

LOCALS AND OUTSIDERS IN AKLAVIK, N.W.T.:
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF A
MULTI-ETHNIC COMMUNITY

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

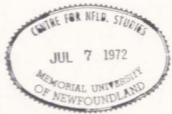
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ANALYSIS OF A MULTI-ETHNIC COMMUNITY

by



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B.A. University of Victoria, 1969

A Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN ANTHROPOLOGY

Memorial University of Newfoundland

July, 1971

Approved: _____

Date: _____

ABSTRACT

This work concerns the relationships and interaction that exist between Outsiders and Locals in a multi-ethnic settlement in the Canadian sub-arctic. The Outsiders are non-permanent white residents, usually, but not always, representatives of various government, commercial and religious institutions. The Locals include Eskimo, Indian, Metis and white residents who look upon Aklavik, or at least the North, as their permanent home. Each of these groups, Locals and Outsiders, displays its own particular social and cultural characteristics. The development of the two groups and the type of relationship that exists between them is described in historical and contemporary perspective.

Specifically, the work focusses on two influential Aklavik residents and their relationship is analysed in respect to two settings. In the context of the Settlement Council the government administrator (Outsider) has considerable influence and emerges as patron with Mrs. Stockholm (Local) as his client. Their relationship is reversed in the setting of some special events in Aklavik and Mrs. Stockholm demonstrates her ability to recruit the administrator as her client.

The norms, values and behaviour pertaining to both Outsiders and Locals are discussed in relation to these two settings. On the macro-level (e.g. the Council) Outsider values predominate and the Locals respond with behaviour characteristic of 'atomistic'-type

societies while symbolically competing with the Outsiders. On the micro-level (e.g., special events) Local values predominate and the Locals are seen to display situational leadership and communalism while engaging in direct competition with the Outsiders.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is based on fieldwork carried out in relation to the Mackenzie Delta Research Project sponsored by the Northern Science Research Group, Ottawa. My fieldwork commenced during the summer of 1969 when I spent two months in Aklavik and Fort Macpherson, later returning to spend eight months in Aklavik from January to September, 1970.

I am most grateful to the Northern Science Research Group for the opportunity to participate in their work and, in particular, I wish to thank the Director, 'Moose' Kerr, for his encouragement and assistance. I am also indebted to Derek Smith, a member of N.S.R.G. at that time.

During my fieldwork in the Delta, I was assisted on many occasions by the staff of the Research Laboratory at Inuvik, and I extend my gratitude to the manager, Dick Hill, Noel Dick, Mrs. Mayhew and John Ostiuk.

At Memorial University, I particularly wish to thank my advisor, Dr. Robert Paine, for his stimulating and most helpful comments regarding my work. Also, I would like to thank Drs. Milton Freeman and Jean Briggs for their encouragement and suggestions. In addition, I learned much from the comments and criticisms offered by my fellow graduate students and wish to thank them accordingly.

Among others to whom I would like to extend my gratitude

are Lee Post of Edmonton, and my wife, who assisted me not only in the field, but in the typing of my manuscript.

Finally, my gratitude is expressed to all those, both 'Locals' and 'Outsiders' in Aklavik and Fort Macpherson with whom I came in contact while doing this study, and whose co-operation and friendliness were much appreciated.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Recent publications (Cardinal, 1969; Chance, 1970; Dunning, 1959; Jenness, 1964; Paine, 1971; Smith, 1970) have stressed the asymmetrical nature of the relationships that exist between a dominant social group and an impoverished minority living within its domain. Such interaction, as occurs between the two groups, does so at the 'boundaries' or 'margins' of each where patrons and brokers of the dominant group deal with the clients recruited from the subordinate group in transactions involving a variety of valued resources. In this level of analysis, which I shall refer to as the macro-level, the values and resources discussed are predominantly those of the larger society, and the gatekeepers of the group, the patrons and brokers, may in some circumstances fill the role of 'exploiters' while the clients and, by extension, the minority group, become the 'exploited' (Schwimmer, 1970). Another aspect of such studies is that from the dominant group's point of view, the minority may be seen to display an 'atomistic', uncooperative, apathetic and perhaps deviant pattern of behaviour. Essentially, such studies stress the role of the patrons and brokers who as 'outsiders' effectively control the frequency, mode and type of transactions that take place.

That such an analysis is 'true' in a phenomenological sense, is readily apparent by the study, for example, of relationships between whites and Indians. However, in terms of explanation of the dynamics and ways by which the minority adjusts to this asymmetrical relationship, this type of analysis is unsatisfactory. From the minority point of view, a number of differences are evident. On this micro-level, the 'we' is the local society exclusive of all outsiders. This 'we' is expressed in terms of values and behaviour that emphasize the existence of the group as a community or society apart and separate from the larger one. In comparison with the hierarchically oriented values of the macro-level analysis, here the values will emphasize egalitarianism. Such a community will recognize its own leaders and these will be protectors of what Frankenberg (1959:157) describes as symbolic values expressive of that community's unity. In such cases, these protectors may adopt the roles of patrons and brokers in relationships with outsiders who become their clients. Here too the relationship is asymmetrical but in this case, the advantage lies with the minority group (see Freeman in Paine, 1971).

It is my intention, therefore, to look at one sub-arctic settlement using both levels of analysis. My purpose is twofold. First, I believe it is an empirical question to know if the clients of the first analysis are the patrons and brokers -- the protectors -- of the second. Secondly, I wish to examine the dynamics involved on both levels.

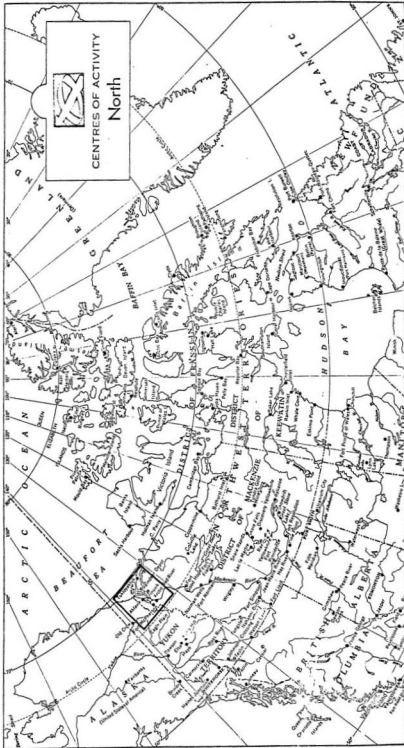
Locals and Outsiders

The settlement in which I conducted my research was Aklavik, located at 68°13' N., 134°59' W. on the west channel of the Mackenzie River. Although it is 130 miles north of the Arctic Circle it bears little physical resemblance to most other Arctic settlements since it is located in the bush country which extends throughout most of the Mackenzie Delta. Socially and culturally, Aklavik presents two faces to the world. On the one hand, Aklavik is a northern settlement, part of the Canadian nation, administered by officials representing interests and values which are generated and emanate from "the South" as the rest of Canada is usually referred to in local terms. On the other hand, the settlement is a community having a distinctive history, and whose values function to perpetuate and maintain this distinctiveness. Significantly, the community's official motto is "Aklavik, Never Say Die."¹

Although the population of Aklavik is heterogeneous ethnically and culturally, a division into two main groups reflecting the dichotomy suggested above is readily apparent. This fact is recognized by the residents themselves although no single name or title is used repeatedly or consistently in

¹ The circumstances connected with this motto, which first came to use in the 1950's following the establishment of a new, planned townsite nearby intended to replace Aklavik, will be dealt with later.

MAP I



(Source: North, March-April 1971, Vol. XVIII, No. 2)

reference to either group. To facilitate discussion, therefore, the researcher has to invent two suitable names keeping not only the dynamics of the situation in mind but also, as the Honigmanns (1970:9) point out, the need to "express the fact that some inhabitants ... belong to the region more closely than others." In reference to the Delta generally, Smith (1970) uses the terms "Outsiders" and "Natives" in respect to these two groups while the Honigmanns (1970) speak of "natives" and "non-natives" in nearby Inuvik. As I am not entirely happy with either of these sets of labels I prefer to use the terms Outsiders and Locals, while acknowledging that Smith, the Honigmanns and I are referring generally to the same groups.¹ Also I wish to emphasize that I am following the Honigmanns' (1970:9) use of the term 'groups' in its loose rather than strict sense not intending to "imply that any are localized or act in concert to further their identities and sectional interests."

By Outsiders I mean those, usually whites from outside the Territories, who by the pattern of their social behaviour, values and interests are easily distinguishable from the Locals

1 Frankenberg (1957) uses the terms "Outsiders" and "Pentre People" in a similar vein when referring to relationships between residents of a Welsh village.

who are the more permanent residents of the area. The Outsiders are transients,¹ normally but not always employees or representatives of organizations that have their headquarters in 'the South' such as the Territorial Government,² R.C.M.P., and Hudson's Bay Company. For these individuals, Aklavik is little more than a temporary posting before they move on to some other northern settlement or return to the South. Also, these Outsiders retain their contacts with relatives and friends in the provinces and eagerly look forward to vacations which are spent outside the Territories. In a certain sense, then, Outsiders are constantly looking over their shoulders southwards to where both their superiors and friends reside and from whence their main cultural values and interests emanate.

1 Erwin (1968) and Mailhot (1968) use the term 'white transients' to describe a group in Inuvik similar to the Outsiders in Aklavik. I feel the term 'white transients' is somewhat misleading, however, because non-whites such as Negro, Chinese or other non-Caucasians may also be included. Similarly, while most of the individuals referred to only remain in the settlement a year or two, or even less, in some cases their stay extends over a decade or more thus rather straining the meaning of the word 'transient'. However, I am content to retain the latter term because in addition to its temporal meaning it also carries the connotation of impermanence and lack of identification with the settlement and area as "homeland" which I feel makes its use appropriate here.

2 One of the main reasons associated with recently moving the government's administrative headquarters from Ottawa to Yellowknife in the N.W.T. was to bring the administration and its staff closer to the Northern people. Interestingly, in Aklavik I found little change in the Locals' perceptions and attitudes towards the government as a result of the move. The government both in terms of its headquarters, personnel and policies is still perceived as being representative of 'down South', the term here having the connotations of being distant, alien and unfathomable.

Outsiders hold many of the key positions in Aklavik in terms of access to valued resources. For example, they control government services, operate the school and nursing station, maintain law and order, and manage the largest retail store. As a result most of their interaction and relationships with Locals are of a formal nature in that they are carried on generally in the context of a work situation; for example, school principal/parent, store manager/customer, and administrator/tenant of local housing. In such relationships the Outsider usually holds a more influential position or status relative to that of the Local. While many Outsiders and Locals are on 'friendly' terms with one another in that they exchange greetings when they meet, or perhaps stop occasionally and briefly chat, nevertheless Outsiders socialize with other Outsiders and few develop close or personal ties with Locals (cf. Cohen, 1966:66-7 for similar observations). For example, in Aklavik I noted relatively few instances of informal reciprocal relationships between Outsiders and Locals involving the exchange of goods or services. This was in contrast to patterns observed in other northern settlements familiar to me where Outsiders often obtain such items as caribou, fish and handicrafts from Locals in exchange for cash, or services and other goods, thus establishing a basis on which closer and more personal social ties may develop. In Aklavik, however, it was found that Outsiders were extremely reluctant to try 'native'

foods, and the presence of a busy, well stocked fur garment shop where many items of clothing and handicrafts could be purchased militated against opportunities developing to enter into personal relationships in order to obtain these items.

The Locals include Eskimos, Indians, Metis and some whites. All of these share one thing in common, namely, that they look upon Aklavik or at least the Northland, as their permanent home. While nearly all of the Locals have personal networks that extend to other areas of the North, and in some cases even beyond it, nevertheless their main social and kinship ties are usually with other Locals in Aklavik and nearby settlements. Occupationally and in other ways the Locals display different interests and skills from those of the Outsiders in that many are still to some extent involved in trapping, hunting and fishing. Others, such as some white Locals and Metis, run entrepreneurial enterprises or are employed as workers in the various government agencies under the supervision of Outsiders resident in Aklavik.

Although a wide range of life styles and values are apparent among the various ethnic subgroups represented among the Locals, to a large extent these life styles and values reflect northern rather than southern elements. This may be illustrated, for example, by the different patterns that are found among Outsiders and Locals in respect to the ownership and use of skidoos, boats and dogs.

The Outsiders who possess these items tend to view them primarily in terms of pleasure, and in no case are they of economic importance in the sense that their use contributes to their owners' livelihoods. In comparison, not only are many of the Locals dependent on skidoos, boats, and, in some cases, dogs to earn or supplement their income, but these acquisitions are important in other ways. For example, these items on occasion are important factors in the establishment and maintenance of many interpersonal relationships, reciprocal exchanges and economic transactions between Locals and even occasionally between Locals and Outsiders. In addition, these items in themselves often serve as important prestige symbols among Locals, and when skilfully and productively used can assist in generating personal prestige for their owners. It is important also to emphasize that these comments in respect to the Locals apply equally to both white and non-white members of this group.

Outsiders and Locals, therefore, represent two groups possessing different orientations to Aklavik and the Northland as their place of residence, as well as different occupational patterns, values and social networks. In addition, it might be noted that although there is no residential segregation as is found in several other northern settlements, nevertheless Outsiders occupy accommodation that is usually far superior in type and furnishings to that of Local Aklavikites. The two groups, however, do not constitute a castelike system in that recruitment into either group is possible (cf. Dunning, 1959:118,120).

The latter may best be explained by considering the terms Outsiders and Locals not only in reference to two social groups but also as points on a continuum representing identification with different life styles. Thus, some Outsiders develop strong identification with the Local way of life, usually, though not always, by marrying a Local and in time come to be recognized as Locals themselves. The pattern whereby a Local is recruited into the way of life representative of the Outsiders is considerably different. This can occur, at least theoretically, when a Local as a result of his education, marriage to an Outsider, occupational capacity, or, for some other reason, develops a strong identity with the Outside world. While I know of several instances whereby Outsiders came to be recognized as Locals, I know of no Local who acquired Outsider status in Aklavik in that he or she came to be looked upon as 'one of us' by the Outsiders and 'one of them' by the Locals. However, I know of some Locals who, by establishing their homes elsewhere, usually in a provincial urban center, have apparently been successful in passing into the mainstream of Canadian culture and society. It is obvious, however, that one cannot continue to discuss the latter individuals in terms of Outsiders and Locals since they have, in effect, moved into a new milieu involving different social relationships and cultural characteristics than those implied in the use of the terms so far.

During my research in Aklavik, I conducted a population census, the results of which follow in Table I:

TABLE 1

Population of Aklavik (March, 1970)

<u>Locals</u>	Eskimos	315
	Indians (incl. non-Treaty)	211
	Metis	112
	Whites	15
<u>Outsiders</u>	(all whites)	47
	Total population	<u>700</u>

I shall be discussing the Outsiders and Locals in greater detail later, but suffice to say for now that I do not intend the two to be seen as exclusive groups in that each and every resident of the settlement must necessarily feel and be seen by others to belong to either one group or the other. While nearly everyone may be so designated there are a few individuals about whom there is some ambiguity or uncertainty felt by members of both groups. For example, the Roman Catholic priest, a long time resident in the north, is looked upon by most Outsiders as Local, yet many Locals see him as an Outsider. As a result, the Outsiders exclude him from their social activities and networks as do the Locals who consider him to be an Outsider. Such exceptions are few, however, and while they provide items for further sociological investigation, I shall not be discussing them in this paper. An additional category are those, who, while still retaining their status as either an Outsider or a Local, nevertheless may be

considered marginal to their group in terms of the intensity and degree of interaction they have with their co-residents. However, there is yet another category which is of major importance to the discussion which follows consisting of those whose job it is, and also those who voluntarily take it upon themselves, to interact and articulate between the two groups, Outsiders and Locals, and the interests they represent.

CHAPTER II

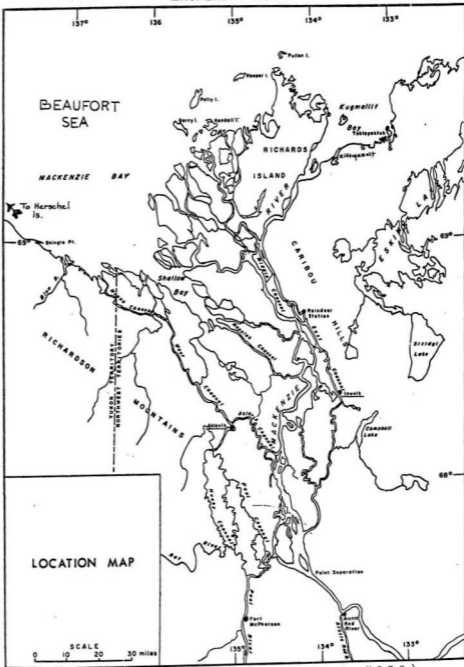
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As a settlement Aklavik has had a distinctive history. This history in no small way concerns the development and changing patterns in relationships between Outsiders and Locals. For example, in their most recent work the Honigmans (1970:13-63) speak of a "frontier culture" in the Delta area and how this had developed and operated as a "contraculture" (p.14) maintained and adopted by the more permanent local population in opposition to the increasing influence of the North American way of life. In a similar vein Schwimmer (1970) analyses a Blood Indian Sun Dance ceremony in terms of an opposition ideology dynamically revealed through symbolic competition with certain aspects of the dominant Canadian culture. Both of these points of view will be returned to later but brief mention of them now helps to emphasize the necessity of understanding some of the dynamics that have been prominent in the development of the Delta way of life. Consequently I now turn to a diachronic sketch of Aklavik and its people.

The present settlement of Aklavik is located on the West or Peel Channel, as it is more popularly known, of the Mackenzie River approximately near the center of the Mackenzie Delta. The Delta itself, a flat, marshy swamp dotted with innumerable small lakes and meandering channels, is about 40 miles wide

MAP 2

MACKENZIE DELTA



(Source: Jones, Mary J. Mackenzie Delta Bibliography. N.S.R.G.)

and 130 miles long bounded on the north by the Beaufort Sea, on the west by the Richardson Mountains and on the east and south by undulating hilly country.

