

Conflicting Styles of Life in a Northern Canadian Town

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ABSTRACT. With the rapid expansion of government facilities in the Canadian Arctic, white civil servants have come to dominate the political and social life of new northern towns. In response to this pressure the indigenous peoples are beginning to consider themselves as being in a new "Northerner" category. Many of the urban adjustment problems of these Northerners can be traced to the values and to the behavioural patterns of their former trapping style of life. The situation is further complicated by the social stratification to which the settlement patterns contribute. Such groupings are crucial to the political future of the Northwest Territories.

RÉSUMÉ. *Styles de vie en conflit dans une ville du nord du Canada.* Avec la rapide expansion des services gouvernementaux dans l'Arctique canadien, les fonctionnaires blancs en sont venus à dominer la vie politique et sociale des villes nouvelles du nord. En réaction à cette pression, les indigènes commencent à se considérer comme faisant partie d'une nouvelle catégorie de "nordistes". Beaucoup des problèmes que ces nordistes éprouvent à s'ajuster à la vie urbaine peuvent être retracés jusque dans les valeurs et les schèmes de comportement propres à leur ancienne vie de trappeurs. La situation se complique encore par la stratification sociale à laquelle contribuent les *patterns* d'établissement. De tels groupements humains auront une importance cruciale pour l'avenir politique des Territoires du Nord-Ouest.

РЕЗЮМЕ. *Бытовые противоречия в городах Канадского Севера.* Интенсивное развитие правительственных учреждений в Канадской Арктике привело к тому, что главная роль в политической и общественной жизни новых северных городов выпала на долю государственных чиновников из не местного населения. В результате, коренные жители начинают причислять себя к новой категории "Северян". Многие проблемы приспособления к городской жизни коренных жителей могут быть объяснены на основе их прежнего охотничьего быта. Положение осложняется далее социальным расслоением, которому способствуют закономерности перехода к оседлой жизни. Такие группировки являются решающим фактором в политическом будущем Северо-Западных Территорий.

INTRODUCTION

Recent trends in the Canadian Arctic and Subarctic have led to a condition that might be termed incipient urbanization. That is to say, the people native to these regions are settling in concentrated communities, designed on the model of southern Canadian towns and which have little direct connection with the former native resource-based economy (involving fishing, hunting and trapping). These settlements are white-oriented and dominated, if not in population, then in function and political control. The growth of these towns has led to many of the usual problems experienced in urbanization, but these have been magnified in the light of special problems of town planning and building in the far North, and more

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especially by the radical social adjustments required of new Indian and Eskimo townsmen.

To date there has been considerable field research completed on this subject, most of it sponsored by the Northern Science Research Group (formerly the Northern Coordination and Research Centre) of the Canada Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; but little of the available data has been widely published. The impetus for much of the Group's research resulted from a survey of communities in the Mackenzie River Valley and the Great Slave Lake Region (Cohen 1962). More intensive community studies (mainly in the Mackenzie Delta) followed this work. These include a housing survey of Inuvik (Lotz 1962), research on social deviance in Aklavik (Clairmont 1962, 1963), and an earlier unpublished community study of Aklavik (Boek and Boek 1959). Recent work in the Delta has concentrated on more specific problem areas and includes the writings of specialists from various fields. There are five published reports from the Mackenzie Delta Research Project: An economic survey of the Mackenzie Delta (Wolforth 1967), an examination of technological problems (Cooper 1967), a report on the domestic economy of the native people (Smith 1967) and two descriptions of Inuvik and its community problems (Mailhot 1968, Ervin 1968). There are also two excellent monographs dealing with this topic in the Eastern Canadian Arctic: One is on Baker Lake (Vallee 1962) and the other is on work done at Frobisher Bay (Honigmann and Honigmann 1965). An overview of Northern Canadian communities can be found in several publications by Fried (1963, 1964), and the general problem of Eskimo modernization is covered in articles by Hughes (1965) and Jenness (1962, 1964, 1965).

The present paper will concentrate on the community of Inuvik. By focusing on two contrasting styles of life, that of the Northerner and the Southerner, some of the urban adjustment problems for people native to the North will be illuminated. These categories, *Northerner* and *Southerner*, are terms often used by the local people in demonstrating their difficulties in the town setting. *Northerner*, of course, refers to those people native to the region, and *Southerner* identifies those transients, mainly from the provinces of Canada, who have come North for a brief stay. These categories and their social implications will be dealt with more fully in the paper, but first a discussion of the economic and historical background of the region is in order.

