one. The other states that changing of economic, social and political conditions will inevitably be accompanied by cultural change. This has some affinity with the structuralist position which states that change in the conditions for Native people can only, and legitimately, be effected by change in the structural factors of the wider society which subject Native people to stress and privation through unequal distribution of power and economic resources. All moral accounts and many cultural accounts locate the prime focus of change among Native people themselves. The community development attitude which states that Native people must help themselves if they hope to change their circumstances is, in many ways, closely related to these points of view. The "self-help" attitude is widely held among the Canadian public and in government circles. The structuralist point of view locates the prime focus of change in the structural modes of the wider society. It advocates radical revision of those features of economic, political and social life of the nation which, among others, are under the control of entrenched power structures of government, mercantile, mission, and directive change agencies. "Radical" in this case is used in the *Oxford English Dictionary* sense: "1. of or pertaining to a root or to roots; 2. forming the root, basis, or foundation; 3. going to the root or origin; thorough;

espec. radical change, cure." Obviously this study of Mackenzie Delta pluralism locates the majority of roots, bases, and foundations of the Native peoples' social condition and relative lack of social well-being, not primarily among the Native peoples' own attitudes, values, and modes of action but in the structures, attitudes, values, and modes of action in the Outsider sector which is so coercive, powerful, and stressful in their regard. Such a point of view seldom finds sympathy among powerful Outsiders, but it seems to be almost the only conclusion compatible with a plural analysis.

Since the conditions which create the stressful milieu in which Native people live lie to a considerable extent in the wider Canadian society, it follows that programmes and strategies which are designed to change these conditions must be aimed in large part not at Native people but at the structures of Canadian society. Any such suggestion must almost inevitably intrude upon well-established modes of action and vested interests in them. While many Canadians believe that "the Native problem" is an important one to face, it is often comparatively easy to avoid doing so. Demographically, the Indian, Eskimo, and Metis population is small (about 500,000 people or about 2½% of the national population — equal to about 5% of the population of greater New York). Correspondingly, as an electoral group they wield little power except at the local level where they may represent population majorities. Yet the structural conditions which largely shape their lives are not local, but are manifestations of societal processes at the national level.

The conception that "the Native problem" is unique is partly at fault here. In some respects it is unique but it shares basic affinities with problems of regional, cultural, class, and other kinds of differentiation which are basic to the structural fabric of Canadian society which are in part given recognition in Canada's federal system of government. It is important to make this point strongly, because many Delta Outsiders (particularly New Northerners) firmly believe that "the problem" is primarily a regional one for which local solutions are the most appropriate. On the other hand, we are not suggesting that the Federal Government is the appropriate constitutional agency to deal with "the problem," for the focus of action is at all/eve/s of the Canadian system of government (insofar as "the problem" is a governmental one). In fact it is much more than that, since it concerns the whole of the patterned ways of action, values and beliefs of the Canadian public concerning Native people, the poor, and the disenfranchised.

There have been several kinds of approaches to "the problem" in Canada. On the one hand are cries of outrage by Native people and sympathetic human rights groups in southern Canada. Their recommendations

for action are often fierce and polemic, portraying Canadian society (particularly governments) as vast conspiracies of ill-will. Sometimes they are banal dicta with which very few North Americans would disagree but which suggest no practicable means for achieving them. For example, an analyst of underdevelopment declares: knowledge is better than ignorance; health is better than disease; to eat is better than to be hungry; a comfortable standard of living is better than poverty; to participate actively in one's nation is better than to be isolated from it (Schramm 1964:35).

On the other hand, research sponsored by the Federal Government at considerable cost in the North, over the last two decades, has frequently been "mission-oriented," designed to produce specific recommendations for action. *The Area Economic Survey* of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was one of these, the Mackenzie Delta Research Project of which this study is a part, is another, and the "Hawthorn Report" (Hawthorn et al. 1966, 1967) on Indians throughout Canada is yet another. Frequently research of this kind, after careful deliberation, has produced minutely detailed recommendations for action which to all appearances has been ignored by the governments who have sponsored it. A common interpretation is that such recommendations are too threatening to the *status quo* and are therefore ignored. This may in part be true, but part of the difficulty may lie in the recommendations themselves. They are often minutely detailed, expressed in bureaucratic language in order to attract a bureaucratic audience, but are often so specific that administrators find difficulty in matching them with bureaucratic measures and events as they see them. Under these conditions recommendations may be easily discounted as "impracticable," or because the researcher "doesn't really understand how the system works." Graaff (1967:11) speaking of recommendations for economic well-being, offers a wise insight:

if we keep the broad ethical judgments for which we find reasonable consilience in a society, then broad ones will do. It is in specificity we may find dissidence. So, we must remain broad, but we need to be specific enough to get at practicable strategies, but not so specific as to run into complete dissidence.

In this study, we will attempt to derive broad conditions on which the operation of a social system is based and criteria by which the performance of that system may be judged. Hopefully the resulting recommendations will neither be broad polemics or banalities, nor detailed propositions which must inevitably meet with bureaucratic and strategic dissidence. These criteria and conditions should be structural propositions based as closely as possible on our preceding analysis. This "structural" field

would appear to be the particular home ground of the social scientist so long as he conceives of himself neither as theologian or guardian of public morals nor as bureaucrat or politician. Before proceeding to these conditions, we must more clearly define the role of the social scientist in making recommendations for social change in Canadian society.

The Anthropologist and Social Change -

The Anthropologist has become a notorious figure in the Mackenzie Delta. He is accused of being a rabble-rouser who disturbs local people, promises the correction of social inequalities, and then rushes away to the anonymity and safety of his office in the south. Perhaps more often he is accused of naivety and superficiality because his term of field work may be short, and because, contrary to the expectations of local Outsiders and many administrators that he will produce brilliant and exotic analyses, his reports produce routine descriptions of hum-drum everyday life in the North. He is expected to say something new and exciting which will illuminate the dark recesses of "the Native mind" and propose brilliant new development strategies. When he does not, the "Old Hands" say "well, what could you expect. I know my Eskimos and you can't expect to understand them after only two years here." Yet the anthropologist places high value exactly on the things the "Old Hands" expect him to avoid, namely the documentation of routine currents of daily life. On looking at all the "Old Hands", Outsiders, and strangers who have visited the Delta and cared to comment on it, one can safely say that social scientists have no monopoly on naivety or superficiality.

In a sense, the only contribution of the social scientist is to describe the routines of life, but hopefully to place the description within an analytical framework which reveals relationships and conditions hitherto unrecognized or simply taken for-granted. He is not necessarily the mechanical "trouble-shooter" or social clinician that many expect him to be. The expectation that he will be able to produce a recipe book for directed social change is inappropriate. He cannot prescribe detailed bureaucratic or political strategies. That must be left to administrators and politicians. But he can in some measure indicate what the implications of a social structure, or formal measures taken today, are for groups of people who live within it.

Perhaps it is even inappropriate for the social scientist to make the "recommendations" which conventionally conclude an "applied social science" study. What he can offer, in as plain language as possible, is a set of propositions about the performance of a social system, outlining the conditions under which a social system performs and the criteria

by which he derives his analysis of that performance. Perhaps he can also offer a set-of propositions as practicable criteria or tests by which policies and proposed measures for inducing social change can be judged. It would seem that this approach is much more in line with the limits of his professional competence and with the real limits of his access to power and decision-making structures.

The style of social science research in the North in recent years clearly reflects some of the basic mechanisms of class differentiation in Canadian society. In its own modest way social science has even contributed to the maintenance of that system of stratification. This observation has been made of Canadian society in the "Hawthorne Report" (Hawthorn et al. (1967:243) and in a wider context by Barnett (1956:81). At least five major roles can be distinguished in a typical research enterprise in the North: (a) the sponsor (almost always government organizations and universities); (b) the researcher (virtually always an Outsider); (c) the object of the research (or the "target population"); (d) the consumer of the research; (e) the beneficiary of the research. Typically, sponsor and researcher roles lie in the Outsider sector. Outsiders are also virtually always the consumers of the research through government reports or professional publications. They are also the major beneficiaries of the research through, for example, increased professional status from having done Arctic research to which is attached a considerable mystique or the privileged acquisition of information about "target populations." It is questionable to what extent Native people are beneficiaries of the research, for the majority of social science recommendations appear to be ignored or discounted. The net effect is to leave the Native "target populations" primarily in the role of research objects and to increase at least the illusion of psychological control over them, their affairs, and peculiarities, by government and academic sponsors, consumers, and beneficiaries. This selective system of information retrieval and dissemination clearly marks, and to some extent reinforces, class differentiation in the North. This analysis does not say that Outsider research agencies are an unprincipled minority seeking their own self-interest. It simply points to a fundamental class feature of Canadian society. In short, we believe it is now time for the northern applied social scientist to consider carefully to whom recommendations are to be made, if they are to be made at all, for otherwise he is locked within the modes of interaction distinctive of the stratified plural system which we hold to result in decreased social well-being for Native people.

Criteria of Plural System Performance

Hughes' (1965) analysis of recent social and cultural change in Eskimo populations advocates the formulation of explicit criteria for assessing the effects of social change. He suggests the formulation of an index which includes such elements as gross economic measures of productivity, rates of literacy, morbidity and mortality rates, and the incidence of mental disorders and crime. This index or formula should indicate the "ultimate specific types of relationship" that should exist among these measures (Hughes 1965:47). While such measures or indices facilitate comparison between many kinds of social systems, it is clear that many kinds of structural conditions generate the phenomena which these measures describe. Accordingly, the criteria we seek for assessing the performance of a particular kind of social system will be quite different from those suggested by Hughes. We seek *structural* criteria which, although more difficult to operationalize and quantify, are specific to our analysis of Delta pluralism.

We begin from two highly generalized axioms. We assume that social systems which optimize both individual and group well-being perform at optimum. It is necessary to distinguish measures or structural criteria relevant to assessment of individual and group well-being. With Graaff (1967:5) we hold that an individual's personal well-being is defined to be identical with his "preference map."

... which indicates how he would choose between different situations, if he were given the opportunity for choice. To say that his welfare would be higher in A than in B is thus no more than to say that he would choose A rather than B, if he were allowed to make the choice (Graaff 1967:5).

This is Pigou's "general well-being;" his "economic well-being" concerns that portion of choice which can "... be brought directly or indirectly into relationship with the measuring rod of money" (Pigou 1932:10).

Group well-being cannot be defined in the same way as individual well-being (that is as maximization of choice) because we cannot assume unanimity of choice in a group, even if there is a unanimous majority (Graaff 1967 :7-10). We hold that the assessment of group well-being coincides with that given by Pareto, i.e., that group welfare is increased if in making any one person better off no other person is made worse off (Graaff 1967:7-10). These two broad structural propositions on individual and group well-being underly our more specific propositions about well-being in the Delta plural system, for as they stand they may refer to a wide range of kinds of structural systems. They include an ethical dimension, but they may be tested against the propositions

of our plural analysis. As Graaff (1967:3) states, the test of a proposition about well-being depends "... almost entirely upon the realism and relevance of its assumptions, factual and ethical, in a particular historical context."

Both propositions point to disparity; that on individual well-being to a disparity between individual preferences and the extent to which these may be realized in a given social system; that on group well-being to a disparity between the well-being of members of the group. It must be made clear that these do not refer necessarily to absolute levels of well-being, but to relative deprivation. If it can be shown, for example, that one person's preferences are more readily realized than those of another, then he maybe said to have more well-being. If it can be shown that disparity between members of a group is decreased by bringing members with low well-being closer to those with high well-being, then group well-being is increased. Being statements of relative deprivation, these are statements of contrast. Reduced contrast between individuals or groups leads to increased social well-being. In this form our two axioms are of immediate relevance to the plural system which is a social structure marked by systematic contrast, conflict, and relative deprivation between its component segments (groups) and their members (individuals).