Although north of the Arctic Circle the Delta is well wooded except for its northern part and stands of spruce, balsam and poplar are found as well as the ubiquitous willow and alder. The channels provide a good supply of fish, mainly whitefish, inconnu and northern pike while white whales (beluga) are found in the offshore waters of Mackenzie Bay during the summer months. Muskrat abound in the many shallow lakes earning the area its sobriquet of "Rat Capital of the World", and 'fine' fur, in this case mink, marten, lynx and fox are also represented. Caribou migrations normally do not enter the Delta itself but instead follow the many valleys and mountain slopes to the west of the Delta. While the Delta has never been important in terms of mineral resources great interest has been generated during the last few years in the possibility of finding oil and natural gas in the area and much exploration and test drilling is currently being conducted.

Socially and culturally the area has undergone and is still undergoing considerable changes and developments. I propose to discuss these in respect to four main eras or periods: the indigenous way of life at the time of contact, the early post-contact period, the changes wrought as a result of intensified

trapping during the fur era, and lastly, the changes associated with the adoption of a settlement way of life.

The Pre-Contact Period

Slobodin (1962:18) describes how a neutral buffer zone consisting of much of the central Delta area separated the coastal Mackenzie Delta Eskimos from the Kutchin Indians around the time of contact by the first whites into the region. He also (p.23-25) summarizes the hostile relationships that existed between the Indians and Eskimos both in the late pre-contact and early post-contact periods which resulted in sporadic warfare, raids and the abduction of captives.

Among the best works of ethnographic interest dealing with the North Alaskan and Mackenzie Eskimos of this period are those of Murdoch (1892), Pettitot (1876), Rasmussen (1942) and Spencer (1959). Archeological finds indicate that these people were closer culturally and socially to the North Alaskan Eskimos than those of the Central Arctic (cf. McClellan, 1964:5 and Osborne, 1952:39). With an economy based mainly on the marine and land animals of the area, the Mackenzie Eskimos resided in settlements containing houses made of driftwood for at least part of the year. Ceremonial houses, karigit, were also a feature of these settlements. In respect to their social organization, kinship was reckoned bilaterally, and while both nuclear and extended families were present, the latter were far more common and important. Influence, respect

and knowledge were incorporated in the figure of the umeeilig (boat owner) who on occasion acted in the capacity of hunting group leader (See Spencer, 1959). The Mackenzie Eskimos evidently were on friendly terms with the neighbouring Eskimo groups and participated in trading partnerships with these at Negalik and Barter Island in Alaska (Gubser, 1965) as well as with the Copper Eskimos of the Central Arctic (Rasmussen, 1942).

Hardisty (1867), Osgood (1936) and Slobodin (1962) provide the most accurate descriptions of the Peel River Kutchin Indians. More nomadic than the coastal Eskimos, the Loucheux,¹ as they are more commonly called, were dependent on the caribou, moose and fish which their region provided. Slobodin (1962:16) presents some evidence which suggests that the Peel River people may not have participated in either trading or raiding with their neighbours to the extent that other western Kutchin groups did.

Three matrilineal sibs representing ranked social classes have been noted among the Kutchin society as a whole (Balikci, 1963; Osgood, 1936; Slobodin, 1962). However, Balikci (1963:22-23) and Osgood (1936:107) are in agreement that a bilateral division of clans resulting in a sib moiety more accurately describes the organization among the Peel River Kutchin. In respect

¹ Jenness (1960:399n.) mentions that these Indians got the name Loucheux meaning 'squint-eyed'; i.e., slant-eyed, from early French voyageurs. Leechman (n.d.:207) offers the same meaning.

to class differentiation wealth in the form of dentalium shells and beads were important indices of high rank although Slobodin points out (1962:44-45) that the ranking of sibs "does not appear to have ever carried weight among the Peel River people." The Honigmanns reach a different conclusion (1970:20) pointing out the presence of three social classes -- the wealthy, the poor, and slaves -- as well as mentioning the presence of the potlatch as an indicator of social stratification. A number of types of chiefs were found in traditional Kutchin society. These included the clan chiefs for each of the Kutchin subgroups as well as 'camp bosses' or directors of economic activities such as caribou hunting and fishing (see Slobodin, 1962; 1969). In addition there were war chiefs and also shamans who, on occasion, wielded considerable power (Balikci, 1963). Although the procurement of food gave great emphasis to the place of the males in Kutchin society, interestingly, both Balikci (1963) and Osgood (1936) point out the importance of women in many of their roles, not least of which is the fact that a female when older " ... could influence her husband's speeches if he was a chief, and could speak at the council meetings" (Balikci, 1963:33).

Early Post-Contact Period

The first whites who entered the region -- Mackenzie in 1789, Franklin in 1825 and Simpson and Dease in 1837 -- commented

on the hostile relationships existing between the two native groups. Slobodin notes (1962:24-25) that when the Hudson Bay Company opened a trading post near the present day settlement of Fort Macpherson in 1840 it was a major concern of the factor there to end such hostilities.¹ However, he goes on to state, it was not until after the arrival of the first missionaries, the Roman Catholics in 1860 and the Anglicans in 1868, that peace was made between the two groups.

American whalers benefited from information brought back as a result of the intensive search for the Franklin expedition in the 1840's. Large numbers of bowhead whales were sighted in the open water off the north Alaskan coast and in the decades that followed an increasing number of whaling ships entered this region (see Foote, 1964; Oswalt, 1967; Spencer, 1959; Weyer, 1932). With the introduction of marine steam engines in 1879 and a market change which resulted in the whalers seeking whales for their baleen rather than oil, shore stations came to be established and many whaling ships took to wintering in the Arctic.

1 There are indications that the hostile relationships between the Indians and Eskimos may have intensified as a result of the Indians attempting to retain a monopoly of trade with the newly opened post (see the Honigmanns, 1970:24). This pattern whereby one Indian group tries to monopolize trade within its region or perpetuate its role as middleman between the neighbouring groups and a source of trading goods is a constantly recurring feature of the Canadian fur era (cf. Duff, 1964 and Drucker, 1965 for this pattern on the North Pacific Coast, Gubser, 1965 on North Alaska, and Careless, 1965 and Immis, 1970 who discuss the Hurons and Iroquois).

The latter was especially true of the area east of Point Barrow and Foote (1962:20) reports that during the period 1889 to 1914 over 170 ships wintered between Point Hope and the eastern limits of the Mackenzie Delta. Apparently it was common for captains to have their wives accompany them when they wished to winter in the Arctic (cf. Cook, 1926). These whaling outfits were also joined by schooners operated by traders, missionaries and later by police officers so that a number of fair sized but impermanent communities came into being (Amundsen, 1908 Vol.2:146-295; Gubser, 1965:12-14; Stefansson, 1913:35-44; 1953:91-98,468). Among these communities, that at Herschel Island to the northwest of the Delta area was one of the largest and most important. Many of the Eskimos thronged to these shore stations where they performed a variety of services for the newcomers, such as supplying them with fresh meat, in exchange for assorted trade items.

The impact of the newcomers on the Eskimo society and culture was great precipitating many changes. New trade items were quickly adopted, Christianity was introduced, intermarriage and interbreeding occurred,¹ disease and epidemics took a heavy toll on the

¹ Many of the Eskimos now living in Aklavik, particularly those with a coastal Alaskan background, are said to include whalers, both white and non-white, among their forebears. One informant described how during the 1930's and 1940's some residents of the Delta, as well as some visitors used to refer to these Eskimo Metis descendants as "degenerative half-breeds". It is important to point out that these Eskimos are now generally regarded as 'pure' Eskimos and suffer none of the perjorative connotations that sometimes apply to 'half-breed' Indians. Later in my concluding chapter I shall be commenting further on this matter.

population in certain areas and the movement of people within the area was much increased (cf. Cockney, 1966; Gubser, 1965; Gueuple, 1970; Jenness, 1962; 1964; Rasmussen, 1942; Whittaker, 1937). What transpired from all this is that, as the Honigsmanns (1970:27) point out, the Eskimos had become involved in a symbiotic relationship with the newcomers whose arrival had far-reaching effects on their way of life. For example, caribou herds were decimated in some areas by Eskimo hunters using their newly acquired firearms in their eagerness to supply the whaling crews with fresh meat, and trapping was encouraged by the independent traders who visited the area. In addition, alcohol apparently was readily available from the newcomers and its wide use by the Eskimos throughout the region produced many harmful consequences.

Meanwhile, among the Peel River Kutchin major outside influences were also at work. The Anglican church became strongly established at Fort Macpherson and Slobodin (1962:25-26) states that

all the catechists with one possible exception were group leaders independently and prior to their church activity ... their function as catechist enhanced their leadership,¹ as well as that of the missionary.

One missionary, in particular, married a local Indian

¹ Balikci (1959:170) makes a similar comment regarding Eskimo "headmen" in the Eastern Arctic who became catechists in the Anglican church.

woman and for many decades his influence in this region was considerable (Slobodin, 1962:25-26; Stewart, 1955). The Honigmanns (1970:35-37) state that although the Eskimos had been in contact with missionaries since approximately the same time they didn't have this close identification with any of the Christian religions until a much later date.

Another major influence on the Loucheux people was the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898 although this event occurred many hundred miles southwest of their traditional territory. Slobodin (1962:33; 1963:24-36) tells how news of the Gold Rush reached the Indians by way of their Indian neighbours as well as from parties of gold seekers who entered the Yukon through the Peel country. Many Loucheux Indians journeyed to the Dawson city area, often acting as guides for the miners en route to the same area. Although few of the Indians actually took part in the search for gold most of them stayed near Dawson City for many years before eventually returning to their Peel River homeland.

As a result of their stay in the Yukon the "Dawson Boys", as Slobodin refers to them (1963:30), picked up many sophistications:

Many of the "Dawson Boys" claim to have earned proficiency in pool, billiards and bowling.... In 1947 there existed the paradoxical or at least unusual situation that many or most of the band elders had had experience of frontier culture unknown to the younger men. The "Dawson Boys" became familiar with bars, pool-halls, brothels, motion pictures, drug stores, banks, pawnshops, and other specialized emporia. While younger people who have attended mission schools speak English, it is noticeable that most of the "Dawson Boys" speak it more fluently and more colloquially than do many of the younger members of the band.

Although most are dead now a few of the "Dawson Boys" are still resident in Fort Macpherson and Aklavik and I note my own surprise at their knowledge of the world and mastery of English which sets them apart from many Indians in centers nearer to the South.

I have earlier mentioned that the Hudson's Bay Company had been operating in the Fort Macpherson area since 1840. Relationships between the Company and the local Indians were generally good, and in the decades that followed several Indians employed by the Company rose in social prominence. These, like the native Anglican catechists in time came to form a local elite whose influence was based on personal qualities of character, control of valued resources and services, and their intermediary role between the local people and organizations representative of the outside world. In many cases the favoured social position occupied by these local elitists is still enjoyed by some of their Indian and Metis descendants in the Delta settlements.

In comparison with the Mackenzie Eskimos at the turn of this century the Loucheux Indians appear to have been spared many of the disruptive effects experienced by the former. Although undoubtedly changed, their traditional economy and way of life still retained much of its importance for its people. For example, Slobodin (1962: 22) states that until the end of the nineteenth century Fort Macpherson was primarily a "meat post" with little fur being traded. Also since the Hudson's Bay Company enjoyed a virtual monopoly of

trading in the area the number and range of trade articles were not nearly as varied as those available from the numerous traders servicing the coast. For example, liquor which was in free circulation on the coast and contributed to disease and social problems among the Eskimos, was unavailable in Fort Macpherson. In short, while social and cultural changes obviously did occur among the Peel River Kutchin the changes appear to have occurred more gradually than on the coast and lacked much of the disruptive effect of the latter.

Another factor is that the newcomers who entered the Fort Macpherson area as missionaries and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company were usually Scottish thus sharing a common cultural background. Also, their stay in the area was often long, and in some cases they married locally, all these being indices that contributed to stability and continuity in their relationships with the locals. This continuity was usually missing on the coast especially in respect to the multi-ethnic, multi-racial transient whalermen and traders most of whom had little permanent orientation to the area or its people.

There appears to have been mixed opinions among the various earlier newcomers as to the qualities of character supposedly possessed by the Indians and Eskimos of the Delta area. The explorer, Franklin, was much impressed by the Eskimos and suggested they "would adopt European habits and customs much more readily than the Indians" (quoted in the Honigmanns, 1970:22). Later,

Canadian traders apparently also thought highly of the Eskimos finding them "far more clever and intelligent than the northern Indians" and those who went to work for the Hudson's Bay Company fell "readily into the ways of their white associates" being "more industrious, handy, and intelligent than the Indians" (the Honigmanns, 1970:24-25). It is interesting to hear the same opinions and stereotypes being aired today, over a century later, among the Outsiders in Aklavik.

The whaling industry declined rapidly after 1907 and with the disappearance of the foreign whaling ships and their crews the early post-contact period draws to a close. Not all the Peel River Indians had been lured to Dawson City by the Gold Rush. Some had remained near Fort Macpherson and others had moved nearer to the coast where they engaged in trapping as clients of the coastal traders (Slobodin, 1970). With the end of the whaling industry and a decline in the volume of trading and other activities that had been associated with it, the Indians and Eskimos were faced with further changes.

The Fur Period

The period from about 1910 until shortly after the end of World War II was an extremely important one in the history of the Delta people for a number of reasons. Up to the start of this period the Delta was populated mainly along its northern coastal rim and along its southern extremity. Now with an intensification

of trapping activities the entire Delta was utilized by trappers many of whom built cabins in their trapping areas and resided there for the greater part of each year. The trappers themselves were mainly local Indians, Eskimos and Metis but an increasing number of others -- whites, Metis from other regions, and Alaskan Eskimos -- were attracted to the area and many of them have remained providing the area with its heterogenous ethnic and cultural composition so evident today. In addition, settlements were established and among these Aklavik grew in importance both as a result of its central location in respect to the surrounding rich trapping grounds, and as the administrative, transportation and mission headquarters of the western Canadian Arctic.

Following the collapse of the market for baleen and other whale by-products the whaling industry had expired by the start of World War I. However, although diminished, the trading which had developed at such coastal locations as Herschel Island continued and these centers continued to be supplied mainly by American traders who brought their supplies by sea around the Alaskan coast. Since around the turn of the century, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were involved in the Delta area in a peacekeeping role and as guardians of Canadian sovereignty. It was also at this time that the Hudson's Bay Company began operating posts in the Delta proper. One of the first of these, in 1910, was at the mouth of the Pokiak Channel, just across the river

from the present day location of Aklavik. In 1915 the company opened two more posts, one at Herschel Island, the other at Kittigazuit located on the East Channel not far from present day Tuktoyaktuk. The latter two posts, however, only stayed open for fifteen years or so as more and more of the coastal population were drawn to Aklavik as a trading center.

Wolforth (1966:4-5) points out one interesting fact regarding the development of the Aklavik settlement. The Anglican mission began building on the present site of the Aklavik settlement and Wolforth notes, "it is significant that ... the settlement grew up not around the trading post but around the Anglican Mission ... it was the trading post which eventually was forced to relocate in order to provide retail services to the growing settlement about the Anglican Mission." This relocation took place in 1926 by which time Aklavik had also acquired the R.C.M.P. detachment, moved from Herschel Island in 1922, and a Royal Canadian Corps of Signals station in 1925. A Roman Catholic Mission was also established in 1926.

Aklavik continued to develop and was soon the terminus for an increasing amount of goods shipped down the Mackenzie River each summer destined for transshipment to western Arctic communities by coastal steamers. Both of the Missions expanded and by the early 1930's they each had a residential school and hospital in service. A doctor, stationed at Aklavik, as well as having a medical practice that covered the entire western arctic and subarctic

regions also filled the role of government administrator for the same areas. ¹

A number of prominent visitors and events focussed attention on the settlement in the 1930's. Among the visitors were world famous aviator Charles Lindbergh involved in a search for a missing transpolar flight from Russia, the Lieutenant-Governor, Lord Tweedsmuir, to open the new Anglican hospital in 1937 and Sir Hubert Wilkins, the explorer. One event that helped to put Aklavik 'on the map' as it were, was the famous manhunt for Albert Johnson, "The Mad Trapper", conducted by the R.C.M.P. and residents of Aklavik during the winter of 1931-32 and which was widely reported on by the various news media (cf. Anderson, 1968).

It was the increase in trapping activity, however, which gave these years a particular importance in the eyes of the local natives, and provided an impetus that produced significant social and cultural developments. It has already been noted that trapping

1 Zaslow (1957:550ff) describes how with the opening up of the North the government sought to put the Delta Indians under their protection and on June 27, 1921 Treaty No. 11 was signed with the Fort Macpherson band. At the same time the Commissioner also "heard the claims of 176 half-breeds (in the area north of Great Slave Lake) and settled by distributing \$240 scrip certificates to them."

He goes on to detail how in 1922-23 the Eskimos of the area were placed under the care of the Indian Affairs Department by amendment of the Indian Act for the purpose of receiving education, relief and medical attention. This proved to be a "bad arrangement" and the Eskimos came under the N.W.T. and Yukon Branch of the Dept. of the Interior in 1928.

was of some importance to both Indians and Eskimos from the late nineteenth century but other economic activities and fluctuating market prices had militated against the widespread adoption of trapping as a way of life. After World War I with more limited economic opportunities available and gradually improving fur prices more natives became involved in trapping. As trapping increased in importance during the 1930's a significant movement of newcomers into the Delta took place. Three groups were involved: whites from the south drawn northward by the chance to earn a living by trapping and odd jobs during the grim depression years, Metis from upriver areas of the Mackenzie River and elsewhere in search of more productive trapping grounds and Alaskan Eskimos desirous of taking advantage of the lower prices of supplies and in search of economic opportunities following the slump on their own coast. In addition, there was a redistribution of many Delta Eskimos and Fort Macpherson Indians as these moved closer to Aklavik.¹

1 In regards to this movement of Fort Macpherson Indians, Stewart (1955:80) states that "during the years after 1920 the less desirable elements in the Macpherson community were attracted to Aklavik by the entertainments provided by a larger white population." This suggests but does not elaborate on the possibility that many of the Indians who moved were in some ways marginal to the local Fort Macpherson group. Informants in Aklavik somewhat support this contention by referring to some of these Indians as originally the "poorest class in Fort Macpherson who never had anything."