THE ECONOMIC AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE MACKENZIE DELTA

Inuvik stands as the dominant settlement in the Western Canadian Arctic. It is difficult to define its hinterland (including both arctic and subarctic areas) with precision since ultimate links through the exploitation of resources and inter-community connections are quite extensive (see Fig. 1). Westward, caribou and fur-bearing animals are hunted in the Peel Plateau into the Richardson Mountains to the Firth River and Herschel Island in the Yukon. Eastward, the range extends to the Anderson River and Bank's Island. To the North, Eskimos make use of the sea-mammal resources found in the Beaufort Sea and the southern boundary would be near the Arctic Circle.

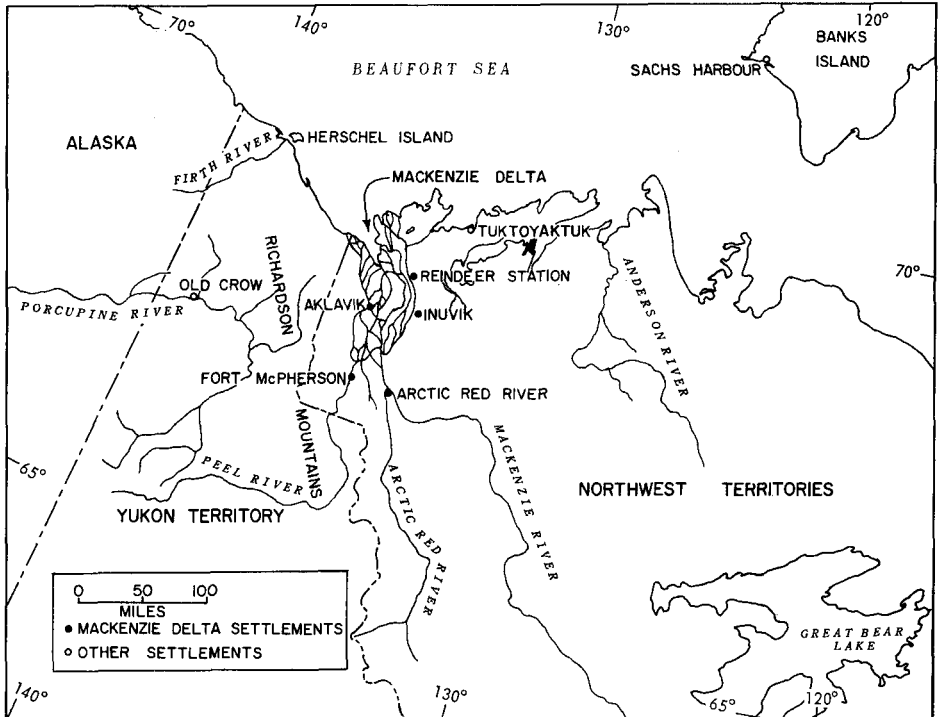


FIG. 1. Mackenzie River Delta and Surrounding Area.

There are two basic sets of communities in the area with strong interconnections of friendship and ethnicity reinforced through frequent visiting and migrations. One of these sets, the Eskimo, ties together the communities of Sachs Harbour, Tuktoyaktuk, Reindeer Station, Aklavik and Inuvik. The other set, basically Indian and Métis, includes the communities of Old Crow, Fort McPherson, Arctic Red River, Aklavik and Inuvik.

However, a stronger focus of interaction is found in the five Mackenzie Delta communities of Inuvik, Aklavik, Reindeer Station, Fort McPherson, Arctic Red River and Tuktoyaktuk to the east of the Delta. With the exception of Inuvik, all of these communities are traditional northern villages; that is, they are fur-trading settlements with populations composed mainly of native people and having few white transients. Inuvik, with its large transient population serves to tie these communities together through economic, administrative and transportation links. (See Table 1.)

Wolforth (1967, pp. 1 to 6) delineates three periods of white contact that are important in the history of social change in the Delta: the whaling period (1890 to 1915), the fur-trade era (1840 to the 1950's), and the recent town and wage-labour economy. By the turn of the century, the Beaufort Sea was an international whaling centre of great importance. Whaling stations and a Royal Canadian Mounted Police Post were established on Herschel Island, to the west of the Delta's mouth. From these operations the Eskimos of the lower Delta received

TABLE 1. Populations of Inuvik Regional Settlements (Cooper 1967, p. 9).

<i>Settlements</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Métis</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Eskimo</i>
All Settlements	4727		1858	1248	1662
Mackenzie Delta Settlements	4262		1799*	1242	1262
Arctic Red River	109	5	21	83	—
Fort McPherson	705	70	80	550	6
Aklavik	665	145	60	150	280
Inuvik	2258		1367*	245	646
(Hostels)	(486)		(102)*	(114)	(270)
Reindeer Station	69	9	—	—	60
Tuktoyaktuk	465	40	19	6	400

*The population figures for Inuvik combine the white population and those of mixed ancestry (Métis).

cash incomes, and although the industry had disappeared from the area by 1915, new material wants were irreversibly established with the introduction of European trade goods.