Chapter VI provides a clear example. We have shown that Native and Outsider students are virtually identical in occupational preferences. MacArthur (1968a, b) has shown that in terms of general ability they are virtually identical. Given similar aspiration and ability, one would expect both groups to achieve similar mobility if the structural circumstances for both groups were identical. We have shown that there is considerable disparity between them in mobility and that therefore differing structural circumstances for Native and Outsider students in the plural system must account for this disparity. Stigmata of ethnic and class position are the basis. These are reflected in the disparity between what Native people state as their aspirations and the conception of these aspirations by powerful Outsiders. What provides the circumstances for realization or non-realization of Native students' preferences is not the Native students' own aspirations and ability, but the creation of programmed and strategies for Native people by powerful Outsiders on the basis of incorrect assumptions about these aspirations. This "structural dissonance," a clear reflection of plural cleavage, leads to a level of well-being for Native persons lower than that for Outsiders. This is a self-perpetuating condition which in turn accentuates the plural cleavage, maintaining a low level of well-being for Native people

In the *economic* sphere, contrast between Native and Outsiders is not only one of income levels, but of the structural characteristics of income. Native incomes are extremely unstable and unpredictable. This prevents utilization of means of capital accumulation, savings, and credit similar to those which foster stability and security, in short higher economic well-being, for Outsiders. Low and unstable incomes make Native people more vulnerable than Outsiders.

Politically, Native people are relatively less powerful than Outsiders. Analogous to the economic sphere, political conditions are more unstable and unorganized than in the Outsider sector. Native people are correspondingly more vulnerable to political actions by Outsiders than Outsiders are (or have been) to political actions by Native people. They have a lower level of political well-being than Outsiders.

Similarly, Native people are *culturally* more vulnerable than Outsiders. Economic, political and other circumstances have created conditions to which they have been pressed to respond with new cultural ways. These contain elements of a class culture. In addition many Outsiders change-directed actions are specifically designed to erode these and other characteristics of the Native way of lifeworld striving to maintain the integrity of the Outsider life-style.

Demographically, Native people are faced with conditions including high fertility ratios, high net annual increases, and a high ratio between dependents and economically productive adults. These stand in contrast to Outsiders, and we have shown that (e.g., economic) conditions for Native people in the plural system combine to accentuate difficulties for them in coping with these fundamental problems.

It follows that if the pervasive structural conditions of pluralism, namely low levels of economic performance, political powerlessness, political and economic instability, and political, economic and cultural vulnerability lead to low levels of well-being for Native people, then the process of depluralization may be assessed as reversal of these conditions and their effects. Criteria for making this assessment would consist at the very least of those given below. These criteria may be used to assess the depluralization effects of all social change trends whether formulated as policies and measures of governments, change-agencies in the "private sector" such as missions or human rights interest groups, mercantile and industrial interests, or the activities of local community associations and voluntary organizations.

Political Criteria

In the Delta plural system political involvement of Native people is token and minimal in all levels of government and in community decision-making structures. Therefore:

(a) A revision is required of constitutional arrangements which formally define Native persons in effect as government wards, ineligible for franchise at any recognized level of government, or as legal infants incapable of administering their own economic transactions (such as sales and leases of land in the case of Indians), or as ineligible for administration of their own estates and final testaments (the case of Indians). Many difficult legal and technical matters are involved. Changes are now in progress, but our plural analysis states that unilateral or primarily unilateral decisions for change by governments without fully responsible and accountable representation of Native peoples' views only perpetuates the plural relation.

(b) Responsible and accountable representation in all decisions affecting Native people by Native people is required for full **depluralization** to occur. Native people are often included in government and other decision-making bodies, but so long as these are selected or appointed by Outsiders or simply put forward by sectional Native interest groups they cannot be considered as representative, responsible (in the electoral sense) or accountable to a Native electorate with full opportunity to make divergent views heard. Given the relative political disorganization and fragmentation amongst Native people this may be difficult to achieve, but is simultaneously more necessary to achieve in order to overcome just these conditions. Although the complex arrangement of electoral procedures for ensuring responsible and accountable representation in governmental bodies and infra-structural committees may be costly and complex, their effect in facilitating **depluralization** cannot be underestimated. In this light the appointing of members to existing government bodies requires immediate review, as does further development of consultative and advisory bodies, which, although they may include duly elected Native representatives, allocate little, if any, authority to these bodies for the enactment of their decisions.

(c) Since ethnic, cultural and class differences are a fact in Northern life, due consideration must be given to assurance of representation of all these dimensions in community bodies with governmental or quasi-governmental authority. For example, due consideration should be given to a ward system of local government in developing towns, villages, and hamlets in the North. The system maybe more cumbersome than that for more homogeneous communities in southern Canada, but it recognizes the facts of

life in the North more clearly than the melting-pot ideology of some powerful local Outsiders. The ward system is more consistent with **depluralization**.

(d) Since collective political action among Native people now has reasonable opportunity for developing, provided such organization is not paralyzed by Outsider interference or negative sanctions, a mode of relations which more freely encourages the development of these structures politically and financially, and which also allows the opinions of these organizations to be heard by the Canadian public can reasonably be expected to facilitate **depluralization**.

(e) Since, at present, elected bodies (such as Indian band councils) exist, which are rendered almost powerless by being unrepresentative of the heterogeneity of **Delta settlement life**, and which are largely ignored by administrative practice, a review of the usefulness of such organizations is required. At present they increase frustration by formally offering power and systematically withholding it. Any revision in their status must include full involvement of Native aspirations and points of view.

(f) Since the wide discretionary power attached to local offices held by Outsiders leads inevitably to power manipulation, wide and arbitrary interpretation of official capacities and instability of strategies adopted towards Native people, a careful assessment of administrative practices is required. It is on the basis of discretionary power, occasionally of almost plenipotentiary dimensions as in some small traditional settlements, that the Outsider broker/Native client relationship is based. These **para-administrative** relationships channel a large proportion of transactions (some very important politically) between the segments into the hands of a few people who are, by definition, largely beyond local public accountability. In addition, we have shown how the broker/client relationship deactivates potential for constructive collective political action among Native people.

(g) While **at least** some Native people now recognize the potential for collective political action, others are reluctant to accept, or are unaware, of the role such constructive action may legitimately take in Canadian society, due consideration must be given to measures which will inform Native people of this potential and their legitimate rights. Conventional "leadership raining," so long as it originates among Outsider interests or doctrines (no matter how benign or benevolent) will not facilitate **depluralization**. Attention must be given to potential followers as well as potential leaders.

Economic Criteria

Low levels of well-being among Native people, in contrast with Outsiders, originate from incomes which are low and unstable. In addition, low capital accumulation and the virtual absence of savings make the Native sector extremely vulnerable. Therefore:

(a) The raising of income levels among Native people must be assured. The guaranteed annual income policy presently having much political favour in Canada, while it might make incomes more stable, would probably have the effect of fixing a threshold on income at, or slightly above, an amount sufficient to meet basic necessities (although these may be defined very differently by members of different social segments). This may tend to entrench the Native people at a perpetual low income level, for the amount of income normally proposed is equal to what is now defined as the poverty threshold. Although it might close the gap between Native and Outsider incomes to some extent, the contrast between them will still be substantial enough to carry strong socio-economic class implications. Correspondingly the stratification dimensions of the plural relationship is not overcome.

(m) Serious questions must be raised about the politically popular theme in northern development policy which advocates a "trickle-down effect" in approaches to poverty. The Economic Council of Canada's *Fifth Annual Review (1968:1 27)* states that

analysis has shown that spending money (e.g. on some kinds of economic development) in the general vicinity of poverty groups by no means guarantees that a substantial proportion of the benefits will in fact flow to the poor.

and (1968:132)

... where poverty occurs more in the form of pockets, anti-poverty policies should have a more distinct character of their own. The "trickle-down" effects of national and regional growth and development policies do not constitute an adequate solution to the problem of poverty.

It is a constant belief that development of Canada's northern resources by corporate industrial interests from southern Canada and the United States will induce considerable prosperity in northern populations. Our plural analysis strongly suggests that such activities in recent years have actually *increased* the plural cleavage, since those who prosper are the industrial interests and local Outsiders. This has widened the relative deprivation gap between Native people and Outsiders, for the plural cleavage is a constant barrier to economic or any other form of participation by Native people. The visible growth of

affluence among Outsiders inevitably forces invidious comparisons by Native people of their own conditions with those of Outsiders. Only careful planning will ensure alleviation of poverty among Native people; continuing faith in the "trickle-down effect" will probably only exacerbate the plural cleavage.

(c) While consumer and producer co-operatives have enjoyed some success and governmental approval in the Eastern Arctic, they are only weakly developed in the Mackenzie area. Since one of the many effects of such cooperatives is that of economic risk-spending for Native people with minimal or no capital and sporadic and low incomes, careful consideration may be given to their further development in the Western Arctic. Alternative strategies suggest themselves for the trapping sector, namely fur-marketing boards which can exert more local effect on the stabilization of market prices. The "Eskimo Loan Fund" of the Federal Government has enjoyed some success and popularity in the Eastern Arctic, but very little in the Western Arctic.

(d) Since social assistance issues have averaged less than \$1.00 per day in a high cost area, and since any money earned from trapping or employment is deducted from this amount, a revision of social assistance rate schedules is required.

(e) Since one of the sources of economic vulnerability in the Native sector derives from their "vertical" dependent relationship to Outsider sources of income and outlets for expenditure, the encouragement of "lateral" expenditure, exchange, and economic organization within the Native sector may reasonably be expected to decrease economic pluralism. Entrepreneurs in the Native sector require capital inputs for this to occur. Emphasis on the "trickle-down effect" will not necessarily allow this to happen. The lack of economic organization in some form analogous to that of Outsider market economies has led to the sensitivity of the Native sector to the unstable "boom and bust" pattern in northern economic events. While a massive Outsider project is in operation, Native employment is relatively high. On demise of the project and increased unemployment there are no appropriate economic "defenses" within the Native sector.

Cultural Criteria

Conventional explanations of the state of well-being among Native people have been primarily "cultural" or have included implicit assumptions about Native "culture." Our plural analysis places primary control within national societal processes. It does not reject the implications of culture, but attempts to place it within perspective of societal process. We hold that there has been an analytical over-emphasis on the

control exerted by "Native culture" in northern social problems therefore:

(a) Strategies must be formulated for the education of Outsiders, particularly those in powerful positions, in order to bring about reassessment of their assumptions and stereotypes about Native people and the poor. This is particularly important since variants of the culture concept have readily given themselves to ideological interpretations and exhortatory political statements by both the poor and the powerful. This has drawn attention away from issues of power and wealth distribution which the plural analysis suggests are most basic. By "education" we do not necessarily advocate formal education schooling alone. We mean the creation of an informed and responsible society. Formal orientation programmed for those professionally or administratively involved with Native people or the poor have an appropriate role but not a sole responsibility in this field. The media of radio, television, and the printed word have an important function.

(b) Reassessment is required of formal educational programmes amongst Native people which doctrinally assert that middle-class North American values and attitudes are the only viable ones for Native people. Stressful "re-culturation" especially through powerful institutions such as the school system, based on incorrect assumptions about the culture of Native people must be **re-evaluated**. Chapter VI has shown how erroneous some Outsider cultural assumptions are in shaping the lives of Native people **ina manner inconsistent with their wishes and desires**.

(c) Careful reassessment must be given to policies and conventional wisdom which speak of cultural integration and/or assimilation — among both Native people and Outsiders. Since some of the most basic cultural differentiation between Native people and Outsiders concerns class cultural elements, for example, it is confusing to speak of "integrating" Native people politically and economically while their way of life depends to a considerable extent on political and economic class differentiation. In any case, any decision for policy which is taken cannot be determined unilaterally by Outsiders, for that would be a continuation of the modes of cultural super-ordinance basic to a plural system.

(d) Any policy or attitude which seeks to encourage those politically neutral aspects of Native "culture" (such as singing, dancing, and handicrafts) but which stringently sanctions other *in fact more basically* "cultural" ways such as marriage arrangements, methods of child-rearing, and means for settling interpersonal disputes which are repugnant to Outsiders, is another example of the control of Outsiders over Native peoples' way of life which is characteristic of the plural relation. It is based upon incorrect and

naive assumptions about the meaning of culture and its role in human relations.