Although there were fluctuations in the prices paid for fur during the 1930's and early 1940's generally these followed an upward trend.¹ Jenness (1964:50,65) while commenting on these fluctuations makes the apt comment that while fur prices declined, as they did in 1930 and 1934, Delta residents were better off than those in other arctic areas because of the abundance of game and fish in the area. The profits from Delta trapping increased and colloquially it came to be known as a "million dollar business" during the boom years of the fur period (whereas now it is referred to as "only a hundred thousand dollar business", Government of the N.W.T., 1966, Vol. 1) For example, Slobodin (1962:38-39) reports that muskrats rose from 70¢ for a large, heavy pelt in 1935 to \$1.10 in 1939 and to an all time high of \$4.50 in 1945. Marten, the second most important fur in the Delta at that time rose from an average of \$65-\$75 in 1939 to \$125-\$150 in 1945. Berton (1955:250) mentions a Metis trapper who sold 900 white fox in one year at an average price of \$40 each and local informants told me of a 'free' trader who had arrived in Aklavik not only penniless but deep in debt who was later able to acquire 5,500 white fox at \$17 each reselling them at \$27 apiece, thus reaping a

1 I do not propose here to enter into a detailed discussion of the Delta trapping economy. For more information on this topic see Bissett, 1967 and Black, 1961.

profit of \$55,000 on this one transaction.

The white and Metis trappers were among the most aggressive and successful trappers but informants state that nearly everyone did well and benefited in some way, especially in the 'bumper' years. Many trappers had bank accounts in Edmonton or used the local traders as their 'banks'. Major purchases were ordered from suppliers in the provinces and these arrived on the supply ships in the spring.¹ Various mechanical appliances and schooners were among the many desirable items purchased and some idea of the affluence enjoyed is gained from informants' descriptions of how the riverfront in Aklavik was a "forest of masts", the schooners which created this effect costing between \$6,000 and \$25,000 (the Honigmanns, 1970:41; Jenness, 1964:34n.).

Trapping for those who are dependent on it for a living, may be regarded as a high risk occupation in that many of the variables involved have traditionally been outside the control of the individual trapper. For instance, the fluctuating prices paid for fur usually reflect fashion trends and other factors

¹ Trappers bought their provisions and everyday needs at the local trader's whereas the Missions, police, army and the doctor ordered their supplies in yearly quantities from southern sources (Gillham, 1947:90). These two different patterns of consumption are still generally reflected by Locals and Outsiders today.

associated with the interests of both consumers and the marketing industries rather than those of the primary producer. Other variables with which the trapper has to contend include those which relate directly to the natural environment of the animals themselves, such as cyclical variations in their population densities, and also economic considerations; for example, the acquisition of sufficient capital or credit to grubstake his activities through a bad season or two.¹ The pattern of grubstaking, which traditionally involved the trader's providing 'credit' in the form of necessary supplies which the trapper repaid out of the returns from his fur, can be a very expensive undertaking and also a risky one not only for the trapper but also for the trader concerned. As Innis (1970:374-5) succinctly comments

1 To my knowledge up to very recent years no assistance programmes or extension of credit by government or other agencies was available to trappers in the Northwest Territories other than those he could make with his local trader. In some areas, as in Aklavik, a Trappers' Association or similar organization was in operation which might, if funds permitted, provide money or other assistance to one of their members who may have suffered some major calamity, such as losing his possessions in a fire. During the last few years, however, an important development has taken place in that the traders, especially the Hudson's Bay Co. in many areas appear to have been replaced to a large degree by the government's Game Branch as the principal grubstaking agent.

Regarding the necessity for a credit system in such an economic setting Marshall (1953:108-9) describes the universal use of "slap-her-down" (meaning, "write it down in the ledger and I'll pay for it later.") among the white and non-white residents of the Koyukuk area of North Alaska. The credit system there, he states, has evolved because of the "peculiar" fact that none of the chief money making activities of the residents (gold mining, trapping, woodcutting, etc.) brings in a steady income, a similarity with the Delta which is all too obvious for the particular period under discussion.

in reference to the subject of credit from the trader's point of view, "fur trading becomes a game of poker" in terms of determining the potential productivity and trustworthiness of each trapper and also in respect to establishing the strengths of competing traders.

In addition, as an example of a particular type or stage in frontierism, the fur period in the Delta is different from those of the better known frontiers in the United States and Canada in that the white trappers who entered the area were neither agriculturalists hungry for free land nor were they entrepreneurs or prospectors seeking riches in an unknown and possibly hostile land.¹ Instead, in the Delta, the white trappers were competing with the local natives for the same resource, fur. Little attention has been given to these aspects of Delta life by any social investigator although presumably they would be illuminating in terms of the relative status of the different ethnic and cultural groups involved, for example, in regards to ethnicity as a factor in the availability of credit, as well as delineating more clearly the patterns of interpersonal relationships among them. For instance,

1 Stewart (1955:367) points out two similarities between the Delta 'fur frontier' and the development of the Canadian West in that in both, "communications and provisions for law and order have preceded settlement."

Innis (1970:375) when enumerating some of the changes associated with the advent of white trappers in the North states:

The white trapper is in a position to go outside to sell his fur. He demands cash for his furs and insists that they shall be graded. Several posts as a result have one price for the white trapper and one price for the Indian.

While such comments might indicate some real potential for cut-throat competition, enmity and strained relationships between trappers and traders, and among the trappers themselves, such apparently was not the case in the Delta to any great degree. Several mitigating factors were involved, the most important of which were the influences and values associated with a bush way of life and generally improving economic conditions ensuring adequate opportunities in which all might share.

Before discussing bush living and related topics it is worthwhile first to mention the size and composition of the populations involved. The Honigmanns (1970:30-31) quote the following census figures for Aklavik and district, although they do not delineate the extent of the latter.

	<u>1931</u>	<u>1941</u>
Indians	180	213
Eskimos	140	377
Whites	91	167

The Honigmanns add the proviso that these figures possibly include some children from other areas who were attending school in Aklavik,

and also the fact that the number of those listed as whites likely includes a sizeable Metis group. Zaslow (1957:608) notes that of the 91 whites shown in 1931, 44 trapping licences were held by them, although again no attempt is made to distinguish between whites and Metis. The substantial increase among the Eskimos in this decade reflects the large number of Alaskan Eskimos who had entered the area in those years attracted by the cheaper prices of store goods and better trapping opportunities. Although, as will later be discussed, the population of Aklavik continued to increase considerably in later years the flow of white trappers into the area ceased in 1938 since no new trapping licences were issued after that date.

As mentioned previously the hinterland around Aklavik became dotted with trapping areas many containing a cabin in which the trapper and his family spent a considerable part of the year. It is important to point out that trappers using Aklavik as a supply base ranged at least as far west as Herschel Island, north to Banks Island and east to Atkinson River. However, it was characteristic of the Delta at that time as Clairmont states (1963:90) that "Indians and Eskimos, though engaging for the most part in similar economic activities such as trapping, fishing and hunting generally conducted those activities in different areas." Thus it was more common to find Eskimo camps in the areas north of Aklavik while Indians generally remained in the southern half of the Delta. The Metis and whites followed a

less discernible pattern occupying areas, as they did, in nearly all regions of the Delta. Ferguson (1971:19) points out another characteristic relating to this period of more intensive trapping which

tended to break down the Eskimo bands since it placed a premium on the successful trapper, for the typical trapper did not share his furs with other members of the family as he would ordinarily share food. This tended to create nuclear family groups, at least where trapping was a major part of the economy.

While this may be generally true of both the Loucheux Indians (Slobodin, 1962) and other Eskimo groups; e.g., Gubser, (1965:55) and Guemple (1970:72-76), some further comment seems appropriate. For example, the dissolution of an extended family into nuclear units does not necessarily involve a weakening of the emotional and other ties which members of the extended family formerly enjoyed. In this respect, it is observed that siblings, both male and female, often remain united in lasting economic and affective partnerships by forming 'paired families' (Slobodin, 1962:43; 1969:58), a practice I also noted among some Eskimo families in Aklavik. Furthermore, although Ferguson here only mentions trapping as the element which brought about the dissolution of the extended Eskimo family in his particular area, a great many other circumstances may bring about the same effect; e.g., the move to settlement life (Vallee, 1967), changes in ecology and technology (Graburn, 1969 and Hughes, 1960) and other changes in economy (Damas, 1963).

Nevertheless, one of the main aspects of a trapping way of life, namely, that the trapper normally works alone while on his

trapline and although it is his wife or other members of his household who usually prepare his fur for market and assist him in other ways, he can and sometimes does operate as a self-sufficient working unit on his own. I personally know of no Local native who has chosen to live a permanently solitary life in either the bush or on the barren grounds but certainly several white trappers who entered the area did so. However, while some white trappers lived as 'loners' others lived within a few miles of neighbours whom they visited regularly. Also some trappers, usually whites or Metis, lived in comparative comfort having sizeable dwellings, gardens and even, in a few cases, livestock such as chickens and, in one instance, cows. Some of the latter also operated fur farms or were engaged in other economic activities which linked them more intensively with the settlements, such as cutting cordwood and performing contractual construction work. It should be noted also that in this period of Delta history the so called "laws of the bush" were honoured by the individual members of all ethnic groups. These 'laws' referred to such matters as leaving one's cabin unlocked with a supply of firewood ready for use by any visitor while the occupants happened to be away, with the visitor being obligated to replenish the firewood and leave the cabin in order.

The Honigmans (1970), Slobodin (1962) and Smith (1968) summarize the yearly cycles of resource based activities in adequate fashion so I shall limit myself to discussing some of the

social patterns. Relationships between and within the various ethnic groups in the area, and also between the settlement dwellers and those who resided more or less permanently 'in the bush' are difficult to categorize in any neat or consistent fashion. However, some generalizations are possible. Since they occupied different territory the Indians and Eskimos did not interact in any great degree either socially or any other way.¹ Inter-marriage and partnerships between members of these two groups were still relatively rare but in general their relationship can be described as one of peaceful coexistence. Most of the Indians were Loucheux which gave them a commonality of background and language which was absent among the several subgroups represented among the Eskimos.

Neither the Indians nor the Eskimos, however, can be thought of as a strongly cohesive group having internal solidarity and capable of acting cooperatively in protection of some common interests. Instead, each group consisted rather of a number of tightly knit kinship groups loosely connected with each other by a

1 Several Locals have described how in the hostels and schools, children of each ethnic group generally tried to 'stick together' despite attempts by the staff to mix them up. Evidently interethnic 'feuds' and fights were also common in these establishments among the children, a similarity pointed out to me by R. Paine (personal communication) in respect to Lapp and Finnish school children.

number of commonly shared cultural characteristics, behaviour patterns and social ties. Both Indians and Eskimos showed some evidence of social stratification based on economic status. Slobodin (1962:46) points out that in this period among the Loucheux "the wealthy have many kin; the poor, few."¹ Parties of Indians still went on caribou hunts in the mountains under the direction of individual leaders, and leaders were also associated with some fishing or trapping activities although obviously such occupationally oriented leadership was less common than before (cf. Slobodin, 1969). The Indians also, of course, had their leaders or chiefs who dealt with government representatives, but those Indians resident in or near Aklavik were still considered to be members of the Fort Macpherson band and so did not have a chief of their own yet.²

1 This is apparently meant as a summary of an earlier statement of his (p.42) to the effect that "as the maintenance of high status requires the support of kin, this tendency is generally reciprocated. This means that, in effect, high ranking, 'wealthy' persons may have many kin, while poverty and lack of kin are almost synonymous."

2 The formation of the Aklavik Indian band, separate and distinct from that of Fort Macpherson, did not take place until 1964.

Leadership among the Eskimos had never become institutionalized to this extent and it is more correct to discuss this pattern in relation to the Eskimos in terms of those who held the respect of their fellows or were capable of leading them to some consensus. Spencer (1959:152-3) points this out in regard to the North Alaskan umealiq

the technical meaning of which is "boat owner", but not all owners of umiaks were umealit (pl.).... Anyone might own an umiak, but unless he was able to command the respect and loyalty of others who would join him as helpers, and to support them with gifts during the off seasons, he could not be regarded as belonging to this social category.

Wealth, in this case the produce of successful hunting expeditions, was therefore a necessary criterion of the Alaskan umealiq in their traditional society and presumably that of the Mackenzie Eskimos also. In this respect it is interesting to note Ferguson's comment (in the Honigmans, 1970:42) to the effect that the Eskimo owners of the schooners which were a feature of the fur period in the Delta were addressed as 'captain' a title "that may also have referred to their former status as whaleboat owner and leader of a whaling party."

The white 'bushmen' and the Metis were more scattered territorially than either the Indians or Eskimos and followed different patterns in terms of their relationships. There was diversity among the white trappers as some remained true 'loners' living alone generally and having very little to do with anyone either in the bush or settlement. Many of these 'loners' left

the area after the decline of the fur market in the late 1940's. Meanwhile, other whites married local Indian or Eskimo women thus starting new Metis dynasties. These new Metis together with some of the older more established Metis families were among the most influential elements of the local society. One point needs to be emphasized, however, and it is that these were still the formative years in terms of the population of Aklavik and its hinterland, and as a result these whites and the new Metis dynasties they founded did not have to displace older Metis families in terms of influence and respect. Within a few years the whites came to enjoy a pre-eminent position among their Local neighbours. A variety of factors contributed to their influence. Having, as it were, a foot in both cultural worlds, the white and the native, members of these families acted as mediators and spokesmen for both groups, as well as controlling to some extent the flow of resources between these groups. Because of their better knowledge of the outside world and their ability to deal effectively with its agents, many of these Locals were strategically well placed to foresee and participate in economic developments to their own benefit as well as of those who were within their circle. Also, due to their background, they understood the value of education for their children with the result that the latter were encouraged to remain in school longer than native children and later parlay this educational advantage to their benefit. Moreover, it is interesting to note that many of these whites,

and even some of the Metis who entered the area had to learn a new repertoire of skills in adapting themselves to their new environment. Many of these skills were learned directly from the local natives. This learning became a two-way process because the natives also learned from the newcomers and used them as models in the rapidly evolving social and cultural world of Aklavik (cf. Vallee, 1967:127ff regarding whites in the role of 'socializer' in Baker Lake, and the Honigmans', 1965:158ff discussion of informal and formal aspects of 'tutelage' in Frobisher Bay).

Aklavik by this time had become a fairly well established and growing settlement. The Roman Catholic and Anglican Missions were each operating a school, hostel and hospital, and in addition there were at least one hotel and several coffee shops as well as stores, a movie theatre, police and army barracks and a local radio station. While Zaslow (1957:622) points out that then as now a common characteristic of settlements in the Lower Mackenzie area was the frequent turnover of their white inhabitants, nevertheless from informants and other sources it seems apparent that the Outsider/Local dichotomy was not nearly as much in evidence as it is now. One reflection of this is the way in which informants have described the schools, hospitals and medical facilities of that period in terms of "our schools ... our hospitals ... our doctor, etc." emphasizing the strong personal identification they obviously felt with these facilities and the staffs who operated them.

Trapping was included in the curriculum of the schools, a fact much appreciated both by the parents and the young trappers who were allowed to keep the proceeds from the fur they caught. Also, at the hospitals, where several Local ladies were employed, the Aklavikites were able to keep in daily contact with the patients, and many of the more serious cases that were successfully "pulled through" by the doctors and staff are still referred to today. All this contrasts with the present day perceptions of the Locals in respect to the day school and nursing station in Aklavik which are generally seen as impersonal institutions, as are the hostels, schools and hospital in Inuvik.

Both of the Missions had a strong following from among the native Locals and much pride was taken in the new Anglican cathedral built entirely of local labour. One of the most remarked on features of this church was the altar painting representing a northern version of the Madonna and Child depicting furs, dogs, reindeer and a variety of individuals, native and white.¹ Among one of the best attended church services each year was the Thanksgiving ceremony of Rat Sunday. This ceremony was held in

¹ Bishop Fleming (1956:343) tells the story of one Indian who had always expressed doubt as to the chance of any Indian ever getting into heaven since he had never seen a religious picture with an Indian represented, saying, "I think the white man will elbow us out on the Day of Judgement." After viewing the painting, the Indian, Bishop Fleming notes with some satisfaction, concluded he had been wrong.

the Anglican church in late May following the closing of the rattng season when most of the bush families would usually be in the settlement. The service included a northern adaptation in that members of the congregation left offerings of raw fur on the altar instead of the more customary money.

Thus while some white residents have been described to me in terms that make it easy (for me and the present Locals) to identify them as 'Outsiders' there were obviously many others who were more oriented to the values and way of life reflected among the 'Locals' both white and non-white. The boundary or threshold, therefore, that separated the world of the settlement from that of the bush was breached in both directions. One consequence of this was that more of the bush dwellers took to maintaining homes in the settlement. However, Taylor (1945:230) notes that in 1944 the different ethnic groups tended to live in separate areas of the settlement which at that time still included those who resided at 'Old' as well as the 'New' Aklavik. These dwellings ranged in type from two-storey houses to tent-frame structures and provided accommodation for their owners during visits to 'town'.

Three well-observed periods for holidays in 'town' were at Christmas, Easter, and in early summer when the trappers and their families would stay in the settlement for a week or more of visiting, partying and generally having a good time. Such seasonal visitations were usually the focus of much revelry with

many dances, gambling, school concerts at Christmas and sports days that featured a wide variety of events. Many writers (e.g. Gillham, 1947, the Honigmanns, 1970, and Jenness, 1964) indicate that a good deal of drinking also occurred on these festive occasions.¹ In respect to the organized entertainment on these occasions this period saw the beginning of a pattern that was later to become more important; namely, that the settlement dwellers in many cases Outsiders, came to occupy roles such as organizers and leaders of recreational activities. For example, they organized and supervised the refreshment booths and many of the events at sports days as well as providing the stage management and direction for the concerts.

Aklavik's importance at this time for the Locals also increased as a result of job opportunities that developed there. These included work at the hospitals and hostels, cutting cordwood to heat the various large buildings, as well as various jobs in stores and construction. Some of these jobs were seasonal or part-time but nevertheless provided important secondary or alternative sources of income to many. Although all ethnic groups benefited from these jobs the Local whites and Metis apparently held the more lucrative of these positions.

1 The Honigmanns (1970) especially pay much attention to this drinking and feature it as one of the main elements in what they describe as the frontier culture that emerged in the Delta.