The fur-trade era began in 1840 with the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Post at Fort McPherson. But the peak of the trade was reached in the 1920's with high market values for white fox and muskrat pelts. Trapping became the mainstay of the Delta's economy, and the trapping style of life was the dominant one right into the 1950's.

Small family units of Eskimo and Loucheux (Kutchin) Indian trappers were engaged in the seasonal cycle of hunting, fishing, trapping and whaling, the last only in the case of the Eskimos. During this seasonal round, visits to permanent settlements, for the purposes of selling furs and buying supplies, were short and infrequent. The settlements consisted of a few native and white people, many Métis (those of Indian and white ancestry) and people of Eskimo-white heritage. The Métis and Eskimo-whites tended to be more settlement oriented, often serving as middlemen in the fur-trade and in native-white affairs generally. Traditional northern white roles included the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, missionaries of the Anglican and Roman Catholic faiths, Hudson's Bay and free traders, a few white trappers and the occasional nurse or doctor. The number of whites always tended to be small in comparison to the local native population and they blended in well with the local culture, with frequent inter-ethnic marriages. But this was to change with the introduction of large numbers of whites to administer increasing welfare, health and educational services for the native population. This more intensive interest in the North began after World War II and climaxed with the creation of the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources in 1950.

In 1919, Aklavik had been established as a permanent settlement, dominating the Delta in the fur-trade and government activities. By 1956 it had reached a population of 1,445 and contained several mission schools, a hospital, a Navy radio station, plus other government facilities. During the early 1950's, at a time concurrent with low fur prices, high-paying wage labour jobs became available to the native people as participants in the construction of Distant Early Warning Sites in the region. This construction work was continued in the late 1950's. As

a result of both these events, the majority of people abandoned trap-lines and equipment to live in permanent settlements. Today, only about 150 people live full time in bush camps.

In 1952 the federal government decided to replace Aklavik with the town of Inuvik. This was crucial and represents the full entry of the area into the town and wage-labour era. The decision was made for several reasons. Aklavik was considered unsuitable for further expansion, due to the fact that it was subject to frequent floods and the river banks suffered from severe annual erosion. Also, the government desired a landing strip that could handle large four-engine aircraft for year-round supply. The construction of Inuvik began in 1954 and was virtually completed in 1959.

Inuvik was intended to replace Aklavik entirely, with all of the Aklavik residents moving to the new site which was even to retain the old settlement's name. However, there is a certain resentment among the local people over the fact that they were not consulted to any great degree in the selection of the site. Some say that they received their first news of the site's selection from an American radio station broadcasting from Fairbanks, Alaska. More specifically, since Inuvik is located on the east channel of the Delta it lacks adequate fish, game, and fur resources, according to native informants. This creates transition problems for many of the residents of Inuvik, because they must rely on welfare and wage-labour sources for subsistence. As a result, even though Aklavik's population has declined, it has remained a viable community, mainly through a community spirit engendered in opposition to the threat of Inuvik.

But it cannot be disputed that Inuvik is now the dominant settlement, and there are many positive attributes in this new town. Educational facilities (mostly in high school and vocational training) have been greatly expanded. Health has been improved through the new hospital complex. Probably the most important contribution lies in the fact that Inuvik provides some wage-labour opportunities at a time when the fur-trade, subject to highly fickle pricing, is declining.

Yet, on the whole, Inuvik's economy is artificial. Jobs are created (mainly in summer construction activities) and work, generally, is of a service nature rather than an involvement in the marketing of local resources or in manufacturing. As a result of these factors and because of the high cost of living, the economy has to be "underwritten" at great federal expense. However, in spite of all this, the town is here to stay and it represents urbanization and centralization trends that are becoming dominant in the Canadian Arctic.

INUVIK'S SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Fundamental to the theme of this paper (Northerner versus Southerner) is a discussion of the town's settlement patterns (Fig. 2). These patterns strongly influence the nature of Inuvik's social organization.