(e) Since the present educational system is in fair measure directed towards **re-culturation**, since it operates at considerable financial cost, and since it is clear that it contributes in large measure to a perpetuation of the modes of stratification basic to the plural system, the policy priority which allocates to the school a large part of the burden of bringing about "integration" requires *immediate* and thorough re-examination. Positively valued alternatives for upward mobility in addition to and complementing the school system on a wide basis are required to facilitate depluralization and to counteract the pluralizing effects of the school. This means more than revision of the school system. It means revision of the whole basis of individual and sectional immobility in the North. This is particularly important since Canadian egalitarian values offer mobility for all through the school system, accomplishes it for but a few, and frustrates perhaps the majority especially among the poor and among enclaves of Native people.

The Limits of Action

For depluralization in the North to occur, more than governments must act. Government has been allocated public authority and power in some of the most basic fields of social development so that it bears a particular responsibility. The make-shift, temporary, opportunistic measures which historically in Canadian society have sacrificed long-range effects to immediate opportunities and narrowly defined "practical" demands will not suffice. The anthropologist cannot design policies for change, and most certainly cannot cause these policies to be implemented. That is a matter for the Canadian public and the corporate agencies through which their wishes, desires and attitudes can be brought to effect. The public gets what it asks for. The public gets what it deserves. The anthropologist is often thought of as a "Native-lover" representing sectional interest. That may to some extent be true. In this analysis we have attempted to suggest that the so-called "Native problem" as it is manifested in the Mackenzie River Delta is not so much a problem in the analysis and understanding of the dark recesses of the "Native mind" but a problem in the analysis of some of the most implicit and basic features of Canadian society.

This study has demonstrated that the social system in the Mackenzie River Delta constitutes a plural social system which displays marked "vertical" social stratification, with conjoined dimensions of ethnic and cultural differentiation, which should not be considered in analytical isolation. Social integration between the component sectors of this system does not derive from substantial value consensus between the members of the system, but depends upon a complex network of economic, political, and other structural features, the control of which lies essentially with members of the status group we have designated as Outsiders. Accordingly, the analysis of pluralism applied here is more closely aligned with sociological theories of stratification and social conflict than it is with conventional ethnographic studies of relatively self-contained communities or other kinds of social systems demonstrating internal equilibrium, "organic" structural homogeneity, or relatively homogeneous value systems. To this extent, there is an affinity with Leach's (1964: e.g., ix-xv) appeal for consideration of non-equilibrium systems by anthropologists. Correspondingly, there is little affinity with anthropological studies of cases which demonstrate the role of social conflict in the maintenance of social equilibrium (e.g., Gluckman 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965). Since most anthropological studies of conflict are of the equilibrium type, the approaches to an anthropological study of conflict in plural societies is not particularly well developed. Gluckman (1966) has rightly pointed out that most studies of conflict in plural systems have focused on national social systems. In our study of pluralism in the Mackenzie Delta, the level of analysis is at a regional or community level. Consequently, there has been considerable emphasis on demonstrating the interconnections of this local plural system to the wider Canadian society. Particularly in the field of political and economic organization, but also in those local features of cultural response to the wider system, these interconnections have been demonstrated, at least in terms of their key features. The analysis is far from complete or exhaustive of all of the implications of interconnectedness between the various local class and ethnic groups and of all of these together considered as a local subsystem to the Canadian nation. Concern with these issues in this study has drawn analytical emphasis away from a documentation of local cultural features. While we agree with Barth (1969:15) that the focus of investigation in such cases as the Mackenzie Delta is more a matter of studying the structural interfaces between social segments, and the structures which bridge them, than the "cultural stuff" which they enclose, we have made a strong attempt to show the role of plural segmental cultural features (see Chapters III and IV) in establishing and maintaining these interfaces. This has meant considerably less attention to conventional ethnographic categories than shown in other types of anthropological analysis. Given the structural inter-

faces and segmental interconnections shown in this study, the documentation of the "cultural stuff" within them by refined ethnographic techniques is now more mandatory than ever, if only, among other requirements, to subject our kind of analysis to careful scrutiny and evaluation at this early stage in its development and refinement. Just as so-called "simple" and "heterogeneous" societies do not constitute monolithic types, neither do "plural" social systems. Intensive ethnographic analysis can play a major role in identifying the variants of these societal forms. But the anthropological analysis of "complex" societies is still in its formative stages (cf. Banton 1966: Intro.), and studies of the kind presented here require very careful evaluation indeed.

Several basic analytical problems are raised in this study and are by no means resolved. Perhaps the most urgent and pressing one is the examination of the proposition that a significant proportion of the social conditions among northern Native people which promote and maintain what we have identified as the plural cleavage have their origin as much (if not more) in the structural conditions of Canadian society than in the aboriginal ecologies of the Native people. We have argued strongly for the consideration of this proposition — the "structuralist" explanation — not to the exclusion of a "culturalist" explanation, but for a more critical appraisal of the terms and conditions under which the culture concept can be appropriately applied. The problem is pressing not only because the relationship of both cultural and structural concepts to observed behaviour requires on-going theoretical and methodological refinement, but because it appears to have been most consistently assumed by a majority of anthropologists working among northern Native people and by other professionally or socio-politically involved with the so-called "Native problem" that aboriginal cultural origins and certain developments from them account almost completely for the conditions which are observed among them today. In the present study we have argued not for a whole-hearted rejection of the culture concept but for a more refined and circumspect application of it to social phenomena in the North. To this extent, our study is largely programmatic. It has suggested that the structuralist proposition is worthy of wider consideration, both for theoretical reasons and because we believe that it suggests significantly different attitudes to the problem of "underdevelopment" in regional or ethnic enclaves. Considerable theoretical refinement of the position is required concomitant with a judicious and systematic partitioning of the general point of view into carefully formulated hypotheses capable of exhaustive and rigorous testing. Our examination, for example, of brokerage and clientage and of the role of formal schooling in plural boundary maintenance suggest in an initial way how this procedure might begin.

We must also assert that to a larger extent than heretofore the examination of these hypotheses must occur outside the traditional focused community-study context in terms of which this and most other studies of northern social organization have been carried out. The sectional cleavages and modes of relations characteristic of pluralism cannot be assumed to coincide conveniently with the boundaries of a community or limited region which the analyst chooses for theoretical or practical convenience. Most of the fragmentation and differentiation believed to exist between northern communities is probably in large part a reflection of the strategies of research employed, particularly the emphasis on intensive local case studies. We advocate a partial shift in the scale of analysis and an appropriate modification of concepts appropriate to this level of analysis, at least for the further resolution of questions implied by an analysis of pluralism.

In addition to furthering the broad scale of analysis which often implies an "over-socialized" view of behaviour (cf. Wrong 1961) such that people are seen as behaving almost mechanically within structural or cultural constraints either external to themselves or "internalized" to some degree as rules for action, fuller consideration must be given to the variable ways in which people pass through a given social structure. Many of the anomalies noted in attempts to relate social structure, cultural values, and the actions of individuals or groups can probably be resolved in this way. We cannot assume axiomatically that given cultural values or structural conditions, even at a high level of generality, are equally salient for all members of a social group in all situations. This may be especially true in social situations undergoing rapid and dislocative change such as that observed in the Mackenzie Delta. In Barth's (1966:3) words, we may derive a different notion of institutionalization (and all that this implies for internatization of values and gross patterns of social structure) if we seek strategies to show". . . how a multiplicity of individual decisions under the influence of canalizing factors can have the cumulative effect of producing clear patterns and conventions." In other words, an exclusively structuralist or culturalist analysis is "one-legged" without a consideration of the patterned ways in which individuals move within the structure. Obviously our present study has had little to say in that direction, but on the one hand it points to the theoretical issues identified by Vogt (1966: Intro.) as complicating the analytical relationship between, for example, the field of values and social structure, and on the other advocates a rigorous analysis of the relationship of individuals to conditions which shape their lives. The "over-socialized" view of Northern people has tended to foster homogeneous stereotypes of some of their actions and supposed motives which appear to bear little relationship to reality (e.g. Chapter VI) such that any discon-

formity of action to the stereotype becomes "deviant" or "pathological." Sanctioning of this supposed "deviance" plays a large part in structuring the strategies of control by Outsiders by which the plural cleavage is maintained.

Like many studies on northern social phenomena, this one concludes with a plea for more research. By more research we do not automatically suggest more *field* research. A lot of data is now available in secondary sources and government documents. Initial refinement of analysis may well begin with them in order to specify, in detail, how and whether additional field research is the appropriate strategy for resolving specific theoretical and administrative problems. The automatic assumption that field research is the only answer has fostered the flood of researchers into Canada's northern regions thereby continuing the feeling amongst many Northerners that they are being manipulated and controlled beyond their power of protest by essentially hostile or power-hungry Outsiders. Research has done its share in maintaining northern pluralism. Perhaps this is the time to reconsider the appropriateness of many of our modes of operation which we take so much for granted.



**Distribution by Sex and Age
of Selected Populations
in the Mackenzie River Delta
December 31, 1966**

Data for Tables A.1, A.2 and A.3 are derived from a number of sources. Indian data were based on Band Lists for the Arctic Red River, Aklavik and Fort McPherson bands amended by my own field census and data on births, death and marriages contained in the administrative files in Inuvik and Aklavik offices of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Eskimo data are similarly amended on the basis of the W-3 (Inuvik Region) Eskimo Disc Lists, other administrative files, and our field census.

Metis data, always hard to recover, are given only for the Aklavik Administrative Area. These data are derived basically from a field census amended by information in administrative files indicating "other Native" status. However, administrative files tend to include as "other Native" only descendants of White males and Indian females who are not eligible for Indian legal status under the *Indian Act*. They also tend to include enfranchised Indians (e.g., persons who have chosen to "opt out" of Indian status). Our census also includes offspring of White males and Eskimo females who are not considered eligible for registration in the Eskimo Disc Lists. The Aklavik Metis population is probably not entirely representative of the patterns prevailing in primarily Indian settlements (Arctic Red River or Fort McPherson), since for example "Eskimo-Metis" are not commonly found there.

TABLE A1: Distribution by Age and Sex of Indian Population of Arctic Red River, Aklavik and Fort McPherson Bands Resident in Mackenzie Delta, December 31, 1966

Age	Male		Female		Total		Cumulative Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Notknown	12	1.28	11	1.18	23	2.46	930	100.00
90-94	0	0.00	1	0.11	1	0.11	907	97.54
85-89	2	0.21	3	0.33	5	0.54	906	97.43
80-84	4	0.43	0	0.00	4	0.43	901	96.89
75-79	4	0.43	6	0.65	10	1.08	897	96.46
70-74	15	1.61	9	0.97	24	2.58	887	95.38
65-69	4	0.43	11	1.18	15	1.61	863	92.80
60-64	5	0.54	9	0.97	14	1.51	848	91.19
55-59	10	1.08	7	0.75	17	1.83	834	89.68
50-54	8	0.86	10	1.08	18	1.94	817	87.85
45-49	11	1.18	14	1.51	25	2.69	799	85.91
40-44	16	1.72	12	1.29	28	3.01	774	83.22
35-39	17	1.83	20	2.15	37	3.98	746	80.21
30-34	27	2.90	41	4.41	68	7.31	709	76.23
25-29	28	3.01	33	3.55	61	6.56	641	68.92
20-24	41	4.41	56	6.02	97	10.43	580	62.36
15-19	44	4.73	53	5.70	97	10.43	483	51.93
10-14	42	4.52	45	4.83	87	9.35	386	41.50
5-9	63	6.78	80	8.60	143	15.38	299	32.15
0-4	80	8.60	76	8.17	156	16.77	156	16.77
TOTAL	433	46.56	497	53.44	930	100.00	-	-

TABLE A.2: Distribution by Age and Sex of Mackenzie Delta Eskimo Population, December 31, 1966

Age	Male		Female		Total		Cumulative Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
80-84	1	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.2	1024	100.0
75-79	3	0.3	2	0.2	5	0.5	1022	99.8
70-74	6	0.6	1	0.1	7	0.7	1017	99.3
65-69	4	0.4	4	0.4	8	0.8	1010	98.6
60-64	6	0.6	5	0.5	11	1.1	1002	97.8
55-59	5	0.5	5	0.5	10	1.0	991	96.7
50-54	8	0.8	12	1.2	20	2.0	981	95.7
45-49	23	2.2	16	1.6	39	3.8	961	93.7
40-44	14	1.4	17	1.7	31	3.1	922	89.9
35-39	22	2.1	18	1.8	40	3.9	891	86.8
30-34	28	2.7	34	3.3	62	6.0	851	82.9
25-29	30	2.9	30	2.9	60	5.8	789	76.9
20-24	50	4.9	43	4.2	93	9.1	729	71.1
15-19	62	6.0	53	5.2	115	11.2	636	62.0
10-14	60	5.8	71	6.9	131	12.7	521	50.8
5-9	97	9.5	80	7.9	177	17.4	390	38.1
0-4	108	10.5	105	10.2	213	20.7	213	20.7
TOTAL	527	51.3	497	48.7	1024	100.0	-	-