During this period voluntary associations had not yet started to any noticeable degree with one notable exception, the Trappers' Association. This association had as its members all those who held trapping licences and therefore included whites, Metis, Indians and Eskimos. By all accounts, however, the whites controlled the discussions because of their lack of reticence in debating issues forcibly in public. Some Metis were also influential and the Indians and Eskimos usually deferred to members of these two groups in most matters. It was largely as a result of the Association's request that a system of registered trapping areas was introduced by the government in 1947, but by this time the period under discussion was at its end.

In summary, the fur period in the Delta is an important one for many reasons not least of which is the fact that almost in a literal sense it was responsible for putting Aklavik 'on the map'. New opportunities developed for the local Delta residents whose numbers were increased by the influx of newcomers, both whites and natives, from other parts of the North and even outside it. Relationships between the main ethnic groups were amicable if somewhat distant as is evidenced by the Indians' and Eskimos' choosing to maintain a kind of unofficial segregation by occupying different territorial areas of the Delta and settlement. However, some social interaction or 'mixing' did take place interethnically; for example, during seasonal visits to the Aklavik settlement, and as a result of intermarriage between some white and native Locals.

The interest and activity of all these ethnic groups in fur trapping was noted and while they were all competitors for this single resource, generally good prices, the availability of sufficient trapping areas and other occupational opportunities helped reduce what potentially could have been an intensely competitive, if not explosive situation.

The period was also one in which the growing settlement of Aklavik was viewed positively by the Locals not only in terms of its facilities, such as the schools, hospitals and missions which were perceived to be there primarily to serve their interests, but also as a social center with definite advantages in terms of entertainment and sociability. Individuals identifiable as Outsiders were present but these were few in number and still relatively unimportant in the lives of the Locals.

Finally, the period was an affluent one with a cash economy based mainly on a land based resource, fur. The area, however, was also exploited for its rich supplies of meat, fish and marine animals. Although the residents of the area who followed a 'bush' way of life had become fairly dependent on a cash economy, they still retained a great deal of their personal autonomy. On several occasions Locals have commented on this fact to me by referring to this period nostalgically as "The good old days ... people sure live good then! ... (Everyone) had the best of both worlds." There is a certain appropriateness in concluding a description of this period with these expressions because not only

do they reveal an early perception of the pull of two conflicting ways of life, that of the settlement and that of the bush, but by being offered in retrospect they indicate that the fur period, which for some may indeed have been a 'happy time', has ended.

The Settlement Period

The years 1945-46 saw fur prices at their highest, but by the end of the 1940's trapping had suffered a permanent setback from which it has never recovered. The Eskimos who were dependent on white fox were particularly hard hit because of the poorer prices, but as Jenness notes (1964:80) the Delta trappers were considerably better off than those in most other northern areas since muskrat did not decline to the point where muskrat trapping was no longer profitable.¹ Unlike the whaling industry of an earlier era trapping did not die out completely and it still remains an important economic activity today. Wolforth (1967:8,12) however, points out that the whole context within which trapping is now carried on has changed considerably in that trapping has become a secondary source of income for most of those involved and also that the trappers now trap out of the settlement or shoot

1 One of the main reasons for this was that muskrats were increasingly obtained by shooting in the spring and in good years a hunter could obtain several thousand within a few weeks thus providing a good return on capital and time invested.

rats in spring, in comparison with the bush based trappers of earlier years and their interest in fine fur.

The decline in importance of this land based resource has precipitated or influenced some notable changes and developments in and around Aklavik. Generally these may be described as falling into three phases. The first of these involved the adoption of a settlement way of life by the former bush dwellers. Secondly, with an increase in population, and a continuing increase predicted, Aklavik was deemed unsuitable for further expansion and a new settlement, Inuvik, was built to replace it. A large number of both white and non-white residents moved to Inuvik taking with them many of the services and facilities formerly located in Aklavik (see Bissett, 1967:44-53 and Honigmann, 1970:51-59 for details of the government and other organizations involved in the move). This did not mean the end of Aklavik, however, as the settlement and its people still survive although with some of its old patterns considerably changed and new ones emerging. The third phase, therefore, concerns the contemporary settlement and the increased influence of the government in the lives of the Local people, the types of relationships between Locals and Outsiders that have evolved as a consequence, and the emergence of voluntary organizations.

One government employee with considerable experience in Aklavik described how in the middle 1940's the Local residents "had their headquarters in the bush and were transients in town."

Another, equally experienced, said of the same years how "all good men were trapping and workers were marginal." Both went on to point out how within five years these patterns had completely reversed with many of the 'bush men' now in town, and some of the most aggressive former trappers adapting themselves successfully to the new economic opportunities developing in the settlement. In actual fact the changeover that occurred was neither as complete nor as sudden as these comments might suggest since many trappers, especially the whites and Metis, already had had one foot in the settlement, as it were, by reason of maintaining homes there as well as engaging in wage employment and other entrepreneurial activities.

Initially, around the late 1940's and early 1950's, jobs were not available for everyone and the Honigmans (1970:52) point out the importance of family allowances and government pensions in the budgets of many non-white families during these years. Welfare also became important for the first time in the Delta and informants have told of how on the collapse of the fur market, one local trader had exhorted the natives, "You've paid the government long enough; now go and get welfare!" Fortunately, job opportunities were forthcoming. Some of these occurred in Aklavik as a result of the increasing size of the government's activities there. Some years later many other jobs became available with the construction of the D.E.W. Line radar stations across the Arctic, but these jobs were filled mainly by Eskimo

workers. More important for the Aklavik population, however, were the wide range of jobs available in the mid-1950's in connection with the development of the new townsite at Inuvik.

The population of the Delta had increased considerably in the previous decade (cf. population figures for 1931 and 1941 on page 34). The 1951 census reported by Bissett (1967:61-63) shows 1,515 people living in the Aklavik district and coastal area between Richards Island and Pearce Point. This figure was made up of 1,045 Eskimos, 210 Indians and 260 whites and Metis. Of these nearly 600 were rated as permanent residents of Aklavik with the whites and Metis accounting for almost half of this number. The community now boasted a sizeable Navy detachment as well as increases in the administrative and R.C.M.P. staffs.¹ As a result, the whites in the settlement became increasingly important in providing leadership in social, political and recreational activities. Factionalism among the whites now became a reality.² Of interest in this respect were those whites

1 It is my understanding that these whites are included in the census figures just quoted since being posted in Aklavik for a year or two for census purposes they would be reported as "permanent residents" in comparison, for example, with the crews of visiting supply ships or similar short term transients who would not be so designated.

2 For some of the values held by various categories of northern whites see Cohen (1962:93-96) re "traditionalists", "apathetics" and "new reformers", and also Vallee (1967:115) re "separatists" and "assimilationists".

who by their values and behaviour can be described in terms of straddling a mid-position on the Outsider-Local continuum. While these whites were transients they nevertheless became involved with members of the Local population in social relationships that were personal and informal in the sense that the relationships were voluntaristic and extended beyond the normal working milieu. These individuals to some extent prevented the polarization between the Outsiders and Locals in evidence today by functioning as information links not only interpersonally and interethnically but also in some cases as leaders of organizations that provided arenas for interaction and discussion. I shall be returning to these issues in relation to the organizations within the community.

With an increasing emphasis on jobs and a settlement way of life a feeling of dissatisfaction and enmity is reported to have developed among the Indians at this time. Three factors were involved, the first of which related to the more favourable stereotypes and attitudes held by the whites in respect to the Eskimos as a result of which some Indians began to feel they were being discriminated against by the whites in favour of the Eskimos when it came to the allocation of jobs.¹ Secondly, Indians and

¹ Presently, for instance the hotel owner and the free trader, both married to Eskimos, almost always hire Eskimos to work in their establishments. Of importance also is the strategic position of two Eskimo foremen of the government and power plant work forces both of whom, it is reported, invariably recommend Eskimos for any available job. However, as I observed, non-Eskimo Locals do work at these establishments although Eskimos predominate.

Eskimos were administered separately by different federal agencies and it was felt that the agencies dealing with the Eskimos were more generous in terms of welfare, housing and similar affairs.¹ Finally, there was some apparent inability or unwillingness by the Indians to, as Johnson (1962:16) reports of interethnic relations at Great Whale River, "accept the 'rules of the game' which are set by the whites." That is, the Indians were more 'ornery', to use their own expression, than the Eskimos and as a result of their 'orneriness', which was a composition of stubbornness, individuality, suspicion and candour, they often ran afoul of influential whites.²

Relationships between Indians and Eskimos, however, were undergoing certain changes as a result of their co-residence in the community. Two changes were of particular importance.

1 Parenthetically, it should be mentioned that the non-treaty Indians and Metis being legally 'white' did not qualify for many of the assistance programmes aimed at either the Indians or Eskimos. This certainly was a cause for complaint among some of these non-treaty Indians and Metis, and it is only in very recent years that attempts to rectify this inequality have been initiated as, for example, the new housing programme aimed to serve all permanent residents irrespective of ethnic or cultural variables. Such innovations obviously affect interethnic relationships and I shall be returning to these later in my conclusions.

2 There is a striking similarity between the Indians of Aklavik and those of the tri-ethnic community of Great Whale River reported on by Johnson (1962) since the three factors mentioned above are also described for the latter community.

The first of these relates to the fact that intermarriage between members of the two groups had commenced. The second concerns the development of an incipient social class structure¹ based on occupational adaptation. For example, Smith (1968:21-28) discusses the division of native Delta society into three segments: people on the land, settlement dwellers not in continuous wage-earning employment, and settlement dwellers with continuous wage-employment. One pattern which has emerged out of this differential adaptation is the formation of some partnerships between some Indians and Eskimos, especially those not in continuous wage-employment. These partnerships now usually involve the use or sharing of hunting equipment such as boats, motors and skidoos.

1 Some indication of frustration and tension between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' in Aklavik, as well as intergroup feelings among the Eskimos can be gathered from the following written submission by an Aklavik Eskimo to the Carrothers Commission (Advisory Commission, 1965:777):

Why are the Alaskan Eskimos given more right than we Canadians and Indians? We Canadians and Indians were born here and stayed here all our lives but we have been given Labour jobs and poor houses. In the winter the Indians have no jobs at all. The only Indian with jobs are the Chief, Indian Agent, and the minister a few others (sic). And we Eskimos if we are not related to a (key Alaskan family) or a (key Alaskan family) we don't get anything at all. ... (her husband has) got a government job and when he goes somewhere for the government I'm left alone with five small children and I have to do all the work like empty the toilet, empty the slop bucket get oil and put oil in the stove if my stove is out I'll have to wait and see if someone I know comes round or let it stay out. And get something from the store I can't get much because we have no refrigerator. I think living on welfare is better than we live. They have better houses, they eat better. Some of them have refrigerators. In the winter we had to shut of (sic) the bedroom because it was so cold and yet (her husband) never ask for anything for us. But for the other people.

The decision to establish a new planned townsite in the Delta to replace Aklavik and the circumstances relating to its development are well documented and need not concern us here (see Boek and Boek, 1960; the Honigmans, 1970; Lotz, 1962; Robertson, 1955; 1956; and Rowley, 1954). The location of the new townsite is about 35 air miles east of Aklavik and its construction began in the mid-1950's precipitating a new wave of migrations into and within the Delta area. While no exact figures are available as to how many of the former white residents of Aklavik made the move to Inuvik, I would estimate their number to be between 125 and 150 (cf. Bissett, 1967:62-3). Regarding the non-whites the Honigmans (1970:59) state that by 1959 about 285 had settled in Inuvik, half of whom originally were residents of Aklavik. However, these figures in themselves give little indication of the movement which took place since many non-white families, as well as individuals were involved in temporary movements to and from the new townsite.¹ In comparison, the pattern of the whites has been different in that almost without exception those who moved did not return to Aklavik.

1 This migration in both directions continues today although now apparently limited more by the availability of accommodation rather than of jobs. For example, I learned from informants of 10-12 families presently living in Inuvik who wish to move to Aklavik but are prevented from doing so because of the lack of housing there.

While it is true that the social, affective and other bonds of many Aklavik residents extend far beyond Inuvik this settlement nevertheless is of particular importance in any discussion of contemporary Aklavik. Few Locals are without kinship ties with Inuvik residents but no Outsiders have kin there. Also, as would be expected of a relationship between a large and a small settlement, Inuvik is frequented a great deal by the Locals of Aklavik, much more so than the Inuvik people visit Aklavik. Local young people go there to attend high school, patients go to get medical attention at the hospital and, less frequently now, workers in search of employment. Visiting kin and friends is also a common reason for making the short trip and most of the travelling is done by means of the daily 'sched' flight or by chartering a small plane. In addition a large number of trips are made by the Aklavik people to fetch liquor from the government liquor store or hotels, or, by individuals bound for Inuvik "to have a good time." Depending on the individuals concerned the latter expression covers such activities as going on a drinking spree, attending sports events or dances, visiting with friends or perhaps participating in a 'Giant Bingo'.

Most trips are for short durations, a day or two perhaps, and a commonly heard expression on the return of individuals is something to the effect that, "Inuvik is a great place to visit

but I wouldn't want to live there." The regional capital, now with a population of almost 3,000, is viewed by the Aklavik people as a 'fast' town where not only is a great deal of money necessary to have a good time but also the speed with which the money is spent makes it an expensive place to visit. A commonly held view in Aklavik, even by those who are noted as heavy drinkers, is that there is too much drinking in Inuvik although it has been and, of course, continues to be used as a drinking place by Aklavikites. Interestingly, many of these drinkers and others also oppose the idea of reopening a liquor outlet in Aklavik which they claim would make the latter settlement "just as bad a place as Inuvik."¹

In comparison with Aklavik, Inuvik has a highly organized social life. Mailhot (1968:7) records a list of 48 voluntary associations active in 1965 representing various community, recreational, athletic, religious, economic and educational interests. Most of these groups energetically pursue their aims and are constantly in the public eye as a result of their activities. However, as Erwin (1968:14) and Mailhot (1968:17-34) maintain, many of these associations are organized by and mainly serve the interests of

1 The first liquor store in the Delta was opened in Aklavik in 1959 and transferred to Inuvik the following year when most of the other government agencies also moved. Many Locals perceived this as a strategy by the government to whet their appetites by reason of a readily available supply of liquor and then by moving the store to Inuvik lure the entire Local population to the new townsite.

the white transients, a point also made by the Honigmans (1965:118-9) in respect to Frobisher Bay; nevertheless, non-whites can and do participate in many of these groups' activities. While the Inuvik associations generally do not concern Aklavik residents directly nevertheless they can hardly be ignored since news of their meetings, programmes, fund-raising drives and other aspects of their work are broadcast daily by the C.B.C. radio station at Inuvik.¹

Although intra-community competition between associations would appear to be the main reason for these often enticing and compelling announcements rather than any desire for inter-community preeminence on the part of Inuvik, nevertheless, these messages do provoke a response from Local Aklavik residents. For example, Locals who enjoy an evening's Bingo in Aklavik with modest prizes are pointedly reminded that a 'Monster Bingo With \$1,000 in Prize Money' is being promoted in Inuvik, or when nearing the date of the main event in Aklavik's curling season, the invitational bonspiel, Inuvik is also advertising an International Bonspiel with appropriately more valuable prizes.

1 Very rarely do Outsiders listen to the programme 'Delta Roundup' or the messages and announcements which are broadcast three times daily. Indeed, the Outsiders seldom listen to the CBC radio at all, a fact which helps to distinguish them from the Locals who usually have their radios 'open' most of the day.

This pattern is found in relation to all sporting events with Inuvik providing larger prizes and a more seductive promotional campaign. Such factors undoubtedly influence both the individual and collective perceptions of the Aklavik residents towards their larger neighbouring settlement and also, I believe, have some bearing on the manner in which Locals react to their own associations. Significantly, however, such reminders that things are 'bigger and better' elsewhere in no way seems to detract from the Locals' enjoyment of their own sporting events. Also, although the smaller prize money is sometimes a cause of complaint, for example, in events such as dog team and skidoo races, the opportunity to excel publicly before an audience usually consisting of almost the entire population of one's own settlement would appear to outweigh the apparent advantages of gaining larger material rewards elsewhere. I shall later (Chapter V) be describing some of these Aklavik events where it will become apparent that a major difference between the voluntary associations in the two settlements is that in Aklavik minimal planning is evident, the organizers are mainly Local and, in terms of participation and interest, the events are supported largely by Locals with little involvement of Outsiders.

To return briefly to the manner in which Inuvik social life is viewed by the people of Aklavik, age and sex are two important variables. Teenagers and young adults are often openly

envious of the wider choice of entertainment and social activities available there but mainly remain ambivalent about wanting to live there. Teenagers, especially those living in hostels while attending school often experience difficulty in adjusting to the disciplines and the new social milieu in which they are placed (cf. Hobart, 1970). Some return home of their own accord while others are expelled. For example, out of 12 new students from Aklavik who started high school in Sept. 1969 only 3 remained in school in Inuvik by the end of that term. In respect to young adults, the unmarried Aklavik girls recognize the better opportunities available in Inuvik for meeting eligible males, both white and non-white, and also apparently have less difficulty in finding work there than do the males. As a result, young, unmarried females in Aklavik rather than unmarried males often view Inuvik more positively as a place to live. Among the older adults the wider choice of activities available in Inuvik are not necessarily viewed as attractions; in fact, many of the Aklavik families that did not move to Inuvik and those that moved and returned, based their decisions to do so to a large degree on their desire to avoid a way of life which they refer to as "too wild." This point of view is especially expressed by mothers with a number of children to care for who view Inuvik as being generally disruptive to family life. Indeed, for some Locals, old and young, Inuvik is viewed with some real fear as "Sin City" where

the potential for "trouble" is ever present. In comparison Inuvik is of little real importance to the Outsiders, except as a source of their liquor supply and the place where they will board the jet which takes them south. Lacking the social ties and contacts there that the Locals have, they rarely indicate any real enthusiasm for visiting the neighbouring settlement during their stay in Aklavik.