There are two basic divisions in the town, the "serviced" and the "unserved" areas. The serviced end of town contains modern furnished apartments and house units, provided at low rents. These are attached to the utilidor system, which consists of running water and a sewage system raised above the ground and enclosed

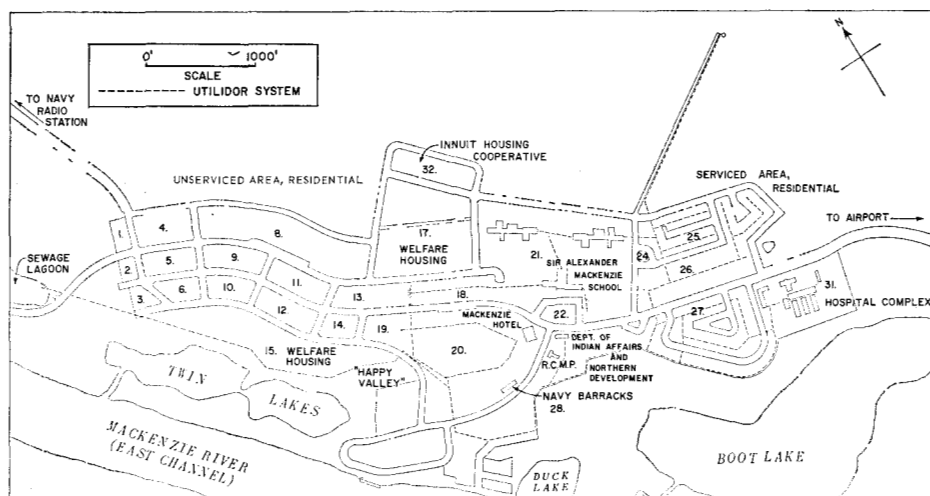


FIG. 2. Inuvik's Settlement Patterns.

with insulating materials. Since these facilities are government owned, and there is a shortage of housing, priority for serviced housing is given to transient civil servants. It is argued, with some validity no doubt, that skilled labour can be attracted North only if assured the comforts of middle class living. Furthermore, most of the facilities (churches, the theatre, hospital, stores, etc.) used by all of the town's residents are hooked to the utilidor system and are therefore concentrated mainly in the transient end of town.

The Northerner population, composed of 414 Eskimos, 130 Indians and 288 "Others" (whites, Métis, and Eskimo-whites) resides in the unserved end of town (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1966). This is so because few Northerners are permanent civil servants. The basic dwelling unit is the 512, a prefabricated home with a floor space of 512 square feet. There are also log-cabins, tar-paper shacks, a few tent frames and tents plus 17 modern bungalows of the Inuit Housing Cooperative. Housing is overcrowded, some 512's having as many as 18 occupants. Sewage is disposed of at scattered stations, where water is also collected. Significantly, this absence of a utilidor system represents social discrimination to many Northerners.

In effect the dichotomy of the serviced versus unserved ends of town suggests that Inuvik is not a single community, but two communities with differing interests.

THE FACTORS OF ETHNICITY AND STYLES OF LIFE IN INUVIK

At one time, ethnic origin was highly important in the formation of social groupings in the Mackenzie Delta. Hostilities and avoidance behaviour were characteristic of social relations between Indians and Eskimos, during pre-contact times and early into the whaling and fur-trade eras (Ostermann 1942, p. 49; Slobodin 1962, p. 18). But with the establishment of Aklavik, there was more

direct interaction between Indians and Eskimos, with hostilities being reduced through common residence and participation in the fur trade.

Today there are still the legal ethnic classifications, Indian, Eskimo and "Other" (whites and those of mixed ancestry), but these have little operational importance in the town setting of Inuvik. What is more important is the factor of life style, the theme of this paper.

There are two basic styles of life that characterize the town setting, manifested in the dichotomy of Northerner versus Southerner. The Northerner category includes the Indians, Eskimos, Métis, people of Eskimo-white ancestry, whites born in the area, and a few whites who have recently moved North. The main criterion for designation as a Northerner is to have been born in the North, or to have decided to settle there permanently and, at the same time to have identified with the interests of native people.

The Southerner category on the other hand consists of the transient population, civil servants, construction workers, Navy personnel and their families. Normally, transients stay in the North for no longer than two years and there is no strong commitment to the area. They usually come North because of the lure of high paying jobs and the "romance" of the Arctic (which is, more often than not, lost after the first winter in Inuvik). Thus, this category, the Southerner, is an emergent phenomenon, a response to the very recent and rapid introduction of large numbers of transients. However, it should be noted that although the vast majority of Northerners are Indians, Eskimos and Métis, and all Southerners are white, there are no strong racial overtones to these categories.

Northerners have several stereotypes of Southerners. At worst, a Southerner is viewed as an opportunist who has come North to exploit and exercise power over local people. At best, they are regarded as being rather impersonal, not wishing to have anything to do with native people.