TABLE A.3: Distribution by Age and Sex of Aklavik Metis Population, December 31, 1966'

Age	Male		Female		Total		Cumulative Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
80-84	2	1.4	0	0	2	1.4	139	99.9
75-79	1	0.7	0	0	1	0.7	137	98.5
70-74	2	1.4	0	0	2	1.4	136	97.8
65-69	3	2.2	0	0	3	2.2	134	96.4
60-64	6	4.4	2	1.4	8	5.8	131	94.2
55-59	0	0	0	0	0	0	123	88.4
50-54	3	2.2	2	1.4	5	3.6	123	88.4
45-49	0	0	2	1.4	2	1.4	118	84.8
40-44	4	2.8	3	2.2	7	5.0	116	83.4
35-39	2	1.4	4	2.8	6	4.2	109	78.4
30-34	3	2.2	2	1.4	5	3.6	103	74.2
25-29	2	1.4	7	5.0	9	6.4	98	70.6
20-24	6	4.3	3	2.2	9	6.5	89	64.2
15-19	8	5.8	9	6.5	17	12.3	80	57.7
10-14	11	7.9	9	6.5	20	14.4	63	45.4
5-9	18	13.0	9	6.5	27	19.5	43	31.0
0-4	7	5.0	9	6.5	16	11.5	16	11.5
TOTAL	73	56.1	61	43.8	139	99.9	-	-

"Includes 14 adult males of European origin married to Metis women and fathers to Metis children"

The data contained in these tables are graphically presented in population pyramids in Chapter 1.

APPENDIX B

**Occupational Survey
Mackenzie River Delta
1967**

**SECTION I: Facsimile of Questionnaire
Administered to Students.**

A facsimile of the questionnaire presented to students is given in the following pages. As there was no opportunity for controlled pre-test of the questionnaire, the responses to one or two question items

were of a sort which indicated that the questions were not well understood. These particular responses are not analyzed in our study, and the problem questions do not appear in the facsimile.

**Mackenzie Delta Research Project
Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre**

**OCCUPATIONAL SURVEY
MACKENZIE RIVER DELTA 1967**

You are being asked to complete the questions on the following pages in order that you can help in a research project. This project, as part of its work, is making a survey of the job situation here in the Delta. We would like to know how people feel about the kinds of jobs they would like to have or not like to have. Since some of you will be leaving school soon, we feel it is particularly important to know how you feel about the kinds of jobs you would like to take up after you finish your education.

This is not an examination, so there are no wrong or right answers. It is a chance for you to put down what you really feel. Please be sure to complete each section. Work as quickly as you can but do not rush.

Please write here:

(a) your name:

(b) sex: male or female (underline which)

(c) date of birth: Day _____ Month _____ Year _____

(d) your home settlement or town:

(e) do you intend to continue in school to grade 12? (YES or NO):

(f) your present grade in school:

This information, as all other marks on these papers, will be held confidential. Only members of the research project will see them.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE.

PART A (Subsection i)

INSTRUCTIONS

PLEASE READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY AND MAKE SURE YOU UNDERSTAND THEM. ASK IF YOU DO NOT UNDERSTAND THEM.

On the following page is a list of jobs. You are asked to arrange these jobs into five groups by placing a number from 1 to 5 beside each one.

Put a number 1 beside those jobs which you think are the best kinds of jobs.

Put a number 2 beside those jobs which you think are good jobs, but not as good as number 1 jobs.

Put a number 3 beside those jobs which you think are neither very good nor very bad.

Put a number 4 besides those jobs which you think are not very good but not entirely bad.

Put a number 5 beside those jobs which you definitely think are bad or undesirable.

BOYS: Most of the jobs on the list are men's jobs, but some are women's jobs. You will have some idea which of these you consider good or bad, so you are to mark these as well. A good way to tell is whether you would like your mother, your sister, or your wife to have these jobs.

GIRLS: Most of the jobs on the list are men's jobs, but you are to mark them anyway. Think whether you would like your father, your husband, or your brother to have these jobs.

_____ lawyer
_ barber or hairdresser
_ janitor
_____ policeman
_ garbage man
_ nurse's aide
_ truck driver
_ waitress
_ sailor in the navy
— carpenter
_ radio operator
_ reindeer herder
_ clerk in a store
_ boat-builder
_ teacher
— tannery worker
— post office job
_ airline stewardess
_ bulldozer operator
_ doctor
_ trader
_ scientist
_ electrician
_ general labourer

_____ cook
— carpenter's helper
_ banker
_ soldier in the army
_ barge crew
_ miner
_ nurse
_ bartender
_____ repairman for skidoos and kickers
_ hunter and trapper
_ diesel mechanic
_____ railway worker
_ fur-garment worker
— church minister or priest
_ typist/office worker
_ airplane pilot
_ baker
_ road building crew
_ contractor
_ airplane mechanic
_ game officer
_ warehouseman
_ settlement administrator
_____ laundry worker

PART A (Subsection ii)

(a) Which *one* job would you really like to do? _____

(b) Which *one* job would you absolutely *not* wish to have?

(c) If you were given a choice of hours per week for work, which of those below would you prefer? Place a check mark beside the one you prefer.

10-20 hours per week

20-30 hours per week

30-40 hours per week

40-50 hours per week

(d) If your parents have said to you what kind of work they would like you to do, what is the kind of work they have suggested?

(e) Suppose you are a married man living in your home settlement, and that you have just been offered a job in another settlement with more money than you are making now. What do you think you ought to do?

(i) take the job and let the family stay on living in your home settlement?

(ii) turn down the job?

(iii) move away with the family but try to keep a place in your home settlement as a permanent home?

(iv) take the job and move?

(f) What job does the main person in your family have?

I Put a number 1 beside the place where you would most like to work, a number 2 beside the place you would next best like to work, and soon up to 5. Mark five places only out of those listed. Read through the list before you assign numbers.

Edmonton

in the bush or on the Delta

Coppermine

Fort McPherson

Yellowknife

DEW Line site

Arctic Red River

Tuktoyaktuk

Vancouver

Aklavik

Hay River

Inuvik

// In a similar fashion, arrange the following three in order of preference.

(a) a job with mostly indoor work

(b) a job with mostly outdoor work

(c) a job with both indoor and outdoor work

III Similarly, arrange the following in order of preference.

(a) a job with a small private company

(b) a job with a big organization (e.g., The Bay or Indian Affairs)

(c) self-employment

SECTION II: *Facsimile of Questionnaire
Administered to Teachers.*

The questionnaire administered to teachers is essentially the same as that given to students with the exception of most of the questions of subsection ii of Part A (e.g., "if your parents have suggested

...") which obviously are irrelevant to teachers. The administration of this questionnaire to teachers was not envisaged from the beginning of the research since some of the students' responses had been discussed with a few of the teachers. Those teachers were obviously excluded. The sample of teachers is in no way random in the formal sense, but is almost a complete census of the teacher population.

**OCCUPATIONAL SURVEY
MACKENZIE RIVER DELTA 1968**

PART A:

On the following page is a list of 48 jobs which are commonly seen or heard about in the Delta. You are asked to complete the task outlined below, as if you were a native person (Eskimo, Indian, or Metis) of high school age.

You are asked to arrange these jobs into five groups by placing a number from 1 to 5 beside each one,

Put a number 1 beside those jobs which you think such a Native person would consider the best kind of jobs

Put a number 2 beside those jobs which you think he would consider good, but not as good as number 1 jobs

Put a number 3 beside those jobs which you think he would consider neither very good nor very bad

Put a number 4 beside those jobs you think he would consider not very good, but not entirely bad

Put a number 5 beside those jobs which you think he definitely would consider bad or undesirable

***IMPORTANT:* Be sure to complete the questionnaire by putting yourself in the place of a Native person. *Do not* complete according to what you would like them to do, what you think is most appropriate for them, etc.**

PLACE NO IDENTIFYING MARKS ON THESE SHEETS — ANSWERS ARE COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS

___ lawyer
_ waiter or hairdresser
_ janitor
_ policeman
_ garbage man
_ nurse's aide
_ truck driver
_ waitress
_ sailor in the navy
_ carpenter
_ radio operator
_ reindeer herder
_ clerk in a store
_ boat-builder
- teacher
_ tannery worker
_ post office job
_ airline stewardess
_ bulldozer operator
_ doctor
_ trader
_ scientist
electrician
_ general labourer

_ laundry worker
___ cook
_ carpenter's helper
_ banker
___ soldier in the army
barge crew
_ miner
_ nurse
_ bartender
_ repairman for skidoos and kickers
_ hunter and trapper
_ diesel mechanic
_ railroad worker
_ fur-garment worker
_ church minister or priest
_ typist/office worker
_ airplane pilot
_ baker
_ road building crew
_ contractor
_ airplane mechanic
_ game officer
_ warehouseman
_ settlement administrator

PART B

1. In a similar manner, suppose you are a Mackenzie Delta Native person, and you are asked the place where you **would most like to work**, place a number 1 beside the most preferred place, a number 2 beside the next most preferred, and so on up to 5.

_____ Edmonton

_____ in the bush

_____ Coppermine

_____ Fort McPherson

_____ Yellowknife

_____ DEW Line site

_____ Arctic Red River

_____ Tuktoyaktuk

_____ Vancouver

_____ Aklavik

_____ Hay River

_____ Inuvik

2. Similarly, arrange the following three in order of preference:

_____ a job with mostly indoor work

_____ a job with mostly outdoor work

_____ a job with both indoor and outdoor work

3. Likewise, arrange the following in order of preference:

_____ a job with a small private company

_____ a job with a big organization (e.g., The Bay or Indian Affairs)

_____ self employment

4. **Suppose you are a native married man living in your home settlement. You have just been offered a job in another settlement with more money than you are making now. What do you think you ought to do?**

_____ (a) **take the job and let the family stay on living in your home settlement?**

_____ (b) **turn down the job?**

_____ (c) **move away with the family but try to keep a place in your home settlement as a permanent home?**

_____ (d) **take the job and move?**

PLEASE COMPLETE THE QUESTIONS BELOW BY MARKING THE MOST APPROPRIATE ALTERNATIVE.

1. How long have you:

(a) lived in the North?

_____ less than 1 year?

_____ 1 to 5 years?

_____ more than 5 years?

(b) lived in the Mackenzie Delta?

_____ less than 1 year?

_____ 1 to 5 years?

_____ more than 5 years?

2. How would you describe your opportunity for personal contact with Native people:

(a) At work?

_____ seldom

_____ occasional

_____ frequent

(b) In clubs, recreation, community activities, etc. ?

_____ seldom

_____ occasional

_____ frequent

SECTION III: *Statistic/ Procedures*

Responses to rank-order questions given by each respondent were coded and entered on IBM optical scan sheets. These forms were then machine-read and transformed into standard IBM cards. A computer programme designed by the University of Victoria Computer Services Centre processed the cards to produce a printout tabulating total responses by ethnic group for each question (as shown in Table A.1 following).

1. *Occupational Ranking (Part A of the questionnaire)*

For each job title, six responses were possible (1 to 5 — most to least preferred, plus “omit”). After computer tabulation, the median response was calculated by computer for each title. Hence medians closest to 1.00 represented “most preferred” titles, and those closest to 5.00 were “least preferred.” Also by computer, the job titles were ranked in order of ascending medians so that for each ethnic group a hierarchy of occupational alternatives was established. Rank numbers were assigned to the medians in ascending order (i.e., the job title with median closest to 1.00 is No. 1, next closest is No. 2, and so on).