A number of observations are important in respect to other differences between the way of life in the two communities. In outlining the criteria for the new townsite (Robertson, 1956:7) emphasis was given to topographical and physical characteristics conducive to easier and less costly engineering development while no mention was made of the availability of the natural wild life resources for its resident population. As a result Inuvik is more poorly placed for exploiting the fish, fur and meat resources of the Delta than is Aklavik (see Bissett, 1967 and Boek and Boek, 1960). This is important especially in respect to the poorer residents of the area since the potential for their supplementing their income is obviously greater in Aklavik. In addition, game and fish, unlike cash, continue to be shared and used in exchange in Aklavik thus creating and solidifying ties with others. In comparison with this, Locals point out that in Inuvik, "if you don't have money you have nothing, not even friends." Also,

being a successful hunter, trapper or fisherman is likely to enhance the prestige of an individual, a fact which is true of the non-white residents of both communities but much more likely to be realized in Aklavik.

During the two decades of this period many changes have taken place in the extent of the government's role in Aklavik and in the type of relationships which have developed between Locals and Outsiders. Large schools and hostels and a hospital have been built in Inuvik to replace the mission operated services available previously in Aklavik which is now left with a ten-teacher school and a nursing station. Welfare has become more important as has the government's role in providing low cost housing for Outsiders and Locals alike. Although numerous employment opportunities became available with the construction boom in Inuvik during the middle 1950's there was a need for jobs in Aklavik also and as a result two projects, a small sawmill operation and a fur garment industry, were established there by the government. The sawmill came into operation in 1959 and provided seasonal employment for a gang of up to 25 men when in operation. However, the mill was moved to Arctic Red River in 1966 (Bissett, 1967:409-427). Of more lasting importance to Aklavik has been the fur garment industry started in 1959 and still operating today. Quality goods are manufactured from tanned skins and evidently no

difficulty is experienced selling the products through outlets in the North and elsewhere. This industry operates, however, as a co-operative and as such will be dealt with in the chapter following dealing with voluntary organizations.

In summarizing this Settlement Period, the following changes and developments may be emphasized. During the two decades since the decline of the fur economy, wage-employment has increased in importance although trapping, hunting and fishing are still carried on by Local Aklavikites. The beginnings of a social class structure based on occupational adaptation has been noted which results in new alliances being formed between some Indians and Eskimos. Inter-marriage between members of these two groups has also been a feature of this period.

The establishment of Inuvik in the mid-1950's brought momentous changes in Aklavik since many of the white and non-white residents of the former capital of the western arctic were either transferred or moved voluntarily to the new townsite. Aklavik survived, however, and retains its character as a separate settlement although linked to Inuvik by many social and other ties. To some degree Inuvik is perceived by Local Aklavikites as a kind of alter ego to their own community combining as it does a 'faster' way of life, with less emphasis on land based activities, and having a large population of whites. In comparison Aklavik life is quieter and presents the Local residents, especially those

without steady jobs, with exploitative opportunities in terms of land based resources, and also a less constant reminder of the wide gap between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' of present day Delta society. Voluntary associations have also been a new factor of this settlement period and it is to a discussion of them that we turn now.

CHAPTER III

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Voluntary associations are a recent development in nearly all northern communities. In most cases these types of social organizations have been initiated by the transient whites, usually with the intention of introducing some of the social and recreational amenities available in larger southern urban centers. (Little, 1957, in comparison, when describing the host of voluntary associations in new urban centers in West Africa sees them as developing spontaneously from the native societies themselves.) Generally, there appears to have been little interest paid to these organizations by social investigators, with the exception of Erwin (1968) and Mailhot (1968) who describe the Inuvik situation, the Honigmanns (1965) in respect to Frobisher Bay, and Vallee (1967) in dealing with the Povungnetuk Co-op, while Cohen (1966:66-70) quickly glosses over some organizations in three Indian communities. Sills (1959) points out that voluntary associations are both the instruments and the objects of change in the societies in which they operate. It is obvious also that they provide a milieu in which leadership can be both demonstrated and tested (Paine, 1965), different types of councils operate (Bailey, 1965), and in

which factions compete (Nicholas, 1965). What follows here is in no way intended to be a systematic and exhaustive discussion of voluntary associations in Aklavik but rather a brief outline of their past and present role in the life of the community.

The Aklavik Fur Garment Co-operative originally started as a vocational training project in 1959 with seven Eskimo trainees being instructed by a specialist brought in from the South (Lotz, 1962:17-18; McEachern, 1968:90-92). The industry was obviously a great source of pride to the community and McEachern (1968:98) states how the fur garments "had created a sensation among the people in the Delta and were greatly admired by those from the South." Bissett (1967:482-3) notes that in 1963 when the enterprise officially became a co-operative, 12 Eskimos and 4 Indians were listed as members. During 1969, 31 names appeared on the payroll of whom 18 are members of the co-op. (12 Eskimos, 3 Indians, and 3 Metis). The manager presently is a Local Indian male and the elected executive consists of 3 Eskimos and 2 Indians, all females.

A number of difficulties have faced the fur shop since its inception. The first of these concerns the relationships among the workers themselves. Informants have described how annoyed the non-Eskimo workers were that products were labelled as being the work of Eskimos, a policy apparently aimed at capitalizing on

the more favourable market enjoyed by Eskimo products. Tensions and friction are reported as being common features of the daily work scene at the plant where 20 or more females and 2 males comprise the usual work force, although apparently outbursts or direct hostile confrontation between workers are rare. Among the causes most often cited for these interpersonal tensions are interethnic and kin group rivalry, sexual jealousy, and drinking.

The male Indian manager till now has been involved primarily with the office procedures only ¹ and is guided in this role by an employee of the Industrial Division of the Territorial Government. The latter individual with a wide range of experience in the garment industry not only in the North, but for some 20 years in Quebec, is, in effect, the 'general manager' of the entire operation and it is to him that all the workers, including the supervisory staff, turn for directions and guidance. It is important to point out that this individual like many of the government co-op specialists before him (cf. McEachern, 1968:139) is respected and well liked by nearly all the staff.

1 He was absent on a co-op training course during the latter part of my stay and will presumably be more involved in the co-operative's plant operation on his return.

McEachern (1968:108, 130) describes how the first instructor attempted to appoint a number of competent workers as supervisors but met with resistance from the other workers --

the idea of having their activities directed by one of their own members was unacceptable to them. As one observer noted: "No one wanted to be boss and no one wanted to be bossed." 1

As a result the instructor was forced to recruit a manager from outside the work group and the present manager, hired in 1963, is the third individual to have held this position. It has been no easier to get a forelady who is acceptable to the workers and during my stay the Indian who held the position for several years, and who was also the president of the co-op, left to marry an Eskimo in Inuvik. She has been replaced by an Eskimo who is far less popular, with Eskimos no less than the Indian workers. While readily acknowledging this fact the government advisor spoke of the difficulty he faced since it was imperative that he have someone in the shop who could keep the written records in order and the present forelady was the only one with these abilities who could be persuaded to take the job.

1 (cf. Frankenberg, 1957:65, re leaders in the village).

"For while Pentre people are prepared in some circumstances, to accept the decisions of outsiders as binding upon them, they are sensitive to any attempt at uppishness on the part of fellow people of Pentre. Among themselves they consider that one man is as good as the next."

Not only have the workers been slow to acknowledge any fellow Locals in a supervisory role over them but apparently they have also been extremely reticent in participating in decision making as co-operative members. For example, McEachern (1968:110-115) discusses the workers' reluctance to express their views on hourly rates - vs - piece work rates, and in this and other matters "because of their experience with government officials they expected the Co-op Development officer to make (the decisions) for them."

The present government representative working with the co-op emphasizes that this pattern has apparently intensified over the years so that now with the industry busier than ever (1969 wages, \$38,975 as compared with \$13,281 in 1965) the workers' attitudes in some ways are more negative than ever before. He gave me a number of instances of this, for example, mentioning that "once where there was pride in their work, now there is none," that the workers have not the slightest interest in where their products go, nor do they ever speak of expanding the store, increasing sales or branching out into new lines. In addition, he states, there is little interest in their learning new jobs or skills, and he also pointed out the increasing rate of absenteeism, 37% for the year just concluded.

Regarding the directors, the government official mentioned that although the individuals "are proud of being elected

they don't know what to do with the position once they've got elected despite many people (i.e. co-op advisors) having talked to them about co-ops." The directors, "who are supposed to have the responsibility of running the co-op, making the decisions and informing the manager, who then carries them out, in fact, leave all the decisions to the manager who is not a director, and not even a co-op member." My own observations would indicate that the manager in his turn attempts to defer in this decision making as much as possible to the government supervisor just quoted.

In conclusion, then, the Aklavik co-operative, although important economically, occupies a strangely marginal position in the dynamics of the community. In comparison with the co-operative at Povungnetuk described by Vallee (1967), the Aklavik organization is significantly different in almost every way. For example, in Aklavik the co-op was started nearly a half century after the establishment of the settlement, and the workers, nearly all females, are representative of several ethnic backgrounds. Also, in Aklavik, no strong leaders have developed within the co-operative itself, nor has it produced leaders active in other areas of community

life.¹ The co-op is not spoken of at other group meetings nor have I seen it appearing in the minutes or correspondence of these groups. In addition, there are no discernible enthusiasts or co-op 'pushers' in Aklavik with the possible exception of the 'general manager' who is himself non-affiliated with other local organizations or their leaders. Finally, there is no evidence of inter-community links being formed through the co-operatives' actions (cf. Vallee, 1967:54). Representatives are sent to attend conferences and workshops but their lack of enthusiasm in going is also matched by their lack of input into the organization on their return in terms of new ideas, initiative and skills. Underlying this and some of the other patterns referred to is the apparent unwillingness of the fur garment co-op workers "to be boss or to be bossed" at least in reference to their fellow workers, thus leaving all effective decision making to an Outsider, the 'general manager', a pattern which we shall see repeated later in respect to other organizations.

1 Two possible exceptions to this are the manager who is also a councillor of the local Indian band and an elected member of the Settlement Council, and a Metis lady active for many years in both the Settlement Council and the Women's Institute. The latter is now a worker but not a member of the co-op. Interestingly, the manager in his two other elected positions maintains the same unobtrusive, low-keyed pattern of behaviour so characteristic of him in his co-op position.

The Aklavik Athletic Association, (which became the Aklavik Curling Club in 1951), was the main force in co-ordinating social and recreational events during the 1940's and early 1950's. During each year a wide variety of events were held which included dances, box socials, lunches, sports days, musical events, bingos and whist drives in addition to ongoing sporting competitions such as curling, football, softball and soccer. The July 1st Sports Day was always one of the main events of the year. A resume of one such event gives some idea of the organization involved:

Sports Day July 1, 1957

Booths: Home and School Association	-- hot dogs and ice cream
Women's Auxiliary	-- coffee and donuts
Navy	-- shooting gallery
Curling Club	-- fish pond and cold drinks
Canadian Legion	-- games
R.C. Mission	-- games
Skating Club	-- Bingo
Exhibition Softball Game	
Exhibition Boxing Tournament	
Dance at the school	

The proceeds from such events went toward the upkeep of the buildings used and for other purposes; for example, financing a trip by some Aklavik Boy Scouts in a southern jamboree, and

curlers to bonspiels in Fairbanks, Alaska.¹

A number of characteristics stand out regarding the organizational structure of the Curling Club and allied groups during the 1940's and 1950's. In nearly all cases the executives of the organizations were whites, including a significant number of Local whites. The latter point is important for two reasons: first, this produced a marked continuity in the operation of the organizations due to the fact that these whites were permanent residents of the community. Secondly, it emphasizes the influential position held by many of these Local whites. Another characteristic of these organizations is that the events, especially the major ones, were planned well in advance. For example, it was usual to start organizing for the July 1st Sports Day immediately after the late winter sports carnival had been run off. The schools were important also since not only were their staffs and facilities utilized but special activities were organized for the young people of the settlement. In addition, the list of organizations participating in the Sports Day shows that some of these were local branches of larger national organizations such as the Canadian Legion, Women's Institute, and the curling and skating clubs. Close contact was often maintained with other branches of the same organization elsewhere, a fact which helped to link Aklavik to the outside world.

¹ According to informants at one summer sports day held during World War II, \$3,000 was raised to purchase an ambulance for use overseas by the Red Cross.

Local informants express very positive opinions regarding the social life in Aklavik at that time, in terms of the variety of entertainment available. A significant feature of many of the events such as dances and sports days was that nearly everyone in the community participated, white and non-white, Outsiders and Locals, providing opportunities for informal social interaction (cf. Taylor, 1960:63,67,113). While this eased, to some extent, whatever social tensions may have been present between the various ethnic and cultural groups, in general individuals still tended to socialize and associate with others of the same type as before. For example, one white ex-resident described how some visiting between 'government whites' and natives occurred but this was often on special occasions like Christmas when the whites would have 'open house'. He went on to say that the whites concerned were "flattered by this visiting and it was a thing to boast about."¹

The movement of whites to Inuvik in the late 1950's brought about major changes in the organizational life of Aklavik. The most important of these was an increasing part

¹ The same individual also described how when his family moved to Inuvik they were surprised and dismayed to find that native families they had known well in Aklavik now would not visit them.

being played by non-white Locals on executive committees, which involved not only a change in their structure but also in the function and style of the organizations concerned.

The Home and School Association (later the School and Community Association and finally the Community Association since 1964) was one of the main organizations of this period and is usually referred to in connection with a particular school principal, Scott, resident in Aklavik from 1952-1964. This individual played an important role in the community's affairs during these transitional years. Through his encouragement and that of others like him, many non-whites who had remained in Aklavik began to emerge as organizational leaders in the community. Local parents were increasingly concerned with the education of their children and the Home and School organization at its regular meetings provided a forum for discussion not only of matters pertaining to education but also those relating to other aspects of community life.

At these meetings, as at other important public meetings, interpreters were used since the native population, although English-speaking to a certain degree, nevertheless often experienced difficulty in understanding the proceedings. Two difficulties were involved: the procedures themselves, such as making and amending motions and nominating individuals for

office, were unfamiliar, and the type of English used was difficult to follow. The latter is often referred to among the natives as 'High' English and concerns the idioms and concepts often expressed at meetings by the whites in comparison with the 'Low' English of everyday usage (cf. Mailhot, 1968:28).

The school principal used a variety of strategies to help overcome these difficulties and foster participation. The first of these was to insist that his staff use the simplest English possible in their discussions at the meetings. Secondly, he often combined the meeting with some other event such as a movie show thus providing a double bill of entertainment. In addition, coffee and light refreshments were always served, adding to the status of the evening as a social event. The coffee break as well as the 'smoke' breaks provided were used strategically at certain times in order that people might have a chance of discussing matters that had been introduced at the meeting thus providing for better understanding of the issues and participating in later discussions. Most non-white Locals in Aklavik are shy and reticent when it comes to taking part in public discussions partly out of deference to the more educated whites and also out of fear of losing face as a result of unsuccessful competition with more experienced debaters (cf. Mailhot, 1968:28). One strategy the principal used in an attempt to cope with this was

to address individuals in the audience who were active in some other organization or group. His inquiry would be something similar to: "John, you're a member of the Curling Club. How do you think the curlers would feel about (indicating the matter under discussion)?" In this way, "John" could reply that "the curlers" felt such-and-such thus being provided with some protective anonymity in that supposedly he was replying in reference to some group rather than offering his own individual opinion. Moreover, on such occasions it apparently was often possible to get several members of the same or other groups to respond to this kind of encouragement thus increasing the participation and interest of all concerned.

The school was important in other ways also. For example, following the establishment of Inuvik, which caused much resentment among many of the 'oldtimers' in Aklavik, it was a teacher who created the school crest with the inscription "Aklavik, Never Say Die." The motto quickly won Local acceptance since it articulated their total rejection of the idea that Aklavik was "doomed to extinction" as a result of the new settlement being built, or indeed that their settlement might sink into the Delta mud on which it stood, an imminent possibility according to some rumours circulating among certain influential Outsiders (cf. the Honigmanns, 1970:58). As a result, the motto was adopted

as the community's own and on occasion it was, and still is, prominently displayed and used as a rallying cry. Another factor, according to one informant, was that the teachers were required to devote, as part of their duties, 20 hours per month to community activities. As a result they were involved in a wide variety of activities often as leaders of recreational and sports events.. This stipulation is no longer in effect and, indeed, many of the present teachers, like the Locals, are unaware it ever existed. Difficulties arise, however, because the present teachers are not at all interested in any active role in community life while the Locals, basing their expectations on earlier patterns, are resentful that the teachers are no longer recreational leaders.

The Curling Club is still the main sports organization in Aklavik. Some idea of the change it has undergone over the years may be gathered from the following:

TABLE 2

Members of the Curling Club

	<u>1959/60</u>	<u>1960/61</u>	<u>1962/63</u>	<u>1969/70</u>
Whites (incl. Metis)	64	49	33	20 (est.)
Indians	5	5	13	6 "
Eskimos	7	5	11	24 "

There has been a significant increase in the number of Eskimo curlers and decrease in the number of white curlers; in addition, a further change is that most of the whites now curling, are Outsiders.

Also, where the Curling Club used to send rinks to play in bonspiels as far away as Fairbanks, Alaska, now no one travels farther than Inuvik or Fort Macpherson to outside competitions. In addition, the Club is no longer the co-ordinator of other events within the community; in fact, some friction is apparent as a result of the Club's severing its connections with the present co-ordinator, the Community Association. Another important point is that the Curling Club is now the only voluntary association supported by the bulk of the Alaskan Eskimos many of whom are among the best curlers in Aklavik.

The Community Association, which started in 1964, grew out of the earlier Aklavik Athletic and the Home and School Associations. It serves as the main sponsor of community activities such as dances, bingos, and similar events as well as being also involved in providing presents and candy for school children at Christmas, running a "Trappers' Rendezvous" Winter Carnival and supplying gas for boats used in search parties. Two aspects of the Association's work are worth mentioning: the efforts made to build a community hall and the Association's present leadership.

In 1963, the school principal made the proposal that the community erect a recreation building, "as utilitarian and unpretentious as possible so that it may be in keeping with

local standards" (Advisory Council Minutes, Oct.3,1963).

The Community Association became the agency which was to bring this about but in 1965 and 1966 various factions formed among the white members of the Association with the main points of dissension being the size, cost and type of building needed. Most of those responsible for making the decision that a hall was needed were Outsiders and apparently no real attempt was made for some time to enquire from the non-whites whether in fact they would support such a plan. Difficulties also arose because the Association was pressuring the Indians who had built and completely paid for their 'Native Hall' to turn over the ownership of this hall to the Association. Because of its run-down condition the Hall had been closed by the Medical Officer and the Community Association wanted to acquire the building and use it as a center for fund-raising activities for the new hall. Eventually, in November 1967, the Association persuaded the Indians to turn over the Native Hall to it on the condition that it would be renovated.