This latter impression seems realistic, according to my observations of behaviour. At public places such as the churches, the Hudson's Bay store, and events like Inuvik Sports Day, etc., there is very little intermingling between the members of the two groups. Drinking behaviour also reflects this dichotomy. The Northerner population and transient construction workers drink in the raucous beer parlour of the Mackenzie Hotel (or the "zoo" as it is called by Southerners and a few Northerners), whereas most Southerners seek the quieter atmosphere of the cocktail lounge. On the whole, Southerner relations with the native segment are largely restricted to the work situation, but even here the nature of this interaction tends to be rather indirect, through orders given to foremen. However, seasonal white construction workers tend to have a great deal to do with native people socially as well as on the job. As a result, transient construction workers play a great role in the Northerners' learning of Euro-Canadian culture. Such elements as drinking behaviour, men's pulp magazines, country and Western music, and manual job skills may be reinforced by the construction workers.

In their own self-image, Northerners feel themselves at a disadvantage. They feel that their bush skills and bush values of generosity and honesty in role relationships have handicapped them in adjusting to the unfamiliar town milieu. Native people still living a trapping style of life or residing in one of the more

traditional settlements view Inuvik negatively as an impersonalized white man's town where native people are ill-prepared to live. As one Aklavik Eskimo phrased it, "When a native person moves to Inuvik, he is as good as dead."

But, in spite of these negative attitudes, there are several reasons why native people feel the lure of the town. Most important is the fact that Inuvik provides wage labour opportunities which can ensure a secure livelihood, in contrast to the unpredictable bush life. Health facilities are convenient and since accident and death rates have always been high in the North this is of extreme importance. Some former trappers told me that they moved to the town in order to be near their children rather than have them separated in the school hostels. Anxieties, concerning social isolation and loneliness, are frequent themes in the Arctic especially during the long dark winter season: so living near friends and kin is of high emotional importance. Also, native people, especially the young, value the novelty and excitement of the bars, movies, bingo games, etc.

Yet, in spite of these assets of town-living, Northerners are at a definite disadvantage when compared with the Southern transients and, as a result, feel a keen sense of relative deprivation. As was noted in the previous section, Southerners have priority and practically monopolize the housing of the serviced end of town. Added to this is the fact that the transients are often able to buy their food at wholesale prices from Edmonton outlets. Transients have better jobs and higher salaries due to their education and valued job skills. Native people, for the most part, are restricted to part-time construction jobs, heavy machinery work, and occupations of a janitorial or service type because of their limited education and training. For these reasons Northerners generally have lower salaries.

More important for the understanding of Northerner town life is an examination of certain bush values still persisting in the town that have prevented easy adjustment. Because in the bush work is unscheduled and the individual is independent, native people often find it hard to comply with certain work regulations such as the 8 to 5 work day and the authority of the foreman. As a result job-absenteeism is a chronic problem. Similarly, the bush values of indulgence and the sharing of goods can be disruptive. It is hard for Northerners to resist pressures from kin and friends for loans. One Indian woman married to a successful wage earner summed up the problem this way:

It's very difficult for us to save money and pay our bills since our relatives are always asking us for money. It was all right to share our caribou meat and fish when we lived in the bush, because we could always go out and get more. But with money there is only so much that you can get. They don't seem to understand this and resent us for not giving them any.

Generally, native people resent those who attempt to increase their material wealth and social status. The area of the Inuit Housing Cooperative, where the majority of Northerners with steady jobs live, is sometimes disparagingly referred to as "snob hill" by other Northerners.

Also, some native people find it difficult to maintain certain responsible jobs because of the same pressures of kinship and friendship. For example, an Eskimo welfare assistant, with his power to give or withhold relief payments, had consider-

able difficulty in maintaining affective relations with kin and friends. He eventually found it necessary to ask to be relieved of some of his more important duties.

Returning to the dichotomy of Northerner versus Southerner, an examination of formal associations in the town further reveals Southerner dominance. An amazing proliferation of clubs and voluntary associations has been created by transients. Mailhot (1968, p. 17) counted 48, including religious groups, the home and school association, sports clubs, a chamber of commerce, etc. These organizations were formed on a community-wide basis and some natives are found on most membership lists. But there is a general paucity of native leadership, and the majority on executive lists are transient. A small cadre of Northerners take on executive roles in these organizations but they are too thinly spread over a large number of organizations and, as a result, their available time for associations, more Northern in interest, is limited.

Although little of Northerner interaction in Inuvik is based on formal organizations, there are three Northerner associations (Ing-a-mo, the Inuit Housing Cooperative and the Inuvik Settlement Council) that are important, especially as training grounds for Northerner leadership.