The rank-orders of occupational preference were then correlated by “Spearman’s rho” (“Correlation from ranks”) by the formula:

$$\text{“Spearman’s rho”} = 1 - \frac{6 \times \text{Sum of } (D^2)}{N(N^2 - 1)}$$

The tabulations are shown in Tables A.1 to A.9 following.

2. *Banking of Preferred Settlement or Region to Work (Part B of the questionnaire)*

Rank ordering of preferences for places to work and correlations of ranks was carried out by the same techniques as for occupational preferences (see Tables A.10 to A.16).

3. *Responses to A II Other Questions of Ranking*

Rather than determining a rank order for those questions in which only three or four alternatives were presented, computer tabulations by number and per cent of each ethnic group are given in order to show, for example, that X% of Eskimo placed alternative A in first, second, third order of preference (see e.g., Tables A.17). Congruency between ethnic groups in these cases is determined by inspection and statistical comparison of significance of differences of proportion between unequal populations.

SECTION IV: *Tabulations of Occupational Questionnaire Responses*

TABLE B.1: Occupational Evaluations by Indian Students, Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey 1967, (Questionnaire Part A (i))

Job Title	Responses						Median			
	1	2	3	4	5	omit				
lawyer	17	12	13	10	13	4	2.77			
barber	17	15	12	10	11	4	2.54			
janitor	4	5	12	16	29	3	4.25			
policeman	1	3	2	1	1	5	9	8	3	2.45
garbage man	1	1	2	12	49	4	4.84			
nurse's aide	3	0	1	2	9	6	5	7	1.58	
truck driver	10	15	16	17	9	2	3.03			
waitress	14	18	11	9	14	3	2.59			
sailor	12	13	17	12	11	4	2.94			
carpenter	1	1	2	3	1	6	7	9	3	2.46
radio operator	3	0	1	9	1	0	6	3	1	1.71
reindeer herder	0	3	9	2	6	2	6	5	4.27	
store clerk	1	5	1	9	1	6	6	8	5	2.39
boat builder	2	14	16	17	15	5	3.50			
teacher	1	9	2	0	1	2	9	6	3	2.20
tannery worker	2	10	15	16	21	5	3.81			
post office worker	1	3	2	3	2	0	6	4	3	2.37
stewardess	3	6	9	6	5	6	7	1.36		
bulldozer operator	7	14	13	13	16	6	3.31			
doctor	2	6	1	5	9	9	5	5	1.90	
trader	4	8	1	6	1	4	1	4	13	3.50
scientist	19	16	10	10	10	4	2.34			
electrician	20	12	11	15	9	2	2.64			
labourer	4	12	17	15	17	4	3.47			
laundry worker	5	11	13	19	17	4	3.68			
cook	10	18	12	13	13	3	2.92			
carpenter's helper	7	12	17	16	12	5	3.26			
banker	2	3	1	9	1	1	9	4	3	2.03
soldier	17	14	12	8	15	3	2.67			
barge crew	4	12	17	12	20	4	3.47			
miner	4	10	16	18	18	3	3.67			
nurse	2	3	1	8	5	1	1	7	5	2.00
bartender	3	7	1	3	1	9	2	4	3	4.03
small motor repairman	7	10	12	21	16	3	3.69			
hunter-trapper	9	13	10	17	18	2	3.59			
diesel mechanic	15	15	12	16	7	4	2.71			
railway worker	4	12	14	21	13	5	3.60			
fur garment worker	5	12	18	18	12	4	3.36			
minister-priest	8	8	2	2	1	6	1	3	2	3.30
typist-office worker	2	8	1	3	1	4	5	6	3	1.88
pilot	3	1	1	1	1	2	8	4	3	1.68
baker	10	12	12	19	12	4	3.37			
road crew	6	7	15	19	17	5	3.71			
contractor	4	18	13	18	11	5	3.27			
airplane mechanic	16	11	19	13	8	2	2.84			

Table B. 1 cent'd.

Job Title	Responses						Median			
	1	2	3	4	5	omit				
game officer	9	1	6	1	9	1	3	9	3	2.92
warehouseman	1	6	12	20	26	4	4.17			
administrator	1	5	1	8	2	0	4	8	4	2.47

TABLE B. 2: Occupational Evaluations by Eskimo Students, Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey 1967, (Questionnaire Part A (i))

Job Title	Responses						Median				
	1	2	3	4	5	omit					
lawyer	18	20	17	9	10	6	2.45				
barber	10	19	20	14	15	2	3.00				
janitor	4	6	14	26	27	3	4.06				
policeman	20	25	10	15	9	1	2.28				
garbageman	0	3	3	1	9	5	1	4	4.75		
nurse's aide	22	20	13	17	13	5	2.27				
truck driver	14	15	22	14	12	3	2.93				
waitress	6	14	17	20	20	3	3.57				
sailor	8	23	21	12	14	2	2.88				
carpenter	16	23	17	11	10	3	2.48				
radio operator	1	11	14	23	28	3	4.04				
store clerk	15	29	11	17	6	2	2.33				
boat builder	7	13	17	24	17	2	3.58				
teacher	15	17	10	11	26	1	3.25				
tannery worker	7	8	13	23	28	1	4.00				
post office worker	2	1	2	3	2	1	8	4	3	2.26	
stewardess	26	19	7	10	13	5	2.11				
bulldozer operator	10	19	13	20	15	3	3.23				
doctor	28	15	11	9	15	2	2.23				
trader	3	13	26	17	18	3	3.37				
scientist	20	16	12	17	14	1	2.79				
electrician	2	8	2	4	9	5	1	2	1.96		
labourer	2	9	17	22-29	1	4.02					
laundry worker	2	1	6	2	5	2	2	1	4	1	3.36
cook	12	20	15	20	9	4	2.90				
carpenter's helper	7	14	29	16	13	1	3.14				
banker	27	22	11	10	9	1	2.07				
soldier	12	26	13	10	17	2	2.58				
barge crew	9	11	17	20	20	3	3.57				
miner	6	20	13	13	25	3	3.46				
nurse	30	11	11	11	14	3	2.27				
bartender	1	12	15	15	35	2	4.23				
small motor repairman	12	13	20	18	15	2	3.20				
hunter-trapper	10	10	14	23	21	2	3.72				
diesel mechanic	11	24	21	13	7	4	2.64				
railway worker	11	13	21	15	18	2	3.21				
fur garment worker	4	16	20	24	13	3	3.42				
minister-priest	13	12	12	16	26	1	3.66				
typist-office worker	2	5	2	0	2	1	8	4	2	2.20	

Table B. 2 cent'd.

Job Title	Responses						Median
	1	2	3	4	5	omit	
pilot	4315	5	8	6	3		1.40
baker	5 1 6	2 1 2	1 1 1	6 1			3.38
road crew	5 1 1	2 1 2	2 1 7	4			3.55
contractor	12 17	13 21	14		3		3.23
airplane mechanic	23 20	15 10	10		2		2.30
game officer	17 18	21 12	10		2		2.69
warehouseman	—	9 1 7	2 2 3	1 1			4.11
administrator	19 24	8 1 2	1 6 1				2.35

TABLE B. 3: Occupational Evaluations, Metis Students, Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey 1967, (Questionnaire Part A (i))

Job Title	Responses						Median
	1	2	3	4	5	omit	
lawyer	19 15	3 5	8 4				1.90
barber	1 2 1	5 1 3	4 9				2.47
janitor	0 4	6 1 0	3 2				4.69
policeman	2 1 1	3 9	5 5				1.92
garbageman	1 1	4 5	4 3				0 4.87
nurse's aide	13 10	14 5	10				2 2.71
truck driver	6 1 4	1 2 1	0 9				3 2.96
waitress	1 13	13 13	13				1 3.46
sailor	3 11	13 14	10				3 3.38
carpenter	1 1 1	6 1 2	7 5				3 2.31
radio operator	14 23	8 5	2				2 2.02
reindeer herder	0 3 2	1 2 3	3				4 4.74
store clerk	5 1 4	2 0	7 5				3 2.82
boat builder	4 10	8 14	16				2 3.79
teacher	2 0 1	2 1 2	5 4				1 2.04
tannery worker	0 4 1	3 1 7	1 7				3 4.00
post office worker	11 19	1 5 3	4				2 2.29
stewardess	2 4 1	5 3 4	7				1 1.67
bulldozer operator	6 1 2	1 5 1	1 6				4 2.97
doctor	2 1 1	3 4 8	6				2 1.88
trader	2 8 1	5 1 1	1 2				6 3.43
scientist	12 12	8 10	11				1 2.81
electrician	2 5 1	1 7 6	4				1 1.64
labourer	6 4 7	1 4 2	1				2 4.14
laundry worker	3 8 1	4 1 3	1 5				1 3.62
cook	6 6 1	5 9 1	5				3 3.40
carpenter's helper	2 7 1	1 1 3	1 8				3 3.92
banker	1 6 1	2 1 3	7 4				2 2.33
soldier	10 8	9 11	12				4 3.28
barge crew	6 4	11 16	16				1 3.84
miner	6 8 1	3 1 1	1 3				3 3.38
nurse	2 5 1	4 4 2	9				0 1.64
bartender	5 3 12	10 21					3 4.05
small motor repairman	5 12	7 14	14				2 3.64
hunter-trapper	8 7 1	2 6 1	8				3 3.37

Table B. 3 cent'd.

Job Title	Responses						Median
	1	2	3	4	5	omit	
diesel mechanic	9 22	4 10	7		2		2.27
railway worker	4 9 1	1 1 2	1 5		3		3.62
fur garment worker	1	9 13	17 11		3		3.65
minister-priest	12 6	7 1 2	1 4		3		3.54
typist-office worker	2 4	9 9	5 7		0		1.83
pilot	2 8 1	1 5 4	4		2		1.43
baker	4 7 1	7 1 2	1 2		2		3.38
road crew	4 6	9 13	18		4		3.96
contractor	9 1 2	1 4 8	7		4		2.79
airplane mechanic	1 5 1	6 1 0	6 4		3		2.16
game officer	1 5 1	6 1 2	6 4		1		2.22
warehouseman	0 6	6 13	25		4		4.50
administrator	2015	7 5	6 1				1.93

TABLE B. 4: Occupational Evaluations, All Native Students Combined, Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey 1967, (Questionnaire Part A (i))

Job Title	Responses						Median
	1	2	3	4	5	omit	
lawyer	55 47	34 24	32 15				2.37
barber	42 49	46 28	35 7				2.70
janitor	8 15	34 54	88 8				4.29
policeman	55 62	34 29	22 5				2.24
garbageman	2 5	937146					8 4.82
nurse's aide	66 44	36 18	29 14				2.19
truck driver	31 44	51 43	30 8				2.98
waitress	21 45	43 43	48 7				3.29
sailor	24 48	52 39	35 9				3.02
carpenter	38 65	46 25	24 9				2.44
radio operator	77 65	28 21	13 3				1.88
reindeer herder	1 17	26 61	90 12				4.38
store clerk	35 63	49 31	19 10				-2.51
boat builder	13 37	43 57	48 9				3.61
teacher	57 49	34 25	37 5				2.40
tannery worker	9 23	42 56	68 9				3.95
post office worker	45 67	56 18	13 8				2.31
stewardess	89 43	17 19	26 13				1.69
bulldozer operator	23 47	42 45	37 13				3.14
doctor	79 43	24 26	26 9				1.97
trader	9 29	58 43	46 22				3.44
scientist	53 46	30 37	35 6				2.55
electrician	76 48	27 26	25 5				2.02
labourer	12 25	43 51	69 7				3.89
laundry worker	10 35	54 56	46 6				3.53
cook	28 45	44 42	37 11				3.07
carpenter's helper	16 34	57 47	44 9				3.36
banker	68 54	36 26	17 6				2.10

Table B. 4 cent'd.