This precipitated a new problem since some of the white committee members wanted the Association to devote its full efforts to fund raising while others did not want this to interfere with or detract from their sports programmes, especially those involving the youth of Aklavik. The fund-raisers won the day and nine committees were struck to get on with the job of

raising \$10,000 within six months.¹ Bingos, raffles, dances, and other activities followed one another in rapid succession and as the time rolled on the chairman was even heard to ask at one meeting if they couldn't "sell next year's memberships this year" in order to bring in a few extra dollars. However, in mid-1968 the whole plan of building the new hall collapsed.²

Several factors contributed to this collapse. First, a number of Outsiders actively involved were either transferred, had left the community or resigned. Secondly, it became apparent that there were insufficient participating members to get the work done, and that it appeared especially doubtful that the Association had the support of the non-whites who presumably would have to do most of the actual construction work. Thirdly, differences of opinion between the various factions had not been resolved. In particular, Lloyd, a strongly influential Local white, was now against the whole idea contending that

1 The proposed building was to cost \$75,000 with the government paying half and Aklavik the other half although much of Aklavik's contribution was supposed to be in the form of hours actually worked on the construction of the hall.

2 The question of why do some Outsiders get deeply involved in such projects is intriguing in many ways, not least of which is the fact that in most cases, due to their transiency, they are rarely in the community long enough to use it themselves. One characteristic of some Outsiders known to the author is their apparent desire to leave some tangible monument or sign of their presence in the community before leaving. Structures such as community halls and curling rinks, both highly regarded by the government and other white establishments in the North, seem common choices for such endeavours.

a community hall would be merely duplicating the facilities available in the spacious new school then being built.

The Community Association was inactive for some months after this denouement until resurrected by a meeting of some concerned Locals at which a non-white slate of directors was elected. These held office for one year during which time nothing much appears to have been done. Finally, in November, 1969 at a meeting held in the new school principal's home the latter was elected as president with the remaining directors being all Locals.

The new president has been much criticized as a result of the Association's progress during the past year. Much of the criticism, which comes equally from Locals and Outsiders (except his fellow teachers) is aimed at his apparent unwillingness to provide leadership. Also the Locals continually refer to the more than \$5,000 which the Association still has as a result of its efforts to acquire a community hall, and wonder why this is not being used within the community. The principal, for his part, is caught in a number of personal and role conflicts. First, it is his stated philosophy that if the people want to have dances, sports and other activities they must become responsible enough to organize these themselves rather than constantly leaving it to some Outsider like himself to organize and "do

all the work." ¹ Secondly, the school which boasts a large gymnasium is his responsibility and he is reluctant to have it used unless he receives some assurance that it will not be damaged and that someone will see that it is cleaned up and left in order after use. Evidently it is difficult to get the Locals' cooperation in this to the degree he would like. Lastly, he has a staff of teachers and janitors to consider, and of these, the teachers are the more influential and it is obvious that they do not want to be involved in supervisory roles for extra-curricular activities. Also the teachers are quite possessive concerning the school and many get disturbed over scuff marks or cigarette burns on the linoleum covering the hallways and gymnasium floor.

In short, the school has been less of an asset in terms of a community hall than originally expected by the Local people and several problems as to its use have arisen which have had the effect of alienating the Locals and Outsiders involved.

1 An example of the problem that arises here is when young children play noisily on the gym floor during some public event such as a dance or Bingo. The parents usually make little attempt to stop their children leaving it to the teachers to do so, whereas the teachers in turn leave it to the parents to take the responsibility.

The Locals' expectations of the teachers as recreational leaders based on their involvement during the previous years is no longer being realized. The teachers like most of the present Outsiders are reluctant to accept such roles on the rationale that the Locals "if they want these activities badly enough they will do it themselves." This is, of course, what does happen to some extent with the latter organizing bingos, dances and sports on their own, using the movie theatre, the old Native Hall and the school when available. On such occasions the Locals are both the organizers and the participants with no Outsiders being normally present. The absence of Outsiders from such events is cause for further resentment by some Locals, further emphasizing the different social worlds of the two groups.

The absence today of any organized activities for young children or teenagers is marked in comparison with those of a decade or two ago. Here again the parents remark that "something should be done" and they turn to the Outsiders to do it. In fact, a number of Youth Clubs and similar groups have been attempted within the past several years but none has lasted very long. One young adult told me about a club that he had been active in and which he claimed had been fairly successful, " ... that is, if we were left alone ... Then (a new administrator) came and he had three teenagers of his own and wanted the Club run to suit them. I told him that if that's what he wanted then

go ahead and do it himself as I wouldn't have anything to do with it ... He was kind of mad but did run the Club anyway. He left a year later and the Club ended right there." However, relationships with the Outsider leaders wasn't the only difficulty since internal difficulties between the young people themselves based on ethnic differences and social class have also been factors which affected other attempts at forming youth clubs in Aklavik. For example, the youth of Aklavik when choosing friends, although they do not reflect the same kinship oriented behaviour of their parents, do, nevertheless, generally choose others of the same ethnic background and social standing as themselves; (religion is also a determining factor among some staunch Pentecostals). In addition rivalries among the members of influential Metis families and their supporters detract from the chances of establishing any truly community wide organization. In this respect it is significant that young people, like many adults, turn to Outsiders, particularly teachers and church ministers, to provide leadership and direction for such groups but, as I have already mentioned, there is a marked lack of enthusiasm among the latter to do so at present. There is a very real question, however, as to whether the youth of Aklavik actually do feel the need for a club of some kind. This introduces another variable since while many teenagers and young adults might favour some kind of organized recreation, it would be sports rather than

purely 'social' activities that they would seek. On the other hand those who seem most interested in having a 'social' club, "a place where we could go to meet our friends ... listen to music ... have our own dances, etc." and who, in fact, have been involved in several attempts at establishing such organizations, are female teenagers of influential Metis families who apparently have a very narrow range of social acquaintances and activities. For example, whereas a large number of the Local young people 'hang out' at the pool hall and frequent all the dances, many of these Metis teenagers are either discouraged from doing so by their parents or choose not to for personal reasons.

The Trappers' Association still exists in theory but has held no meeting since the summer of 1969 when a regional meeting of trapping representatives from each community was due to take place. On that occasion Aklavik sent two Metis trappers to the meeting. Nearly all of the trappers I spoke with, especially the whites and Metis, expressed strong criticism of the government which they feel is no longer interested in trapping as an important economic activity. As a result they see little value in maintaining their association since, as one trapper put it, "the government makes all the decisions anyway; they don't give a damn about us ... they with their (wildlife) experts know it all and we who've lived all our life in the bush know nothing."

Another group which is more or less inactive is the local Indian Band Council. The Aklavik Indians became a distinct band separate from that of Fort Macpherson in 1964. The present chief and his councillors rarely meet. He has described to me his unsuccessful attempts to convene the band on a more regular basis but says that even with his visiting each Indian household personally to tell them of the meeting, few ever come, and those who do are invariably the oldest, "who are mostly interested in talking about 'the old days' and not about today." The chief was an active trapper until 1969 when he suffered a bad accident and now has considerable difficulty even in getting around the settlement. Although his physical disability is obviously a handicap in relation to his council activity, so also is his rather anomalous position as intermediary and spokesman for his group. Cohen (1966:68) discusses precisely the latter point in reference to three other northern communities:

The tribal organization was set up in 1921 and is still considered a "white man's idea" although people all recognize that the "chief" and his councillors are, supposedly, spokesmen for other "tribal" members. ... They had no authority over local members and any attempt on their part to impose such leadership is immediately resented; "we don't like a bossy chief" is the universal response to the functioning of the tribal hierarchy. In such an atmosphere it is not surprising that the chief often sees his position as one in which he should simply make demands for himself rather than his people. Indeed, most people like to speak to the Indian agent or other officials alone rather than in a meeting, since their greatest concern is over the personal gain that they can achieve through contact with the potential donor.

(cf. Johnson, 1963:21 for almost exactly the same statement in respect to the Indians at Great Whale River). This appears to be the position in Aklavik where the government agents make a minimal token of consulting with the chief in his role as spokesman for the local band; indeed, one such official commented on this fact to me in terms of, "he's just another five dollar Indian to me." Consequently, individual Indians, as pointed out by Cohen, approach the administrator and other government agents directly, and are encouraged to do so by them, thus bypassing the band structure entirely. Other factors, such as jealousy between certain Indian kin groups and generational differences in values also affect whatever potential for action the Band Council might have.

Of much significance also is the influential position of a Metis lady, Mrs. Stockholm, who holds the allegiance of a small group of Indian ladies who are much active in community affairs. In comparison with the chief, Mrs. Stockholm does have the ear of the administrator as well as considerable experience and skills in dealing with Outsiders. She visits widely among the Indians, speaks Loucheux fluently and as a result is in many ways a more important source of information to them than the chief.

Mrs. Stockholm has been associated with the Women's Institute since a branch was formed in Aklavik in 1962. Several

Outsider ladies, among them the earlier principal's wife, are credited with the idea of starting the W.I. in Aklavik with one of their aims being to encourage leadership among the Local women. As a result, these Outsiders served as sources of information and ideas to the other ladies and remained 'ordinary' members while Local women were usually voted into the executive positions. Mrs. Stockholm, as one of the latter was the first elected president, a position she has held for seven years being vice-president the other two years.

During the first few years, monthly meetings were held in the Old School and these were attended by a dozen or so ladies of whom a couple were always Outsiders (teachers, nurses, wives of government officials, etc.). The activities of the group included preparing a Christmas dinner for members, visiting the Old Folks Home, carol singing, sending get-well cards and small gifts to local women in hospital, raising money for baseball teams by running bingos, and preparing and serving meals at local events. The group has sent delegates to W.I. conferences in various centers on several occasions.

By mid-1967, the Outsiders had gradually stopped attending the meetings and there followed a three year gap, to mid-1970, before the next meeting was held. This does not indicate, however, that the W.I. was defunct during this period since, in fact, it is still in healthy operation although not

necessarily involving itself in so many activities or, the same kind of activities as previously. During the years when Outsiders were participating, the Local members included Indian, Eskimo and Metis. However, this has altered since then, and the group now consists mainly of Indians. Secondly, whereas the organization initially followed a pattern introduced by Outsiders, now the group's activities have acquired a distinctive Local character. I shall be returning to a description of the Women's Institute in action in Chapter V.

Two natively-oriented voluntary associations that have been attempting to gain some footing in Aklavik, are the Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood, and the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE), the latter being a regional organization with an Inuvik headquarters. Generally, the response from the Locals in Aklavik has been non-committal to both these groups and only a handful of people have indicated any kind of outright support for them. For example, when representatives of the former association visited Aklavik to hold a meeting, only eight Aklavikites showed up. It is apparent, however, that Locals are closely following their progress since the provocative, anti-Establishment viewpoints expressed by these groups do echo, to some degree, similar feelings of many Aklavik residents.

Three churches have congregations in Aklavik: the Pentecostal, the Roman Catholic and the Anglican. The responses of informants as to their church group affiliation are set out in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3
Ethnic Status and Church Group Affiliation
in Aklavik, 1970

	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Roman Catholic</u>	<u>Pentecostal</u>	<u>Other Responses</u> (incl. no religion)	
Eskimo	246	25	27	17	315
Indian	191	20	0	0	211
Metis	60	43	3	6	112
Local whites	4	3	0	8	15
Outsiders	7	7	5	28	47
Totals	508	98	35	59	700

It would appear, however, that some adjustments perhaps need to be made, since in response to my questioning at the time

of collecting this demographic data many informants whom I would later describe as Pentecostals identified themselves as Anglicans. This is not altogether inconsistent since some do attend both churches, while others who worship primarily in the Pentecostal Church were baptized and married in the Anglican church and presumably will eventually be buried in the Anglican cemetery there. However, the most important fact is that the Pentecostal Church started in the mid-1950's, is predominantly an Alaskan Eskimo group, many of whom are interrelated by consanguinal and affinal ties. Already mentioned is the fact that this group generally remains aloof from active support of other voluntary associations within the community with the exception of the curling club.

The Roman Catholic Church is a small one and there is some talk of removing the priest in charge entirely because of greater need for his services elsewhere. The priest, who has been in Aklavik and the Delta area for a considerable period of time, has been an active member of community activities and has held executive positions in some organizations. The various ministers, both Locals and Outsiders, of the Anglican Church have also been strong supporters of community activities and have figured prominently in organizational committees. One differentiating factor between this church and the other two is

that the Anglican church had three church services, one each in English, Loucheux, and Eskimo, although now with a small white congregation, the English and Loucheux services have been combined. This ethnic division also applied to the Women's Auxiliary which up to the time it ended three years ago had both an Indian and an Eskimo branch each operating separate from one another.

The Aklavik Fire Department has been in operation since 1949 and has a present strength of 14 volunteer fireman: 6 Eskimos, 1 Indian, 4 Metis and 3 whites. The Fire Chief, an Eskimo, is also the government foreman in the community. The local Fire Department, unlike similar groups in some larger centers, is not involved in any other duties or activities other than those connected with fire fighting.

Two organizations remain to be discussed, both government sponsored, the Housing Association and the Settlement Council. The Aklavik Housing Association was started in 1969 in connection with the Northern Rental Housing Program which is aimed at improving housing conditions in the North and making low cost housing available to those who need it. Anyone who is presently renting a house from the government or is interested in acquiring a rental house, is eligible to join the Association. Excluded, however, are those who occupy government staff housing, mostly Outsiders such as teachers, nurses, police, power plant supervisor,

and some administrative staff. The Association elects an executive of five individuals annually who each receives an honorarium in excess of \$100 for their services.¹ The executive meets monthly with the administrator and his clerk, who acts as the Association's secretary, to discuss the community's housing needs, decide who is to get new housing and to report on how houses are cared for. The executive also has full authority to evict or move people to other dwellings, and also to set rents. The Association holds only one public meeting each year at which time new officers are elected; otherwise, all business is transacted in closed sessions. With the exception of one Eskimo being replaced this year by a Metis, the executive has been unchanged during the last two years and now consists of 3 Metis and 2 Indians.

The Settlement Council (known as the Advisory Council until June 1970) holds open meetings each month in the Court Room of the administrative building. The Council originated from a proposal by Scott, the school principal, in 1961 and originally consisted of four appointed and two elected members under the

¹ The Fire Department also rewards its members monetarily. They receive \$5 for each fire attended and \$2 for a false alarm.

chairmanship of the government administrator. Since 1965, however, all members have been elected Locals with only one exception.¹ Essentially the Council has operated as an advisory body on local government matters to the administrator; in late years it has had, at least theoretically, increased powers in the allocation of money for service contracts and community development. The administrator is the key link between the Council and higher levels of the Territorial Government and all correspondence pertaining to Council business is carried on through his office. The minutes of the Council meetings are now sent to eight destinations outside Aklavik and correspondence in the Council's files indicate they are minutely perused by highly placed government officials.

For several years the Territorial Government has been attempting to get the council to accept more responsibility for running its own affairs, by having the council and the people

1 To my knowledge there are no restrictions, legal or otherwise which would prevent Outsiders from being nominated as councillors. However, judging from the present population of Outsiders in Aklavik these are generally quite disinterested in the work of the Council and usually know less about it than the Locals. The only exceptions to this, such as the school principal, the administrator, power plant superintendent, and R.C.M.P. corporal, become interested in certain aspects of Council business because it involves or impinges upon their official positions. This matter will be returned to later in the discussion of the Council in action.

of Aklavik advance their community status to that of hamlet.¹ This would change the largely advisory nature of the present group to a municipal type council having some form of local tax revenue under the direction of a town secretary-manager. However, there has been very little enthusiasm for this proposal among the councillors and other white and non-white entrepreneurs who express two objections. The first of these relates to their own unwillingness to be burdened with either a poll or a property tax,² and the second concerns their expressed opinion that most of the non-white Locals are as yet unprepared and unwilling to accept such a responsibility. Meanwhile, it would appear that these influential Locals have considerable opportunity to discuss the matter

1 Settlements in the N.W.T. are at present officially graded in terms of the type of their local government as municipalities, villages, hamlets, settlement councils, and undeveloped settlements having no councils.

2 While nearly all land and dwellings in Aklavik are government owned most of these entrepreneurs are among the few residents who own their properties, and as a result are perhaps justifiably worried that they would be the only ones paying property taxes if such were introduced. At no time during my stay, however, did the question of hamlet status become a serious public issue in the settlement and factions representing different sides of the issue, although present, still remain generally dormant. Nevertheless it would appear significant that with the opportunity apparently available to acquire a greater responsibility in terms of the management of their own community the Locals show no enthusiasm for doing so and continue to berate the government administrator for "running everything."

with their non-white neighbours and in doing so they usually stress the fact that such a change would involve no extra benefits for the latter.

Council proceedings are generally very low-keyed affairs with the Local councillors having little to say. However, one white Local who also has held a seat on the Territorial Council for many years, has held a dominant and loquacious position on the Aklavik Council since early in its history. He did not run in the 1970 election however, and the present council consists of eight members -- 1 white, 4 Metis, 2 Eskimos and 1 Indian. Three of the councillors are females.

Some kinds of voluntary associations are found in all northern settlements and further investigation of their dynamics would seem appropriate. From a brief discussion of those associations found in Aklavik a number of observations may be made.

Outsiders in Aklavik control some of the valuable resources pertaining to the operation of the voluntary associations; for example, the school and the Court Room, both needed for meetings and various functions, come under the jurisdiction of the school principal and the administrator. In addition, Outsiders also possess skills that many Locals recognize as being important in certain aspects of organizational

life. These include knowledge of how to obtain funds from Outside sources and experience in planning and 'book-work'. As a result many Locals have expectations of such Outsiders participating in the associational life of the community, expectations that are strongly augmented by the tradition of Outsider participation in the past. It is important to point out that having Outsiders as organizational leaders in Aklavik serves precisely the same functions as those commented upon by Frankenberg (1957) in respect to his Welsh village, namely that it helps to prevent conflict among Locals by having strangers in certain key organizational offices as well as providing a convenient non-Local scapegoat should the need arise.