Ing-a-mo, formed in 1965 as a recreational centre focusing on traditional native activities is, in spite of a rising membership, still in its formative stage. There is somewhat of a leadership vacuum in the organization, as the two founders, civil servants of Northerner inclinations, have been transferred to other settlements. So far the organization's facilities have been used primarily for teenage dances and playground activities; thus the organization is far from realizing its full potential. Besides its primary role as a recreational centre, it could serve as an educational outlet in helping new migrants adjust to town life. Most important of all, it is a potential training ground for Northerner leadership and could provide for the emergence of Northerners as an effective power group.

The second organization, the Inuit Housing Cooperative, was formed in 1963 for the purchase and construction of prefabricated homes in the unserved area. By 1965, 17 ranch style homes (16 owned by Eskimos and one by a local white) had been constructed through the cooperation of the members of the organization. Thus, by its mere physical existence, the cooperative represents the most successful adaptation of Northerners to town life. However, enthusiasm on the part of other native people to build in the Co-op, has waned. Also, many of the original members are so deep in debt that there has been little interest in further internal construction and the purchase of furniture.

The Inuvik Settlement Council is a notable outgrowth of the policy directed at achieving responsible government in the Northwest Territories. As of 1 April 1967, Inuvik has been incorporated as a village, and the Settlement Council has taken over many of the responsibilities formerly held by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. At the time of the field work (summer 1966), the Advisory Council, as it was then called, consisted of six members, one Eskimo, one Métis and four whites of permanent residence. All but one member resided in the unserved area, but the exception was a Northerner of long standing. Native membership in the Inuvik council is low compared to other settlement councils, but the orientations and interests are definitely Northern.

To sum up this section, today we have a situation in the town where Indians, Eskimos, Métis, and a few whites emerge as subordinate in socio-economic status to a more sophisticated white transient population which is better attuned to the ways and means of urban life.

THE FACTORS OF AGE AND SEX IN THE NORTHERNER POPULATION

Since the 1900's the native people of the Mackenzie Delta have experienced white contact at radically different rates, the most intensive change occurring over the last two decades. As a result contact has affected the members of the Northerner population in different ways, and thus the factor of age helps to illuminate differences within the town-dwelling population. Also, as we shall see, the factor of sex forms the basis for differential acculturation and conflict among young Northerners. For the sake of convenience, in this discussion Northerners (principally native people) will be discussed in terms of three generations: the old, the generation 25 to 50 years and the young generation, 14 to 25 years. Although those under 14 account for over half of the Northerner population (see Table 2) and present profound educational, health and welfare problems, they will not be discussed because of a lack of research regarding them.

TABLE 2. Age Structure of Inuvik's Northerner Population, residing in the unserved area, June 1966*.

0-14	14-25	25-50	50+	not recorded	total
383	153	154	45	97	832

*Source: Industrial Division, Housing Survey, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

The Old (50 years and older): The formative years of this generation were spent during the height of the fur trade. Although they may have profited from trapping, their interaction with whites and Euro-Canadian culture was slight. Formal education and proficient command of English is rare among these people. Although their security is enhanced by Old Age Assistance and other relief payments, they seem rather lonely and fatalistic, with their participation in town activities quite marginal.

The Generation 25 to 50 years: This is the most strategic generation with regard to native adjustment problems in Inuvik. The people of this age-category provide the working population of the town, yet their skills and attitudes were formed in a bush milieu. As a result, troubles in adjusting to and keeping jobs, as well as in economizing salaries to town living, are the most serious problems affecting these people. Generally, they are frustrated in their attempts to cope with town life, many having personal identity problems and difficulties both in setting goals and in attaining them. There are exceptions, of course, to these generalizations in that some native people, because of unique life-chances, have been able to advance themselves to remarkable degrees, considering the economic, educa-

tional and psychological obstacles. A catalyst for this is often provided by an understanding or compassionate white person who assumes the role of adviser. A foreman or teacher may notice abilities in a native person, help him to advance, tutor him and encourage him to seek definite goals. This intensive individual attention seems much more successful than large-scale government change programs.

The Young (14 to 25): A minor government official once suggested to me that the best way to handle the Delta's problems was to maintain the adults on relief and separate their children in the school hostels. He felt that the young generation would thus fare well in the future, since they would have learned from the school behaviour and attitudes more appropriate for town life without the disruptive influence of their parents.

Considering the children as "clean slates" to be formed as middle-class Canadians is a rather naive outlook, but this administrator's opinions point out a serious dilemma. It is well known that keeping children in an institutional environment (such as a school hostel) can be detrimental to the formation of their adult personalities; but at present, although native parents value education for their children, it is difficult for them to provide advice and models of behaviour which would provide continuity with school teaching because they themselves have little personal experience of town life and school.