Job Title	Responses							Median
	1	2	3	4	5	omit		
soldier	39	51	34	29	45	9	2.76	
barge crew	19	27	47	49	57	8	3.63	
miner	16	39	44	43	56	9	3.50	
nurse	82	43	20	24	30	8	1.91	
bartender	9	23	41	46	80	8	4.08	
small motor repairman	24	35	40	54	47	7	3.52	
hunter-trapper	27	30	37	48	58	7	3.62	
diesel mechanic	35	64	37	40	21	1()	2.49	
railway worker	19	35	47	49	47	10	3.45	
fur garment worker	11	39	51	59	37	10	3.45	
minister-priest	33	27	42	44	55	6	3.46	
typist-office worker	79	42	45	18	18	5	2.02	
pilot	104	39	22	20	14	8	1.46	
baker	19	37	50	53	41	7	3.38	
road crew	15	24	47	56	52	13	3.70	
contractor	26	47	42	48	32	12	3.08	
airplane mechanic	55	49	45	29	22	7	2.42	
game officer	41	53	52	32	23	6	2.62	
warehouseman	1	21	37	55	84	9	4.23	
administrator	57	57	35	21	31	6	2.26	

TABLE B. 5: Occupational Evaluations by Outsider Students, Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey 1967, Questionnaire Part A (i)

Job Title	Responses							Median		
	1	2	3	4	5	omit				
lawyer	4	9	2	1	1	0	7	6	4	1.45
barber	12	21	29	16	17				2	3.00
janitor	0	0	1	0	1	3	7	2	2	4.84
policeman	22	33	20	9	10				3	2.26
garbageman	0	0	1	5	88				3	4.97
nurse's aide	11	29	28	10	15				4	2.73
truck driver	4	12	14	37	27				3	3.96
waitress	4	10	29	24	27				3	3.67
sailor	11	22	28	14	20				2	3.02
carpenter	7	18	37	20	12				3	3.09
radio operator	2	5	3	5	2	6	6	4	1	2.16
reindeer herder	1	2	9	2	0	6	3		2	4.75
store clerk	6	2	5	3	3	2	4	8	1	3.02
boat builder	3	13	28	32	18				3	3.59
teacher	35	25	9	7	1	9			2	2.00
tannery worker	0	2	1	8	3	5	3	8	4	4.26
post office worker	4	26	36	13	16				2	2.99
stewardess	42	27	11	4	11				2	1.70
bulldozer operator	4	12	19	26	33				3	3.96
doctor	4	8	2	3	8	7	9		2	1.49
trader	2	4	1	9	2	4	4	5	3	4.42
scientist	5	1	1	8	8	7	1	1	2	1.43

Table B. 5 cent'd.

Job Title	Responses							Median		
	1	2	3	4	5	omit				
electrician	2	9	3	0	2	0	9	7	2	2.12
labourer	2	3	1	8	3	1	4	1	2	4.29
laundry worker	1	5	16	34	39				2	4.25
cook	4	15	32	20	24				2	3.39
carpenter's helper	3	3	2	2	3	0	3	6	3	4.13
banker	2	8	3	9	1	0	9	9	2	2.00
soldier	11	20	28	14	23				1	3.11
barge crew	2	5	1	7	2	4	4	6	3	4.46
miner	2	4	1	9	2	5	4	4	3	4.38
nurse	44	23	7	7	12				4	1.61
bartender	4	4	1	6	2	0	5	0	3	4.56
small motor repairman	3	15	15	31	31				2	3.97
hunter-trapper	4	6	7	2	2	5	5		3	4.65
diesel mechanic	11	19	26	22	16				3	3.15
railway worker	1	9	20	35	30				2	4.00
fur garment worker	0	10	25	22	38				2	4.07
minister-priest	11	14	17	15	35				5	3.77
typist-office worker	24	26	20	13	13				1	2.42
pilot	4	6	2	6	1	5	2	6	2	1.56
baker	5	12	38	21	19				2	3.30
road crew	2	4	1	5	3	4	4	0	2	4.28
contractor	10	35	28	12	9				3	2.57
airplane mechanic	20	20	29	21	5				2	2.76
game officer	17	16	29	22	11				2	3.00
warehouseman	0	4	1	4	3	2	4	4	3	4.41
administrator	11	33	21	12	18				2	2.67

TABLE B. 6: Summary of Occupational Evaluations by Rank, by All Ethnic Groups, Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey, 1967

Job Title	Rank Position				
	Indian	Eskimo	Metis	All Native	out-sider
lawyer	21	15	7	13	2
barber	16	24	18	21	18
janitor	46	45	46	46	4 7
policeman	13	11	8	10	11
garbageman	48	48	48	48	48
nurse's aide	2	9	19	9	15
truck driver	26	23	23	23	30
waitress	17	37	32	28	28
sailor	25	21	26	24	20
carpenter	14	16	17	16	22
radio operator	4	2	10	3	10
reindeer herder	47	44	47	47	46
store clerk	12	13	22	18	21
boat builder	35	39	38	38	27
teacher	9	30	11	14	7
tannery worker	43	42	42	43	37

Table B6 cent'd.

Job Title	Rank Position				
	Indian	Eskimo	Metis	All Native	Outsider
post office worker	11	8	15	12	17
stewardess	1	5	4	2	6
bulldozer operator	30	28	24	27	31
doctor	6	7	6	5	3
trader	36	32	31	31	42
scientist	10	20	21	19	1
electrician	8	3	2	6	9
labourer	33	43	44	42	39
laundry worker	40	31	34	37	36
cook	23	22	30	25	26
carpenter's helper	27	25	40	29	35
banker	8	4	16	8	8
soldier	19	17	25	22	23
barge crew	34	38	39	39	43
miner	39	35	27	35	40
nurse	7	10	3	4	5
bartender	44	47	43	44	44
small motor repairman	41	26	36	36	32
hunter-trapper	37	41	28	40	45
diesel mechanic	20	18	14	17	24
railway worker	38	27	35	32	33
fur garment worker	31	34	37	33	34
minister-priest	29	40	33	34	29
typist-office worker	5	6	5	7	12
pilot	3	1	1	1	4
baker	32	33	29	30	25
road crew	42	36	41	41	38
contractor	28	29	20	26	13
airplane mechanic	22	12	12	15	16
game officer	24	19	13	20	19
warehouseman	45	46	45	45	41
administrator	15	14	9	11	14

TABLE B.7: Summary of Correlations from Ranks (Spearman's rho) of Occupational Evaluations by All Ethnic Groups, Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey 1967, (Questionnaire Part A (1))

	Indian (N-69)	Eskimo (N-78)	Metis (N-58)	All Native (N-205)	Outsider (N-99)
Indian	—	—	—	—	—
Eskimo	+.89	—	—	—	—
Metis	+.86	+.89	—	—	—
Outsider	+.89	+.85	+.90	—	—
All Native	—	—	—	—	+.92

Table B.7 cent'd.

Note: (a) All correlations significant at .001

(b) Some of the internal fluctuation of correlations in the Native groups are products of small population size, disproportionate male: female ratio, etc.— but even considering these factors the internal consistency is strong

TABLE B.8: Occupational Evaluation Rankings of Native Students Compared with Outsider Teachers' Conception of Native Evaluations, Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey 1967

Job Title	Rank Position	
	Native Student	Outsider Teacher
lawyer	13	34
barber	21	17
janitor	46	45
policeman	10	29
garbageman	48	48
nurse's aide	9	8
truck driver	23	6
waitress	28	28
sailor	24	39
carpenter	16	9
radio operator	3	10
reindeer herder	47	33
store clerk	18	30
boat builder	38	19
teacher	14	42
tannery worker	43	36
post office worker	12	18
stewardess	2	11
bulldozer operator	27	4
doctor	5	13
trader	31	22
scientist	-19	47
electrician	6	14
labourer	42	35
laundry worker	37	41
cook	25	31
carpenter's helper	29	26
banker	8	43
soldier	22	40
barge crew	39	20
miner	35	38
nurse	4	3
bartender	44	25
small motor repairman	36	15
hunter-trapper	40	24
diesel mechanic	17	12
railway worker	32	44
fur-garment worker	33	23
minister-priest	34	46
pilot	1	1

Table 6.8 cent'd.

Job Title	Rank Position	
	Native Student	Outsider Teacher
baker	30	37
road crew	41	21
contractor	26	27
airplane mechanic	15	2
game officer	20	7
warehouseman	45	32
administrator	11	16
typist-office worker	7	5

Spearman's rho = — .35 significant at .001

- Note: (a) Maximum agreement is in stereotyped jobs: nurse's aide, nurse, pilot, typist-office worker
- (b) Teachers strongly underrate Native students' preferences for professions: lawyer, doctor, banker, teacher
- (c) Teachers strongly overrate Native students' preferences for unskilled, seasonal, or traditional outdoor jobs: hunter-trapper, truck driver, reindeer herder, barge crew, road crew

TABLE 6.9: Comparisons of Occupational Evaluation Rankings by Canadian National Population and Mackenzie Delta Outsider Students Based on Twenty-five Comparable Titles from Mackenzie Delta Occupational Survey 1967 and National Scale (Blishen 1967)

Job Title	Rank Position	
	All Canada	Delta Outsider
physician	1	3
lawyer	2	2
scientist	3	1
teacher	4	6
pilot	5	4
radio operator	6	7
clergy	7	16
nurse	8	5
typist	9	8
post office worker	10	10
store clerk	11	12
bartender	12	23
nurse's aide	13	9
barber	14	11
bulldozer operator	15	18
miner	16	22
carpenter	17	13
cook	18	15
truck driver	19	17
baker	20	14
laundry worker	21	19

Table 6.9 cent'd.

Job Title	Rank Position	
	All Canada	Delta Outsider
tanner	22	20
janitor	23	25
labourer	24	24
trapper	25	21

Spearman's rho = + .84 significant at .001

TABLE 6.10: Evaluation of Settlements as Places to Work by Indian Students (Questionnaire Part B (1))

Place	Responses					Median	Rank		
	1	2	3	4	5				
Edmonton	3	0	2	3	8	2	1	1.59	1
On the land	4	2	3	3	3	15	4.60	11	
Coppermine	1	0	6	6	9	9	4.17	10	
Fort McPherson	5	7	9	8	9	9	3.28	7	
Yellowknife	15	15	19	7	2	2	2.43	3	
DEW Line site	3	2	2	9	5	5	3.89	8.5	
Tuktoyaktuk	1	3	5	9	7	7	3.89	8.5	
Vancouver	22	15	8	10	3	3	1.97	2	
Aklavik	3	5	1	1	8	6	3.27	6	
Hay River	9	7	1	2	8	9	3.04	5	
Inuvik	9	7	5	4	10	10	2.80	4	

TABLE 6.11: Evaluation of Settlements as Place to Work by Eskimo Students (Questionnaire Part B (1))

Place	Responses					Median	Rank		
	1	2	3	4	5				
Edmonton	23	18	12	7	3	3	1.97	1	
On the land	3	3	1	5	17	17	4.65	12	
Coppermine	3	5	5	7	-	9	3	7	9
Fort McPherson	3	7	6	8	8	8	3.83	10	
Yellowknife	22	20	18	6	6	6	2.20	2	
DEW Line site	11	8	7	5	11	11	2.79	5	
Arctic Red River	1	1	6	8	10	10	4.12	11	
Tuktoyaktuk	8	6	4	1	0	8	3	5	0
Vancouver	1	8	1	2	1	0	9	7	2.33
Aklavik	6	9	7	8	7	7	3.00	6	
Hay River	6	1	7	7	2	0	7	3.29	7
Inuvik	1	1	1	2	7	7	9	2.50	4

TABLE 6.12: Evaluation of Settlements as Place to Work, Metis Students (Questionnaire Part B(1))

Place	Responses					Median	Rank
	1	2	3	4	5		
Edmonton	1	9	1	5	6	8	1
On the land	2	2	3	3	9		9
Coppermine	1	0	2	3	8		11
Fort McPherson	2	2	4	5	6		8
Yellowknife	1	3	7	17	7	0	4
DEW Line site	0	4	1	2	9		10
Arctic Red River	1	0	1	1	7		12
Tuktoyaktuk	1	3	2	2	4		6
Vancouver	13	9	9	5	6		3
Aklavik	6	6	1	5	6		2
Hay River	4	9	8	7	8		5
Inuvik	10	0	5	11	8		7

TABLE B.13: Evaluation of Settlements as Places of Work by Responses of All Native Students Combined, (Questionnaire Part B (1))