Only two Outsiders are presently active in any organization ¹ and it would appear that in both cases each has a particular type of self-interest involved. The school principal as president of the Community Association is much concerned with the group's claims on the use of the school. Meanwhile, the administrator is active in two associations, the Settlement Council and the Housing Association, both of which he is obliged to work with because of his occupational role and both of which

1 I am omitting for the present the administrator's and the power plant superintendent's membership in the Fire Department since these are ascribed rather than voluntary roles. Also omitted are two other whites who were members of the Curling Club executive but who resigned early in the season.

affect his own job security to a large extent. Later I shall be describing how he does occasionally become involved with other organizational activities which reflect the same self interest just noted.

Notably absent at the present time are any indications of Outsiders participating in organizational life for motives that might be described as "in the interests of the community" as was obviously the case, for some at least, in years gone by. The Outsiders' philosophy as stated earlier is, "if the Locals want some event or activity badly enough they'll do it themselves; if we want something we'll do it ourselves too." However, when the Locals do take the initiative they are often secretly and sometimes openly derided because their way of doing things is different (i.e. inferior) to that of the Outsiders. For example, the president of the Community Association and dynamic organizer for the proposed community hall who was also a very keen curler told me in 1969,

It is unfortunate but inevitable that these whites (dynamic individualistic types like himself) are going to end up running things locally. They aren't going to sit on their arses and let locals mess around with organizing curling clubs. They want things to go right and they want them now! ... If (R.C.M.P. corporal, president of the Curling Club) hadn't gone around and organized the curling banquet on Monday but left it to the locals we'd have had a banquet anyway, probably just as good a supper, but the whites wouldn't have known whether it would be ready by 6:30 or not and that's the bit they couldn't stand -- the uncertainty of knowing whether it was going to happen or come off at all!

Another factor that distinguishes Outsiders from Locals in respect to voluntary associations is that the Outsiders normally have very little understanding or knowledge of what has gone on before in the history of any organization before their arrival. For example, organizational records are scanty. Very often previous executive members of organizations have already left the community before the newcomers have arrived. As a result, a new Outsider is unable to learn from their experience, good or bad, in a challenging cross-cultural situation. This would also seem to offer the Locals some opportunities based on the Outsider's personality and disposition to guide or mold the newcomer into a way of acting that is advantageous to their own interests.

Related to this last point is the importance of style and personality in the perceptions of influential Outsiders by Locals. For instance, the present administrator although respected is looked upon as too much of a controller and leader in his own organizational sphere, whereas the present school principal is criticized in school matters and as president of the Community Association because he does not lead enough. In comparison the earlier principal mentioned was able to maintain respect as an educator, leader and when occasion demanded, as an administrator to the extent that the Locals had the new school named after him, an honour to a living person that is unique in the North.

There is a strongly stated opinion among many Locals that they don't know what is going on in respect to the organizational life of their community in comparison with a few years ago. A number of people have told me how all the meetings then were public ones. This is not the case as associational records still available readily show. However, three factors are seemingly involved in creating this impression. First, there is now more polarity between Outsiders and Locals with less information flowing between them. Secondly, 'High' English is more commonly used at meetings, especially those of the Settlement Council and Housing Association, and also interpreters are no longer utilized at meetings. Thirdly, there is a decreasing effort made to advertise meetings in comparison with a decade ago and especially no attempt to communicate in advance what issues are likely to be discussed at these meetings. In addition, there is a very limited effort to publicize post-facto what decisions are reached at meetings.

The contrast with the Inuvik organizations is important. Firstly, Inuvik meetings are well advertised on the radio and such announcements often include mention of the main items to be discussed. Secondly, the radio reporters provide a daily review of recent events in Inuvik which usually includes not only reports of the more important meetings but also a large number of interviews with the mayor and other organizational leaders. As a result,

some Aklavikites know more about the issues related to Inuvik life than they do about their own settlement. It is hardly surprising therefore, that organizational leaders in Aklavik, particularly the two key Outsiders involved are looked upon as a very poor second in comparison with those in Inuvik.

The last points would seem to indicate the increasing importance of Locals as information brokers who as members of various executives would appear to be strategically well placed for the dissemination of such information. While such brokerage does occur to some extent, for example, in the case of Mrs. Stockholm already mentioned, nevertheless social restraints and sanctions are also in effect on these brokers in that too much enthusiasm and commitment on their part is likely to be reacted to negatively by Locals as evidence of their "acting white" and being "pushy" (see Smith, 1970:6 for a similar observation). Furthermore, it is also important to point out that while local Aklavikites will accept other Locals occupying seats on various committees and councils they are quick to reject these same individuals if the latter attempt to mobilize or direct them. That is, while Local "spokesmen" are not negatively sanctioned, "leaders" to a large extent are, especially those who are non-whites. ¹

¹ This fact is reflected in the R.C.M.P.'s repeated failures during the past year to recruit any non-white to the position of local magistrate whereas this apparently has been achieved in some other northern communities.

One reflection of this pattern is that now with fewer whites involved in associational work, debates and argumentative discussion rarely occur at public or closed meetings; instead, agreement is usually reached consensually. The relation of these characteristics to what Bailey (1965) describes as arena and elite type councils will later be discussed in Chapter IV in reference to the Settlement Council.

Frankenberg (1957) describes how much enthusiasm, conflict and emotion were generated in the village of Pentre-diwaith in relation to the composition, discussions and decisions of its various voluntary associations. This is obviously also true of Aklavik although there the residents are notably more restrained in their responses to such organizations, disclaiming interest to some degree or, if interest is admitted, it is usually negative criticism rather than positive support. However, there is another aspect of such associations, especially recreational ones as Frankenberg (1957:152) points out, which "serve, as the football club did ... as a symbol of village prestige and unity in the face of the outside world." This also was most apparent in Aklavik and it was in relation to events such as curling bonspiels, sports days and similar occasions that Aklavik came alive, as it were, as a community. On such days it was the events and the activities connected with them that were important for the Locals rather than the organizations concerned. Indeed, I was

struck by the strategic importance of individuals rather than organizations on such occasions.

Finally, of the eight voluntary associations presently in existence in Aklavik, analysis of the ethnic background of their elected officials is shown in Table 4 and the number of elected offices held by each of these people appears in Table 5.

TABLE 4

Ethnic Background of Elected Officers

	<u>No. of people</u>
Indian	8
Eskimo	6
Metis	8
White	4
	<hr/>
	26

TABLE 5

Number of Elected Offices Held

	<u>No. of people</u>
1 office	21
2 offices	4
3 offices	1
	<hr/>
	26

From the above it will be seen that all ethnic groups are represented and most of those involved hold office in only one

voluntary association.

The important matter of how these specific individuals come to be chosen has not been dealt with yet. I shall be dealing with some aspects of this in the next chapter but a brief summary of the factors involved are called for here. A decade or so ago when non-white Locals began to appear on committees they did so usually as a result of the encouragement and help they received from Outsiders with whom they were often involved in a patron/client relationship. However, Local whites such as Lloyd also sponsored non-whites onto committees and in time the non-whites themselves have taken to sponsoring others from among their Local neighbours. All three of these patterns are still in effect but it must be noted that the sponsorship offered does not always entail either a covert or an overt invitation to become a client of the sponsor.

In respect to the selection of executive officers other factors are also involved. For instance, Locals see the need for a proposed committee member to be in the settlement most of the time and also do not favour an individual holding office in too many organizations. In addition, a person may come to public notice because he or she has demonstrated certain talents or abilities necessary for a particular office. For example, the secretary in the government office is also secretary of the Settlement Council and Community Association. Also, an

Indian lady after some service as the postmistress was elected to the Housing Association executive and also to the post of Community Librarian.

In many cases committees are elected, officer by officer, without the need to call for actual voting, whereas in other associations such as the Settlement Council, a full scale election is usually required. In either case most Outsiders and also more than a few Locals, view the elected members as a "bunch of do-nothings." While on a very superficial level this might appear as a sound evaluation nevertheless there are sociological factors involved which dictate the necessity for such a "do nothing" response. I shall be dealing with these in later chapters. It would certainly appear to be difficult if not impossible, however, for the individual members of any executive simultaneously to please both Outsider and Local interests and expectations. What this involves in strategy both of Outsiders and Locals will be the subject of the next chapter on the administration and the Settlement Council.

CHAPTER IV

THE ADMINISTRATOR AND THE SETTLEMENT COUNCIL

The Administrator

The administration building of the Territorial Government in Aklavik is situated 'downtown' being adjacent to the three stores, the police compound, power plant and hotel which contains the coffee shop and the pool hall. The post office is located in the rear of the administration building. In the grassy yard in front of the building stands the flag pole on which the Territorial and Canadian flags fly providing a convenient and closely observed weather vane for the community. Beside the flag pole stands a notice board, bare except for a few rusty thumb tacks embedded in its blackboard like surface. The 'admin' building itself is an aging two storey wooden structure that fits in well with the rather decrepit general appearance of Aklavik. The top floor contains three two-bedroom apartments one of which my family and I occupied during our stay, the other two serving occasionally as temporary accommodation for visiting mechanics or tradesmen. The main floor consists of a large general office staffed by a female secretary and male clerk. It is divided by a counter providing a waiting room at one end complete with long bench, assorted government brochures and

magazines on a stand, and a tackboard bearing various government notices. The offices of the Social Development worker, Game Officer, and Maintenance Supervisor are entered from this waiting room. The administrator's office is behind the general office as is the court room which serves also as staff coffee room and meeting place for various organizations.

To a large degree both the offices and those who occupy them are readily accessible to all who enter. Although I have never seen the door closed on any of the offices, with the occasional exception of the administrator's, the offices are large enough to ensure privacy if such is desired. The administrator spends most of his time in his office where he can usually clearly hear the nature of requests or complaints directed at his secretary or clerk. Then, depending on the circumstances, he can either allow them to handle the matter themselves or enter the general office to direct the discussion or ask the visitor into his own office to discuss the matter privately. In this way, with the exception of enquirers seeking to speak to either the welfare or game officers, it is the administrator who usually decides whether a subject shall be discussed publicly or not.

In present day Aklavik the position of administrator is a key one in terms of responsibility, authority and influence. In specific terms, as senior government official he has direct responsibility for management of all facilities and programs operated by the local government branch of the Territorial Government.

These include the maintenance of buildings, town planning, public utilities and services, supervision of employees and associated duties. However, in a more general sense, as a result of his seniority, he has an indirect but nevertheless very real interest in practically all affairs within the community. For example, through him each of the other government agencies -- the R.C.M.P., the nursing station, game office, welfare department and school submit monthly reports of their operations which he includes in his own reports. These in essence provide his superiors with an abbreviated, up to date history of the community and would appear to indicate that although he does not control these other agencies, their activities involve and affect his position.

I am uncertain as to the criteria the administrator's superiors in Inuvik and Yellowknife use in evaluating his performance. Certainly it would be expected that they should receive no serious complaints as to his decisions or behaviour from the local residents. In addition, from references appearing in government publications (e.g. Annual Report of the Commissioner of the N.W.T., 1969:45) it would appear that the administrator is expected to work with and encourage Local leaders.

Although Aklavik is not isolated to the degree many other northern communities are, a great deal of information that is communicated between the settlement and the 'outside' world continues to flow through government agents. Thus, local people desiring information on education, job opportunities, welfare, fur auction

prices and a multitude of other matters usually seek it through government personnel or those who have access to them. In this way incoming information is funnelled through government personnel as is outgoing information to departmental seniors and other agencies. To understand the full significance of this it must be explained that in comparison to a similar sized southern community where most of the inhabitants are 'free agents' in that they work for a variety of employers and have their own school board, medical doctors in private practice and so on, the Aklavik people are tied directly to the government in its role of chief employer, welfare agent, medical advisor, educator, landlord, and law enforcement agent. The government supervises the birth of an individual in the hospital or nursing station and it also provides the coffin for his funeral. As a result the information-gathering and -transmitting roles of the local government agents can be seen as being important to both their superiors in distant centers and the residents in the local community. In addition their control of the flow of information becomes one of the main mechanisms by which the local agents, and in particular the administrator, can effectively provide a "definition of the situation" in their own terms.

The present administrator came to Aklavik in 1968 following many years of work on an Indian reserve in southern Alberta. He is an intelligent, well-read individual with considerable understanding of the various interests represented in the local

population. However, his knowledge extends mainly to those leaders and members of his staff with whom he is in most contact and he has had no personal contact with many residents. Like most of the whites he has a more positive, friendly opinion of the Eskimos in comparison with the Indians whom he views as generally deceitful and untrustworthy. Both he and his wife are English and display almost caricaturish examples of 'typical English' behaviour on occasion. Certainly his home is his castle and visitors are rarely invited in. This is especially true of the Local Aklavik population very few of whom have ever crossed his threshold. Few Outsiders visit his home either and the only person he socializes with to any degree is the school principal whom he considers to be of somewhat similar status.¹

If the administrator does not socialize with people in his home neither does he outside it. He and his wife often go for walks with their two dogs but do not stop and talk with those they meet; in fact it is quite noticeable that they would rather not

1 Conflict may arise in some settlements where the status hierarchy among the whites is not clearcut (Dunning, 1959:119; Vallee, 1967:101-2, 106-12). This is not the case in Aklavik where the administrator is officially recognized as the senior government official. He himself considers the school principal, who supervises a staff of ten teachers, to have a status almost as high as his own. This point of view, as he once pointed out to me in a joking manner, is apparently shared by his superiors since they provided the principal and himself with identical dwellings and furnishings, which are superior to those of the other government employees. In respect to their social habits, the principal does not socialize with his staff either, but was one of the only Outsiders during the last few years to socialize and 'party' with his non-white neighbours. The latter atypical behaviour has lately decreased but is mentioned for its possible utility to the administrator in terms of information management.

acknowledge that others are near so that they don't have to salute them. Neither he nor his wife are curlers, go to movies or attend any of the social or recreational events that occur in the community except those in which he appears to have a vested interest. For example, his participation in organizations is limited to the Settlement Council and the Housing Association at both of which his involvement is mandatory by reason of his administrative position. He regularly visits the recently re-opened library of which his wife was temporarily in charge, partly, I suppose, to keep her company.¹ Otherwise I saw the administrator involved in only two other community activities -- the Mail Run and the Canoe Race -- both Centennial events sponsored by the Territorial Government.¹ He and his wife occasionally attend parties given by some of the Outsiders, notably the teachers, but these are always 'all white' affairs. During my nine months in Aklavik no party was held at the administrator's residence although the latter proudly sports an 'English pub' in the basement.

How does this individual see his role as administrator? In his talks with me he stressed that he is neither an educator nor a community developer. He deplores the self-aggrandizement that

¹ I do not wish to give the impression that the administrator is unusual in the limited involvement he displays in respect to local social and recreational activities. The opposite is true, in fact, since he actually participates more than any other Outsider.

goes on among top civil servants mentioning, for example, the steady stream of glossy booklets and other publications that display pictures and glowing personal accounts of senior civil servants. Instead, he holds the view that civil servants should be as anonymous as possible and that he does not consider it as part of his job that he should score highly in a local popularity poll.

He feels that "if anything goes wrong" in the settlement he is held responsible and therefore he has no compunction about making decisions. For example, he says there is little participation by Aklavik residents in community affairs and,

it's just as well. Then you can do what has to be done. ... There's too much talk about participation up here. You don't have it (participation) in the south in local matters. Local councils make decisions about such things as sewage and the people are never consulted nor should they be. These decisions are for government to take....

The Administrator and the Council

The Aklavik Settlement Council meets in the evening of the first Wednesday of each month in the Court Room. Usually the meeting is announced on the Inuvik radio the day before but sometimes this does not happen. No notices appear in the general office or any of the other places where notices are usually put in the settlement. The administrator usually contacts the councillors himself or has someone remind them that a meeting is

being held and may use his government vehicle to pick them up if necessary. Usually there are few spectators -- during my stay eleven was the highest number and several times there were none at all. The administrator has little interest in encouraging spectators to come to Council sessions; on the contrary it is clear that he is happier when none are present.¹

The meetings usually start a little late although generally the councillors are present at the appointed hour. The delay is often caused by the administrator calling individual councillors to his nearby office for short private chats. Some councillors have told me that these conversations usually concern some item of business that is to be brought up later in the meeting and that the administrator wants to be told about items they wish to introduce. My informants also added that he then indicates whether they should in fact raise the matter or hold it so that they can discuss it with him later or leave it so that "he can look into it."

The meeting takes place round a long table under the Canadian and Northwest Territories flags. Portraits of the Queen and the Fathers of Confederation add to the formal atmosphere and those people present usually refrain from speaking or do so

1 The suitability of the Council meetings for a full scale 'Goffmanesque' analysis will become apparent in the description that follows here but I shall instead restrict myself to specific observations at the end of this section.

quietly with their neighbours. The administrator meanwhile bounces jovially in and out of the room to fetch file folders, maps and similar associated paraphernalia of officialdom. As he does so he directs private jokes at various councillors who by now are around the table. Generally their response is to smile lukewarmly and perhaps utter some kind of rejoinder usually unintelligible to the audience and perhaps to the administrator also. These attempts by the administrator aimed at the councillors to "jolly them along" have the effect of further isolating the spectators in the background.

One councillor, the clerk, sits always to left of his superior facing the audience and is the recipient of many whispered comments and witticisms by the latter during the meetings. Most of the comments, or at least those which I could hear, related to administrative matters, such as the content or location of specific items of interdepartmental correspondence, and the clerk responded readily to these interjections without any signs of hesitancy or uneasiness. However, in respect to the personally directed joking of the administrator the clerk's discomfort often became quite apparent. This was possibly due to the fact that the witticisms, which usually related to some experience or incident originating in their daily work activities, hinted at shared secrets (cf. Goffman, 1959:141-44) and a close relationship between the two. Obviously while the two did share 'secrets'

in terms of information that came to them in the course of their administrative activities and they were united in a relatively close relationship as a result of their association at work, the clerk, Burns, nevertheless was apparently intent on communicating to the other councillors and spectators that vis-a-vis the administrator, "I am only the clerk." Meanwhile, from the administrator's behaviour it might be interpreted that "he's a clerk plus," the plus here ambiguously referring to a confidant or client relationship likely to set Burns apart from his fellow Locals. I shall be returning to the connotations of this type of situation later in respect to Mrs. Stockholm, and also in the concluding chapter.