To date few young Northerners are provided with much more than quasi-vocational training, thus they are not fully equipped for bush or town life. This is so mainly because the facilities of the school do not as yet provide skills which would allow them to compete with labour from Southern Canada. Also, most do not go as far as completing the grade twelve curriculum because of impatience with the school format which is based on that of the province of Alberta and therefore is in many ways foreign to the experience of Northern children.

Goal aspirations appear to be very limited among the members of this age category. Most boys want to take up mechanical or outdoor construction work and the highest aspirations of the girls are to become nurses or nurse's aides.

Much of the attention of the young is directed towards activities which provide excitement: the movies, the latest dances, etc. But, along with this, heavy drinking and juvenile delinquency in the form of petty thefts and muggings against their fellows are emerging with a few adolescents.

Some tend to resent their ethnic backgrounds and are sometimes ashamed of their parents, who can neither give advice nor act as models of behaviour. Few of these younger people have experienced the hard life of the bush, as their parents have, and they are showing signs of becoming "dependency oriented."

Also, within the younger generation, the fact that of all the age-sex categories the young girls tend to be the most acculturated presents a serious problem. Many of them hold steady jobs as waitresses, store clerks, baby sitters, or in the more esteemed role of nursing aide.

The girls for the most part reject native boys as mates, seeking out transient males, most notably Navy enlisted men. As a result, a game of mutual sexual exploitation has developed between the girls and the transients. However, the

girls have more to lose since illegitimate births and venereal diseases are reported to be quite high in Inuvik. Furthermore, very few of the transients live up to the girls' expectations of marriage.

Young native males show very little overt hostility towards the transients. Resentment is shown in more indirect statements, such as, "What do they need all those sailors for, and where the hell is their ship?" Adults, however, chastise the girls and even depreciate the role played by the transients.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF ADAPTATION TO THE TOWN

Two additional problems, drinking and a psychological sense of marginality will now be examined. These responses to town life further hinder successful adaptation.

The facilities of the Mackenzie Hotel, principally the beer parlour, provide the most consistent source of leisure activity for Northerners. Therefore heavy drinking provides the most serious set of social and economic problems for the town.

Many native people specify that they drink for a specific reason, to reach some state of euphoria. This is probably correlated to anxieties involving economic frustration and a general confusion about town life. Therefore Clairmont's (1962 and 1963) suggestions of economic frustration, along with a condition of "anomie" help to account for the broad societal aspects of heavy drinking. Furthermore, there is probably a basis of heavy drinking in the theme of liberal consumption in the traditional culture.

Whatever the exact motivations for the drinking, it is certainly true that Northerners themselves recognize that heavy individual and social costs result from it. Economic frustration is compounded by the high costs of beer. It sells at 60 cents a bottle in the beer parlour, at \$7.50 for a case of twenty-four bottles, and \$12.00 for the same amount over the counter at the beer parlour. As a result, a large percentage of earned income is used in the purchase of liquor.

More seriously, family instability is most often due to drinking, with fights and the undernourishment of children resulting. Trouble with the police is almost entirely associated with liquor, either through fights or thefts for its purchase.

Native people find it difficult to avoid the drinking atmosphere, since drinking is the prime local social activity. Loans are most frequently centred around the purchase of beer, and those who have the money are considered stingy if they do not buy liquor for friends. Several, in their frustration, told me that all of their problems would be solved if the Mackenzie Hotel and the liquor store would burn down. Also, many are confused about the liquor laws: "The white man brought us booze, then turns around and arrests us for drinking it."

It should be noted that there are some Northerners who have solved their liquor problems: members of the local Pentacostal church for example, and a few steady job holders. But even so, heavy drinking must be considered the town's number one problem, ultimately affecting all the members of the settlement.

The second set of serious problems revolves around the factor of social marginality, resulting from a social situation that makes it difficult for an individual to interact consistently with any group: he may have some but not all of the

qualifications for membership, which almost always prohibits his complete acceptance by any one group. This usually results in the marginal person having an ambivalent, if not hostile, attitude towards the values of one or all of these groups. As will be shown, certain conditions of town life have helped to bring about stressful individual alienation.

Conflicts over style of life are the most important source of marginality. There are those native people, holding steady jobs, who are quite prominent in community organizations, acting as spokesmen for native interests. By doing so, they have come into more frequent contact with white transients who form the power structure. At the same time, their mutual interests with the transients cannot be complete because of radically different backgrounds. Furthermore, they run the risk of invidious sanction from less acculturated Northerners because of these closer associations with transients and their greater material possessions. But since these same natives were also brought up in a bush milieu, they desire the friendship of fellow natives and sometimes long for the autonomy of the bush, to which they cannot return because of new responsibilities.