Place	Responses					Median	Rank
	1	2	3	4	5		
Edmonton	73	59	26	17	5	1.79	1
On the land	9	7	7	11	41	4.59	12
Coppermine	5	5	1	3	1	6	2
Fort McPherson	7	12	20	19	23	3.58	7
Yellowknife	50	42	55	22	9	2.43	3
DEW Line site	12	15	13	17	32	3.76	9
Arctic Red River	5	3	9	18	22	4.14	11
Tuktoyaktuk	10	12	12	21	19	3.64	8
Vancouver	55	37	27	24	16	2.16	2
Aklavik	15	20	19	22	19	3.16	6
Hay River	19	33	28	36	24	3.14	5
Inuvik	31	19	17	22	28	3.00	4

TABLE 6.14: Evaluation of Settlements as Places to Work, Outsider Students (Questionnaire Part B (1))

Place	Responses					Median	Rank
	1	2	3	4	5		
Edmonton	4	5	2	7	1	4	1
On the land	3	2	2	1	17		11
Coppermine	0	3	2	5	9		6
Fort McPherson	1	1	1	11	16		7
Yellowknife	9	1	3	3	8	2	2
DEW Line site	1	2	3	4	12		9
Arctic Red River	1	1	3	5	1	2	10
Tuktoyaktuk	2	2	0	3	15		12
Vancouver	43	31	8	8	4	1.63	2
Aklavik	1	6	1	4	14		8
Hay River	0	5	17	25	25	4.06	5
Inuvik	8	8	1	5	1	6	8

TABLE 6.15: Comparison of Evaluations of Settlements as Places to Work, Native Students' Responses and Outsider Teachers' Conceptions of them (Questionnaire Part B (1))

Place	Native Students		Outsider Teachers	
	Rank	Rank	Rank	Rank
Edmonton	1		9	
On the land	11		1	
Coppermine	9		8	
Fort McPherson	6		10	
Yellowknife	3		3	
DEW Line site	8		4	
Arctic Red River	10		5	
Tuktoyaktuk	7		6	
Vancouver	2		11	
Aklavik	5		2	
Hay River	4		7	

Spearman's rho = $-.54$ significant at .01

TABLE 6.16: Summary of Correlations from Ranks; Evaluations of Settlements as Places to Work, All Ethnic Groups

	Indian (N-69)	Eskimo (N-78)	Metis (N-58)	All Native (N-205)	Outsider (N-99)
Indian	—	—	—	—	—
Eskimo	+.86	—	—	—	—
Metis	+.82	+.73	—	—	—
Outsider	+.88	+.79	+.69	—	—
All Native	—	—	—	—	+.87

Note: All correlations significant at .001

TABLE B.17: Students' Preferences for Hours of Work per Week, by Ethnic Group (Questionnaire Part A (II))

Hours per Week	Indian		Eskimo		Metis		All Native		Outsider	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
10-20	3	4.35	2	2.50	0	0	5	2.42	0	0
21-30	8	11.59	10	12.50	3	5.56	21	10.14	6	6.19
31-40	35	50.72 ^a	26	32.50	23	42.59*	87	42.03 ^a	54	55.67
41-50	19	27.54	31	38.75*	17	31.48	68	32.85	35	36.08
omit	4	5.80	11	13.75	11	20.39	26	12.56	2	2.06
TOTAL	69	100.00	78	100.00	58	100.00	205	100.00	99	100.00

^aMost preferred alternative

TABLE B.18: Students' Preferences for Indoor Work, by Ethnic Group (Questionnaire Part B (II))

Preference	Indian		Eskimo		Metis		Outsider	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Indoor work as:								
(a) Most preferred	13	18.84	15	18.75	14	25.92	23	23.71
(b) Second most preferred	34	49.28	25	31.25	14	25.92	36	37.11
(c) Least preferred	14	20.29	30	37.50	23	42.61	31	31.96
Omit	8	11.59	10	12.50	3	5.55	7	7.22
TOTAL	69	100.00	80	100.00	54	100.00	97	100.00

Chi-square = 14.321; d.f. = 9; p greater than .10 and less than .20: indicating that preference for indoor work and ethnicity are not related

TABLE B.19: Students' Preferences for Outdoor Work, by Ethnic Group (Questionnaire Part B (II))

Preference	Indian		Eskimo		Metis		Outsider	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Outdoor work as:								
(a) Most preferred	11	15.94	11	13.75	9	15.51	12	12.37
(b) Second most preferred	12	17.40	28	35.00	16	27.60	25	25.77
(c) Least preferred	39	56.52	31	38.75	29	50.00	53	54.64
Omit	7	10.14	10	12.50	4	6.89	7	7.22
TOTAL	69	100.00	80	100.00	58	100.00	97	100.00

Chi-square = 11.391; d.f. = 9; p greater than .20 and less than .30: indicating that preference for outdoor work and ethnicity are unrelated

TABLE B.20: Students' Preferences for Work Requiring Both Indoor and Outdoor Activities, by Ethnic Group, (Questionnaire Part B (II))

Preference	Indian		Eskimo		Metis		Outsider	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Indoor/Outdoor work as:								
(a) Most preferred	43	62.32	51	63.75	30	51.73	58	59.80
(b) Second most preferred	15	21.74	16	20.00	22	37.93	28	28.87
(c) Least preferred	8	11.59	8	10.00	3	5.17	6	6.18
Omit	3	4.35	5	6.25	3	5.17	5	5.51
TOTAL	69	100.00	80	100.00	58	100.00	97	100.00

Chi-square = 9.824; d.f. = 9; p greater than .30 and less than .50: indicating that preference for indoor/outdoor work and ethnicity are not related

TABLE 6.21: Students' Preferences for Self-Employment, by Ethnic Group (Questionnaire Part B (II))

Preference	Indian		Eskimo		Metis		Outsider	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Self-employment as:								
(a) Most preferred	4	5.80	17	21.25	10	18.52	18	18.56
(b) Second most preferred	12	17.39	21	26.25	15	27.28	14	14.43
(c) Least preferred	43	62.32	32	40.00	24	44.44	61	62.89
Omit	10	14.49	10	12.50	5	9.26	4	4.12
TOTAL	69	100.00	80	100.00	54	100.00	97	100.00

(a) Chi-square = 17.55; d.f. = 6; p significant at .01
 (b) See notes following Table 6.23

TABLE 9.22: Preferences for Self-Employment, Natives and Outsider Students (Questionnaire Part B (III))

Preference	Native		Outsider	
	N	%	N	%
Self-employment as:				
(a) Most preferred	31	15.27	18	18.56
(b) Second most preferred	48	23.64	14	14.43
(c) Least preferred	99	48.77	61	62.89
Omit	25	12.32	4	4.12
TOTAL	203	100.00	97	100.00

(a) Chi-square = 5.051; d.f. = 4; p greater than .20 less than .30
 (b) See notes following Table 6.23

TABLE 6.23: Preference for Self-Employment by Indian, Eskimo, and Metis Students (Questionnaire Part B (III))

Preference	Indian		Eskimo		Metis	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Self-employment as:						
(a) Most preferred	4	5.80	17	21.25	10	18.52
(b) Second most preferred	12	17.39	21	26.25	15	27.78
(c) Least preferred	43	62.32	32	40.00	24	44.44
Omit	10	14.49	10	12.50	5	9.26
TOTAL	69	100.00	80	100.00	54	100.00

(a) Chi-square = 12.242; d.f. = 4; p significant at .01
 (b) See notes following this table

Notes to Tables 6.21, 9.22, 9.23

Table 6.21 indicates a statistically significant difference by ethnic group with respect to preference for self-employment. In order to determine whether the difference lay between Native People as a whole and Outsiders, Table B .22 was constructed. It shows no statistically significant difference between Natives and Outsiders. This indicated that the difference lay between the various Native categories. Table B .23 shows that this is in fact so by a difference statistically significant at .01. Table 6.21 was further dissected into all possible pairs of ethnic categories in order to detect which ethnic groups were most different from each other:

	Indian	Eskimo	Metis	Outsider	Total Native
Indian	—	—	—	—	—
Eskimo	x	—	—	—	—
Metis	x	o	—	—	—
Outsider	x	x	o	—	—
Total Native	—	—	—	o	—

(x = significant at .05; o = not significant at .05)

This indicates that Indians differ from all other groups; that Eskimos differ from Indians and Outsiders but not from Metis; and that Metis differ only from Indians. Inspection of Table 6.23 shows that the differences are accounted for (a) by the Indians very strong rejection of self-employment as a preference, and (b) the fact that Eskimos express a slightly greater preference for self-employment than do other Natives or Outsiders. The cultural basis for these differences, if any, cannot be inferred from questionnaire data.

TABLE B.24: Students' Preferences for Employment With a Large Company, by Ethnic Group (Questionnaire Part B (III))

Preference	Indian		Eskimo		Metis		Outsider	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Employment with large company as:								
(a) Most preferred	44	63.77	43	53.75	30	55.55	62	63.92
(b) Second most preferred	11	15.94	10	12.50	10	18.52	12	12.37
(c) Least preferred	8	11.59	19	23.75	11	20.38	16	16.49
Omit	6	8.70	8	10.00	3	5.55	7	7.22
TOTAL	69	100.00	80	100.00	54	100.00	97	100.00

Chi-square = 5.873; d.f. = 6; p greater than .30 and less than .50: indicates that preference for employment by a large company is not related to ethnicity

TABLE B.25: Students' Preferences for Employment With a Small Private Company, by Ethnic Group (Questionnaire Part (III))

Preference	Indian		Eskimo		Metis		Outsider	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Employment with small company as:								
(a) Most preferred	15	21.74	15	18.75	12	20.69	13	13.40
(b) Second most preferred	38	55.08	40	50.00	28	48.28	64	65.98
(c) Least preferred	8	11.59	18	22.50	13	22.41	13	13.40
Omit	8	11.59	7	8.75	5	8.62	7	7.22
TOTAL	69	100.00	80	100.00	58	100.00	97	100.00

Chi-square = 10.692; d.f. = 6; p greater than .05 and less than .10: indicating that preference for employment with a small company and ethnicity are not related

TABLE B.26: Students' Responses, by Ethnic Group, to Question A (ii) (e): "Suppose you are a married man living in your home settlement and that you have just been offered a job in another settlement with more money than you are making now. What do you think you ought to do?"

Alternative	Indian		Eskimo		Metis		Outsider	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
(a) take job but leave family in settlement	16	23.19	20	25.00	11	18.96	5	5.15
(b) turn down the job	2	2.90	0	0	2	3.45	5	5.15
(c) take job, move away with family, but keep a home in the settlement	19	27.54	21	26.25	15	25.87	19	19.60
(d) take job and move	22	31.88	23	28.75	12	20.69	55	56.70
Omit	10	14.49	16	20.00	18	31.03	13	13.40
TOTAL	69	100.00	80	100.00	58	100.00	97	100.00

(a) Chi-square = 37.186; d.f. = 9; highly significant at .01

(b) See notes following Table B.28

TABLE B.27: Responses of Native and Outsider Students-(Questionnaire Part A (ii) (e)). (See Table B.26.)

Alternative	Native		Outsider	
	N	%	N	%
(a) Take job but leave family in settlement	47	22.70	5	5.15
(b) Turn down the job	4	1.93	5	5.15
(c) Take job, move away with family, but keep a house in the settlement	55	26.57	19	19.60
(d) Take job and move	57	27.54	55	56.70
Omit"	44	21.26	13	13.40
TOTAL	207	100.00	97	100.00

(a) Chi-square = 36.1 19; d.f. = 3; p highly significant at .01

(b) See notes following Table 6.28

TABLE B.28: Responses of Native Students, by Ethnic Group (Questionnaire Part A (ii) (e)). (See Table B.26.)

Alternative	Indian		Eskimo		Metis	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
(a) Take job but leave family in settlement	16	23.19	20	25.00	11	18.96
(b) Turn down the job	2	2.90	0	0	2	3.45
(c) Take job, move away with family, but keep a house in the settlement	19	27.54	21	26.25	15	25.87
(d) Take job and move	22	31.88	23	28.75	12	20.69
Omit	10	14.49	16	20.00	18	31.03
TOTAL	69	100.0	80	100.0	58	100.0

Chi-square = 4.396; d.f. = 6; p greater than .50 and less than .70

Notes to Tables 6.26,6.27,6.28

Table B .26 indicated that responses to the question on mobility were strongly related to ethnicity. Table B .27 shows that there is a strong difference between Native People as a whole and Outsiders, but Table B .28 shows that Native People are remarkably homogeneous among themselves with regard to this question. if any difference is to be accounted for in cultural terms, the difference does not lie among the various Native ethnic categories but between Outsiders and all Native People.