A similar situation of marginality can occur with those young Northerners who have spent the bulk of their lives at school hostels at Yellowknife, Aklavik and Inuvik. The only style of life they know well is that of the town, and as a result they often find it difficult to decide with which group they should interact — fellow natives or transients — frequently vacillating between the two. It is with these people that one most often hears the bitterest complaints about Southerners and how “they have ruined the North”.

The opposite type of conflict can occur. For instance some men first decide to remain trappers rather than to settle in the town, but have second thoughts as to the wisdom of their decision because of the low economic security of trapping and because of the exciting lure of Inuvik. Sometimes they come to town to seek employment, but their commitment is not permanent. Almost immediately they become disillusioned with job-work, because of their loss of autonomy, misunderstandings with foremen, etc. Usually, they quit unexpectedly, and thus become known as poor job risks. Any cash they have is quickly spent, and they end up living with relatives and spending much time at the beer parlour. After several months they have overstayed their welcome with friends and relatives who think it unlikely that they will be able to repay debts. They have strong anxieties over the fact that they do not fit well into the town, and at the same time, they suspect that the trapping industry is doomed.

Still another situation can adversely affect some native people. With the high illegitimacy rate in the town and inadequate housing, young unmarried mothers are frequently forced to live alone with their children in small cabins provided by the welfare authorities. Formerly this would not have been the case, since the children would have been adopted by the girl's parents as a matter of course. This is infrequent now. Also these young women are subject to gossip and censure from the native population, possibly as an incorporation of Canadian middle-class values or because a large percentage of these children are products of liaisons with transients. Obviously these girls are very unhappy and consider themselves in a rut, since marriage now seems almost impossible.

Many factors, some of which have been discussed above, can simultaneously affect an individual, placing him or her into several positions of marginality. Obviously this results in a great deal of suffering associated with social alienation.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has attempted to describe one facet of Northern Canadian urbanization, that of the native peoples' degree of success in adapting to a new urban milieu, or the transition from a trapping style of life to town living. Although there have been many beneficial results from the construction of Inuvik, there have also been hindrances in this transition.

These are illuminated in the dichotomy of Northerner versus Southerner. A large influx of Southerners, more attuned to urban living, have come to dominate the town through important jobs and virtual control of the formal organizations. This results from a paucity of native leadership. Northerners, consisting of Indians, Eskimos, Métis, people of Eskimo-white ancestry, whites born in the North, and a few whites who have recently moved North, emerge as a single category subordinate in socio-economic status to Southerners. The roots for this Northerner town culture are found in the former trapping culture, and certain themes of that culture militate against easy adjustment. The people most affected by this discontinuity are those in the generation 25 to 50 years. Their values of indulgence and sharing along with a derogatory attitude towards conspicuous status-seeking are slowing down adaptation to town life, as it is defined by Euro-Canadian values. Also, because of the bush themes of unscheduled work and independence, there is a general lack of job orientation (the 8 to 5 work day and the authority of the foreman) often resulting in job-absenteeism.

In spite of the efforts of school authorities, many of these attitudes and values are being passed on to the younger generation. Although this generation is being brought up in a town milieu and may be in a better position to cope with urban life, there is a greater danger that it may become a disenchanting, urban, slum-dwelling group. Already, there are strong signs of friction with the more rapid acculturation of young women resulting in the rejection of native boys as mates and the heavy social costs resulting from white sexual exploitation of these young women.

These problems have brought about two rather serious responses. One of these is heavy drinking, which is the worst problem confronting the town resulting as it does in enormous social and economic costs. The other is the feeling of individual alienation which is strong among these new town dwellers and is best expressed in positions of marginality, brought about by conflicting pulls of life styles and changed values.

The domination of Southerners over Northerners is formidable, and is very likely to be so for a long time. This is the case because an enormous infrastructure of government services, staffed by large numbers of Southern transients, will remain there. Besides this, most programs for Northern development will continue to be determined at distant Ottawa. However, there are recent indications that increased local autonomy will be given to the Northwest Territories. Some

of these signs are the establishment of a Territorial capital at Yellowknife and increasing community independence through the settlement councils.

Future Northerner success in developing an adaptive town life style of their own seems, to me, to be contingent upon two conditions. First of all, in Inuvik for example, such organizations as Ing-a-mo and the Settlement Council, if strengthened, could result in the emergence of Northerners with an effective interest group able to counteract the influence of Southern transients. Alaskan natives have had some success in this regard through the creation of the state-wide Alaska Federation of Natives. Secondly, it is important that Northerners as a group rediscover the latent pride and confidence in themselves, realizing that they have the only realistic and permanent stake in the North.

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