**Income by Month from Employment,
Aklavik Residents 1966**

TABLE C.1: Monthly percentage deviation from Annual Mean of Income from Employment, by Employment Category, Aklavik 1966

	Outsiders			Native Permanent Employees			Native Casual Workers			X
	Total Am't.*	Dev. from X(\$)	% Dev. from X	Total Am't.	Dev. from X(\$)	% Dev. from X	Total Am't.	Dev. from X(\$)	% Dev. from X	
Jan.	\$ 10,820	309	02	\$ 4,316	-896	-11	\$ 6,574	-771	-09	
Feb.	10,820	309	02	4,460	-752	-10	8,115	-230	-02	
Mar.	10,820	309	02	4,885	-327	-06	4,493	-385	-10	
Apr.	10,820	309	02	5,154	-68	-01	6,546	-1799	-21	
May	10,820	309	02	5,238	26	01	8,114	-231	-02	
June	10,820	309	02	5,246	34	01	7,906	-439	-05	
July	6,560***	-3951	-36	5,289	77	01	11,452	3107	37	
Aug.	6,560**	-3951	-36	5,232	20	01	13,813	4568	65	
Sept.	12,025	1514	14	5,720	508	09	9,585	1240	14	
Oct.	12,025	1514	14	5,590	378	07	7,308	-1037	-12	
Nov.	12,025	1514	14	5,480	268	05	9,012	667	07	
Dec.	12,025	1514	14	5,925	713	13	7,237	-1108	-13	
x	\$ 10,511	-	-	\$ 5,212	-	-	\$ 8,345	-	-	
TOTAL	\$126,140	-	-	\$62,545	-	-	\$100,145	-	-	

Source: D.1 .A.N.D. Payrolls, Aklavik; other settlement payrolls; employee's income tax forms, field investigations

* Outsider income closely estimated by referring known position categories to pay-scale intervals

** June and July total incomes decreased by absence of teachers on vacation whose salaries are paid on a ten-month (September-June) contract

**Fur Sales (Muskrat, Beaver, Mink)
by Aklavik Native People, Trapping
Seasons 1961 /62 to 1967/ 6.8**

TABLE D.1: Seasonal Deviations by Percentage from Seven-Season Means of Total Number of Muskrats Taken, Average Season-Price and Total Season Value, Aklavik Seasons 1961 /62 to 1967/68

Season	Total Number	Dev. from Mean (N)	Dev. from Mean (%)	Ave. Price (\$)	Dev. from Mean (\$)	Dev. from Mean (%)	Total Value (\$)	Dev. from Mean (\$)	Dev. from Mean (%)
1967/8	64,393	18,477	18	0.66	-0.28	-2.9	42,499	1,021	02
1966/7	45,872	-44	0	0.69	-0.25	-2.6	37,861	-3,437	-08-
1965/6	34,832	-11,084	-18	1.45	0.51	54	50,506	9,208	22
1964/5	25,166	-20,750	-45	1.01	0.07	07	25,586	-15,712	-38
1963/4	25,965	-19,951	-43	1.06	0.12	12	27,523	-1 3,776	33
1962/3	56,785	10,869	23	1.02	0.09	09	57,921	16,622	40
1961 /2	68,403	22,487	48	0.69	-0.25"	-2.6	47,198	5,900	14
Mean	45,916	-	-	0.94	-	-	41,298	-	-

Source: Traders' fur record books, Aklavik and Fort Smith

TABLE D.2: Seasonal Deviations by Percentage from Seven-Season Means of Total Number of Mink Taken, Average Season Price and Total Season Value, Aklavik, Seasons 1961 /62 to 1967/68

Season	Total Number	Dev. from Mean (N)	Dev. from Mean (%)	Ave. Price (\$)	Dev. from Mean (\$)	Dev. from Mean (%)	Total Value (\$)	Dev. from Mean (\$)	Dev. from Mean (%)
1967/68	86	-233	-73	29.38	1.57	6	2,527	6,747	-73
1966/7	127	-192	-60	25.36	2.45	-9	3,221	3,526	-38
1965/6	181	-138	-43	23.00	4.81	-17	4,163	5,111	-5
1964-5	329	10	03	28.58	0.77	3	9,405	131	0
1963/4	601	282	88	35.99	8.18	29	21,630	12,356	75
1962/3	459	140	43	27.21	0.60	-2	12,489	3,215	13
1961 /2	456	137	43	25.18	2.63	-9	11,482	2,208	2
Mean	319	-	-	27.81	-	-	9,274	-	-

Source: Traders' fur record books, Aklavik and Fort S mith

TABLE D.3: Seasonal Deviations by Percentages from Seven-Season Means of Total Number of Beaver Taken, Average Season Price, and Total Season Value, Aklavik, Seasons 1961 /62 to 1967/68

Season	Total Number	Dev. from Mean (N)	Dev. from Mean (%)	Ave. Price (\$)	Dev. from Mean (\$)	Dev. from Mean (Ye)	Total Value (\$)	Dev. from Mean (\$)	Dev. from Mean (%)
1967/8	193	80	70	17.18	1.79	12	3,316	1,688	104
1966/7	324	211	186	12.28	-3.1 1	-2.0	3,979	2,351	144
1965/6	211	98	86	14.80	-0.59	-4	3,123	1,495	92
1964/5	28	85	-7.5	13.88	-1.51	-1.0	389	-1,238	-76
1963/4	15	-98	-86	16.40	1.01	6	246	-1,381	-85
1962/3	12	-101	-89	18.31	2.92	19	220	-1,407	-86
1961/2	8	-105	-92	14.90	-0.49	-3	119	-1,508	-93
Mean	113	-	-	15.39	-	-	1,627	-	-

Source: Traders' fur record books, Aklavik and Fort Smith

**Trend in Muskrat Prices at Aklavik,
Trapping Seasons 1945/46 to 1965/66**

**TABLE E1: Percentage Deviations from
Twenty-one Season Mean (1 945/46
to 1965/66) in Income from
Muskrat Furs Traded, Aklavik**

Season	Deviation from Mean %	Season	Deviation from Mean %
1945/46	+193	1956/57	-33
1946/47	+43	1957/58	-69
1947/48	+151	1958/59	-86
1948/49	+105	1959/60	-73
1 949/50	+40	1960/61	-86
1 950/51	+65	1961 /62	-82
1951 /52	+122	1962/63	-71
1952/53	-15	1963/64	-62
1 953/54	-24	1964/65	-82
1 954/55	-39	1965/66	-85
1955/56	-11		

Calculation of Cash-Equivalent
Values of Wild Foods, Aklavik, 1967

TABLE F.1: Estimated Aggregate Usable Weights and Cash-equivalent Values of Wild Foods, Aklavik 1967

Species	No.	Usable Weight		Price	Value
		Ave.	Total		
Caribou	670	96 lbs.	82,320 tbs.	\$0.65/lb.	\$ 53,508
Moose	15	405 lbs.	6,075 lbs.	0.65/lb.	3,949
Mt. Sheep	12	86 lbs.	1,022 lbs.	0.65/lb.	644
Grizzly Bear	11	250 tbs.	2,750 lbs.	0.65/lb.	1,787
Black Bear	4	150 lbs.	600 lbs.	0.65/lb.	390
Fish (all species)		500,000 lbs.	440,000 lbs.	360,000 lbs. @ \$0.1 O/lb. and 80,000 lbs. @ 0.35/lb.	64,000
Rabbits	2500	1.5 lbs.	3,750 lbs.	0.35/lb.	1,312
Ducks (all species)	3000	2.0 lbs.	6,000 lbs.	0.55/lb.	3,300
Geese	250	4.25 lbs.	1,125 lbs.	0.55/lb.	619
Ptarmigan	700	1.5 lbs.	1,050 lbs.	0.55/lb.	577
				TOTAL	\$130,106

Note: excludes berries and roots, and flesh of muskrat, beaver, lynx, and ground squirrel used both for dog-feed and human consumption

The numbers given here of various animal species taken in Aklavik, 1967, are based on information obtained in personal interviews with hunters and trappers, and on direct observation through participation in land activities. We find that the estimates of total take are consistently higher than those given by hunters and trappers to the Wildlife Service on yearly renewal of licences. Wild fowl in particular are considerably under-reported to the Wildlife Service. Although any self-reporting is open to error, we prefer to use figures from our own investigations. Fish catches and the number of rabbits taken are not recorded by the Wildlife Service. The figures we give are estimates from self-reports.

Our estimations of usable weights are based on observation of utilization patterns. They appear to be consistent with the observations of other researchers.

Cash-equivalent values are extremely difficult to determine, because (1) it is illegal in some cases to sell certain species and transactions may be concealed (in this case, values given are determined on known cases of cash exchange); (2) several prices may be current for a given type of wild food (prices charged between Native people differ for dog-feed and food for human consumption, some foods are sold to traders who in turn charge another range of prices); (3) the amounts of various types of food for which prices are charged are small compared to the amounts self-consumed by producers and the amounts which change hands in traditional sharing exchanges. One cannot be sure of the legitimacy of generalizing prices based on small amounts to total catches.

Fully realizing the limitations to determination of cash-equivalent values we nevertheless present our figures as the most reasonable estimate possible.

Caribou: Specific data on the weights of Mackenzie region caribou are available. However, Foote (1965:358) gives weights for North Alaskan caribou which appear to be essentially similar to those available to Delta people. While Bissett (1967:315) gives a usable (essentially edible, neglecting skins) caribou weight of 56% of total live weight, our observations parallel those of Foote, indicating a utilization in practice of about 40% of live weight, or about 96 lbs. (ave.) per animal. Usually caribou are eviscerated and the head and antlers left at the kill site. A small amount of viscera may be used as dog-feed on hunting trips. Some people prefer to bring home the head for roasting, and some antlers may be detached for making tools and handicrafts. The cash-equivalent value given here is that for fresh reindeer meat from the government herd sold through local traders.

Moose: Bissett (1967:315) gives an average live weight of about 1150 lbs. for moose. Our observations show a utilization of about 45% live weight. Cash-equivalent values are determined as for caribou.

Mountain Sheep: Foote (1965:360) gives an average live weight of 160 tbs. for sheep, with a utilization of about 54%. Our observations are closely parallel. Cash-equivalent values are taken as those of caribou.

Bears: Both grizzly bears and black bears are taken by Delta people. Foote (1965:357) gives a live weight of 500 lbs. for grizzlies and we estimate a live weight of 300 lbs. for black bears observed in the Delta. Utilization appears to be about 50%, and cash-equivalents seem to follow those of others for flesh-meat (\$0.65 /lb.).

Fish: In order of importance, the chief local types of fish taken are whitefish (two species), herring,

inconnu, and loche. Whitefish samples indicate an average round weight of 3.5 lbs., and herring samples about 1.25 lbs. We have attempted to estimate closely the amount of fish taken for dog-feed and have determined a total of 360,000 lbs. Approximately 150,000 lbs. were taken for human consumption. Fish for dog-feed are utilized at 100% of live weight; for human consumption at about 70%, since fish are typically only partly eviscerated for this purpose, except for dry-curing when they are totally eviscerated and filleted,

In sales of fish for dog-feed, between Native people, the current prices were \$0.10 each for herring and \$0.35 each (or about \$0.10 /lb.) for both types. For human consumption, whitefish sold at \$0.35 /lb., which is also the price at local traders.

Rabbits: A sample of weights for rabbits gave an average weight of about 3 lbs. For dog-feed these are utilized at about 100% of live weight, and human consumption about 70%. Eviscerated rabbits sell at \$0.35/lb.

Wildfowl: Ducks, geese, and ptarmigan are taken largely for human consumption. About 65% of live weight is utilized. In sales between Native people the current price for fowl averaged \$0.55/lb.

Our tabulations do not include values for cranberries, blueberries, gooseberries, and roots. Berries sell in small amounts at about \$0.25/lb. Nor do our tabulations include values for flesh of muskrats, beaver, lynx, and squirrels, often used for dog-feed and to some extent for human consumption.

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