The administrator sits at one end of the table and Mrs. Stockholm, the chairwoman, at the other, with the councillors fairly evenly divided on both sides of the table. The area in front of the administrator is taken up by the file folders, minutes of previous meetings and other papers. The area in front of the councillors is usually empty except for the odd few who remembered to bring their copy of the previous meeting's minutes. Three ashtrays are on the table for the use of the councillors but none are supplied for any spectators present. The latter sit on chairs to one side of the main table and therefore face the backs of the councillors sitting on that side.

The meeting begins when the administrator gives some indication to the chairwoman that he is ready. The recording

secretary for the meetings is the administrator's secretary, who is also the daughter of the chairwoman. However, she usually attends less than half the meetings and when she is away the administrator himself acts as secretary. The proceedings get under way when Mrs. Stockholm murmurs something about, "... the minutes of the last meeting...." The administrator asks if everyone has received his copy and most answer affirmatively adding that they forgot to bring it to the meeting. A few extra copies are fetched from the general office by the clerk. The administrator then indicates what action or correspondence was initiated in respect to various motions appearing in the minutes. When this is concluded he indicates the pile of folders in front of him and declares that he has an amount of business to place before them.

The business conducted by the Settlement Council concerns such matters as service contracts for water, sewage and garbage, road construction and maintenance, site improvement, airstrip, community laundry, dog control, curfew, and settlement cleanup. The funds for some of these are strictly under the control of the Territorial Government and the Council 'advises' the administrator as to their amount and use. There is also a fund, the Community Development Fund that is placed at the disposal of the local councils for their use within certain limitations. ¹

1 The councils are expected to submit quarterly budgets showing the anticipated use of this fund and any unspent balance remaining at the end of the fiscal year reverts to the Territorial Government.

The pattern followed by the Aklavik Council has been the same in all the meetings I have attended. The administrator reads an item from one of his files or notes, briefly explains what factors are involved and answers questions from the councillors if any are raised. He then usually indicates directly or indirectly, what action would be appropriate. Occasionally, he will conclude by asking, "What do you want to do about it?" but even then his own wishes have generally been made clear. Finally, each item of business is usually concluded by the administrator's saying, "Why doesn't someone make a motion like ... ?" and he goes on to state the motion.¹ At this point some councillor answers, "I will." and the administrator writes the motion down asking for a seconder who briefly identifies himself with either an "I will." or a raised finger. The administrator then turns to the chairwoman who quietly asks, "All those in favour?" "Against?" and the motion is recorded as carried.

Each meeting is almost entirely taken up by the business introduced by the administrator. To a large degree these items of business are mundane and unexciting dealing with such matters as giving approval to pay a bill for workman's compensation premium contributions, deciding the order of priority

¹ The clerk and Lloyd are the only councillors I have ever heard enunciate a motion in their own words.

in repairing the community's wooden sidewalks and acknowledging receipt of funds from the laundry. As he works his way through these the administrator cues the councillors in their motion-making roles by indicating they they should take turns so that all the motion do not appear in the minutes to have been moved or seconded by the same two or three people.

Following his own business the administrator will ask if any of the councillors have some particular business they wish to raise or he may precipitate the matter by declaring "Mr. (or Mrs.) ... has something to say about ..." The pattern of the presentation that follows varies greatly from the efficient, rather pedantic, but precise monologue conducted by the administrator. Many councillors are shy and hesitant in expressing themselves. Quite often the administrator will assist the speaker by outlining the matter more fully if the speaker has not done so himself. Occasionally the councillor may indicate that he is too shy to raise the matter at all and indicate to the administrator that he should do so for him. The administrator will then oblige, giving authorship credit to the appropriate councillor while doing so.

The voice level among council members is usually relatively low and this combined with the fact that half the councillors are sitting with their backs to the audience makes it difficult for spectators to follow what is going on. Added to this is the fact that the administrator who directs the meeting

by continually becoming involved in whispered mini-conferences with individual councillors, further disrupts and distracts attention. He himself varies between light-hearted good humour and brusque formality. He addresses councillors or members of the audience, for example, both as "Mr. Brown" and "Harry". Generally, however, the atmosphere of the meeting is one of strained informality. All of the administrator's remarks are directed at the councillors which further appears to magnify the distance between them and their audience. Occasionally, one of the spectators may ask a question or make a suggestion to the council or be asked an opinion by them but all interaction between spectators and council is usually discouraged by the administrator. Also at times it is very evident that the language he is using is too complex for the spectators to understand but no concession is made for them in the way of simplification or explanation except when explicitly requested (which is unlikely) and then only grudgingly given. It is also quite evident that at times the councillors themselves have difficulty in understanding and that they are often not helped greatly by the administrator.

Another aspect of the administrator's behaviour in respect to the way information is divulged and circulated at meetings is his control over all correspondence pertaining to council business. Only he has access to incoming correspondence from sources outside Aklavik and he therefore decides the amount of information that he wishes to make available to councillors

and also acts as selective interpreter since such correspondence is rarely circulated to the members concerned. Similarly, the minutes of the meetings and all outgoing correspondence are prepared in the office under his direction. Each councillor is supplied with a copy of the minutes and a few copies are placed in a box in the general office with assorted other government publications for the use of any interested local persons. (I have never seen any of these being examined.) However, the copies that are mailed outside the settlement according to a fixed schedule are of paramount importance to the administrator. Some of these go to his superiors in the regional office in Inuvik; others go to the headquarters of the Territorial Government in Yellowknife.

Several administrators in the North have stressed to me how important council minutes are and letters between the various levels of government personnel and local administrators attest to this fact. Several points emerge from this. First, the minutes are scrutinized in detail to see that the council is operating within its official capacity. Secondly, the minutes are prepared to convey the impression that the council is operating in full accordance with democratic principles. Thirdly, the level of the council's understanding and competency in dealing with the matters before it should logically be inferred from the manner in which the minutes are reported. Fourthly, the minutes may be used

by the administrator as a means of bringing certain information to higher levels of governmental hierarchy than would ordinarily be available to him in terms of his normal channels of communication. ¹ Fifthly, in a more general sense, it would appear that the minutes could serve as a kind of political barometer for those outside the community both in reference to the political awareness and development of the community as a whole and also the individual councillors. In support of this I would like to mention letters written by the previous administrator expounding on the behaviour and opinions of councillors regarding particular items of business that could not be inferred from the minutes. The present administrator, I should add, did not resort to this to my knowledge and the minutes he prepared were bland and contained no indication of any discussion or ripples on the local political scene.

In summarizing these Council meetings the following points may be made. ² The meetings ran into difficulties as a result of the "definition of the situation" placed on the proceedings by the administrator. For example, it was obvious from his behaviour that he wished to treat the meetings as if they were closed meetings

1 For example, administrators, I am informed, often use the minutes as a means of bringing pressure for action from Regional superiors by having a motion appear something to the effect that, "Council agreed that unless contract X is paid by (date) the Commissioner will be contacted directly."

2 See Goffman, 1959, re performances, teams and impression management; Goffman, 1963, re focussed and unfocussed interaction and Bailey, 1965, re arena and elite councils.

of an elite-type council. Several indications of this were the physical arrangements of the setting itself,¹ his ignoring whatever spectators were present, aiming all his comments at the councillors, and his remarks aimed at the latter to 'jolly them along' (cf. Goffman, 1959:50 re "pseudo-gemeinschaft"). Such behaviour created difficulties for the councillors most of whom it appeared did not wish, at least publicly, to be drawn into too close a relationship with the administrator.²

Thus, while the councillors were at times placed in some difficulty because of the presence of spectators it appeared, to some degree at least, that the presence or absence of spectators was immaterial since the councillors always had an audience present in the form of their fellow councillors. Other factors, such as the whispered mini-conferences initiated by the administrator, his pattern of formality and informality as evidenced by

1 I have only observed council meetings in two other northern communities, Inuvik and Fort Macpherson. In Inuvik the councillors sit at tables arranged in an inverted U facing the audience. At Fort Macpherson the one meeting I attended in 1969 was held in the very cramped space of the administration offices with only the administrator, the councillors and myself present.

2 An example of this occurred once or twice when I was the only spectator present. He would make some sarcastic remark to the councillors such as, "Oh, it must be great to be an anthropologist and get paid a fancy salary to sit at council meetings!" or, "Oh, I do hope we're not boring Mr. Eades!" These remarks were always addressed directly to the councillors who usually made little reaction except perhaps some slight signs that could be interpreted as discomfort at being reminded of the presence of a 'spy' in their midst.

his addressing councillors as either "Mr." or "Mrs." and then shortly after by their Christian names, and his alternating use of 'High' and 'Low' English all combined to produce a performance that was erratic in its maintenance of expressive control (Goffman, 1959:51-58) creating difficulties for the team (administrator plus councillors) and audience (spectators and/or councillors).

Earlier I described the management of the meetings of the Home and School Association under the sponsorship of Scott, the school principal. The contrast with the meetings of the Settlement Council is great. Of course, the two organizations have different functions, with the Home and School providing an open forum concerned with the dissemination of ideas and information while the Council is essentially a decision-making body. Nevertheless the selection of the "definition of the situation" and the dramaturgics involved were chosen and "managed" by the convenor in each case, namely the administrator and the school principal. These facts reflect not only the different styles and personalities of these two individuals but may also pertain to different departmental philosophies at different time periods, although I am unaware of any policy or directive that would explicitly support the latter view.

The Councillors

The Aklavik Settlement Council consists of eight elected members who each serve a two-year term of office. It is

the responsibility of the members to elect two of their members to serve as chairman and vice-chairman.

At one meeting of the council at which I was the only onlooker, the administrator jokingly made the remark that it was beginning to look "more and more like a staff meeting." There is a large measure of truth in the statement since of the eight councillors seven are either government employees or closely associated with government operations in the community. Of these seven, three -- the white male clerk, the female Eskimo social development worker, and a male Eskimo foreman -- are under the personal supervision of the administrator. A fourth, a Treaty Indian, is the manager of the government-sponsored fur garment shop, and a fifth member is the Eskimo housekeeper at the nursing station. Of the remaining two, both Metis, one is wholly dependent on government water and sewage service contracts and the other at present is partially dependent by being involved in small contract work and as supervisor of council-sponsored work programmes. The eighth and only councillor who is not directly tied to the government is the Metis wife of a long established Swedish settler and entrepreneur.

In this section I shall be dealing primarily with two specific issues; namely, an election of councillors which took place during my stay in Aklavik, and a discussion of a particular Local who figures importantly in connection with the council. My interest in both of these matters is interrelated. First,

a discussion of the election provides some insight into the dynamics and Local values associated with this important aspect of Aklavik's politics. Secondly, the role and interest of the administrator in the proceedings is outlined especially in respect to Lloyd, an influential Local who has been dominant in Local politics for a number of years. At present he is the most outspoken critic of government policy in Aklavik and what this means in terms of the administrator's relationship to the council will be discussed.

An election to replace four outgoing councillors was held on April 21, 1970. Two of the four, the government clerk and the part-time contractor, were interested in standing for re-election. An Eskimo who had served one two-year term had no interest in running again. The circumstances relating to the fourth, Lloyd, a private businessman were far less clearcut.

Lloyd has resided in Aklavik for nine years and is married to a local Eskimo. He is the proprietor of the Aklavik Hotel and operates a restaurant, pool hall, small hardware outlet and is a Skidoo agent. He also has considerable interest in an Inuvik based air charter company which he started some years ago in partnership with a Metis from Aklavik. Since 1964 he has represented the Mackenzie North constituency on the Territorial Council and is the senior elected member of that body. He has been a member of the Aklavik council since 1965. It is important to mention that in the matter of Aklavik's advancing to hamlet

status mentioned earlier Lloyd's has been one of the strong Local views raised against such a decision, ostensibly because the Locals, he feels, are not yet ready to accept such a responsibility. He is infrequently in Aklavik but when there he can usually be found in his office behind the pool hall or in his cafe. In these settings he receives many visitors representing all ethnic groups in Aklavik, and he is the only Local of whom this is true.¹

I am uncertain as to whether Lloyd wished to run again for office in the council. He, of course, knew of the coming election and had agreed with the other councillors at the council's last regular meeting that no changes were necessary in the election rules. Soon afterwards he left for the south on a business trip and did not return until after the election had been held. Had he intended to run he could have signed a nomination paper before he left or he may have thought he would be back in time to do so. He did phone his wife asking her to sign for him when he heard that some Local people wished to put his name forward as a candidate. However, the administrator, the returning officer, had no option according to the rules (the nomination paper had to bear the personal signature of the nominee) but to rule the nomination out of order. The administrator stated that he had "spread the word"

¹ Significantly, his constituency on the Territorial Council contains almost equal numbers of Indians and Eskimos and a large number of Metis and white voters.

to at least have Lloyd's wife nominated in his place but assuming that this information is correct apparently no one acted on this suggestion or Mrs. Lloyd was unwilling to let her name stand.

At the last moment, literally minutes before nominations closed, the government clerk and the water contractor attempted to nominate Lloyd. The administrator who had to reject the nomination was infuriated by the pair's action and the clerk especially was the object of his anger since the latter obviously knew that the unsigned nomination could not be accepted. The reason the administrator reacted so strongly was that he felt that now Lloyd could complain to the Locals that he had wanted to run, that this fact was well-known to both his supporters and the administrator and yet the latter had barred him. The administrator's accusation was that the clerk was guilty of "playing politics", a serious misdemeanour for any civil servant.

Meanwhile, during the nomination period other candidates had succeeded in having their names placed on the ballot sheets. Much of the planning about who should run took place in the administration general office with the administrator taking a decisive part in the discussions. The clerk was nominated by the social development worker and the postmistress. The clerk and secretary nominated the part-time contractor. Following the clerk's 'last ditch' attempt with the water contractor to nominate Lloyd, the water contractor was persuaded to run and was nominated by the clerk and a government worker who happened to be in the office at the time.

Some days earlier the chairwoman of the council and one of her daughters had nominated the Eskimo housekeeper at the nursing station. The same daughter and the chairwoman's husband had nominated Jones, a white trapper and long-time resident of the community.

Thus, five names appeared on the ballot sheet of whom four would be elected. If the attempt to nominate Lloyd is included, the following people nominated or seconded candidates:

TABLE 6

Tabulation of Nominating Agents

<u>Nominator or Secunder</u>	<u>No. of times name appeared on the nomination papers</u>
Chairwoman and family	5
Government clerk	3
Postmistress	1
Social Development Worker	1
Water contractor	1
Government worker	1

There was little doubt that the clerk and the part-time contractor would be elected and of the others, interest was directed mainly on Jones, the white trapper. The latter was looked upon by such others as the administrator, the clerk, the two contractors and the chairwoman as being a 'threat' (yet it was the chairwoman's husband and daughter who nominated him). Jones is well known for his anti-government, anti-Mission, anti-native

sentiments and his penchant for 'speaking out'. It is the latter characteristic more than the others that results in his being sanctioned by many Locals who declare that "he blows off his mouth too much ... is too stubborn ... too anti-government ... doesn't know when to shut up, etc." The chairwoman told me that he would not be elected and that this would be a good thing " ... because he'll just try and make trouble for the administrator ... he'll just make trouble for all of us (the councillors)." ¹ Jones is not known by many Outsiders since he spends much of his time living at his home 'in the bush'; however, most Outsiders who do know him express negative comments similar to those just mentioned in respect to the Locals. Nevertheless a counter opinion was expressed by one Outsider, the strictly authoritarian R.C.M.P. corporal. The corporal supported Jones' nomination because, "if he gets in he'll keep them honest" (i.e., the councillors), in that he felt that Jones would not be swayed by anyone else's opinion nor would he 'kowtow' to the government which both the corporal and Jones viewed as being "soft" on the natives.

It is worthwhile to discuss similarities and differences between Jones and Lloyd for the insight it provides in respect to

¹ See Goffman (1959) for a discussion of teams (chapter 2) and techniques of ensuring team loyalty (chapter 6) by either eliminating undisciplined potential or actual team members, or by defensively applying "the arts of impression management".

the Aklavik people's response to local leadership. The Englishman, Jones, is a trapper and has maintained himself mainly by this occupation during his more than thirty years in the Delta. He married a white who was working in the settlement and raised his family in the bush. Intensely individualistic, he has a high regard for his ability as a bushman and condemns both the 'easy' way of life adopted by the Delta natives who now live in the community many of them dependent on welfare, and the whites, especially government and missionaries, whom he holds responsible for having ruined all that was good in the bush way of life. Because of his long residence in the area he is well known and accepted as a Local by the people of Aklavik. However, because of his values and the fact that he has steadfastly remained a 'loner' by not establishing either kinship or economic bonds with members of the community, his position is marginal to all groups.

Another important factor in respect to Jones is the direct and blistering attacks he occasionally launches against the government agents or agencies. These attacks are observed with a certain degree of enjoyment and pleasure by many Locals both because they provide an element of entertainment or 'scene' with the diminutive trapper in a 'starring role' and also because his outbursts often articulate feelings and views held by many of the Locals themselves. However, such attacks also have the effect of alienating support because Jones, as a Local, is here offending

against the Local value of "not to make trouble"; that is, not to precipitate any action that might escalate out of control producing repercussions potentially damaging to others. For these reasons he has never been able to recruit sufficient support to secure his election.

I shall later be returning to a broader discussion of the tightly worded but rather loosely applied value of "not to make trouble". Its significance here in this context is that it expresses the widely held view in Aklavik that (a) the government is all powerful and (b) one does not offend the government with impunity. Furthermore, it indicates the lack of local knowledge as to the extent of power and authority vested in individual government agents and also the lack of knowledge of the individual personalities of these officials as to how they might be expected to use their powers. Significantly, it is the non-white Locals who give some indication of concern as to possible repercussions as a result of his verbal onslaughts.

Lloyd, as mentioned previously, is a more recent arrival in Aklavik but having lived there for nine years, married locally, and developed several business interests in the community he, like Jones, has come to be accepted by the people of Aklavik as 'Local'. Like Jones he has provided a persistent voice against the government bureaucracy both in the Territorial and Aklavik councils. For this reason, many government agents consider him a pest; in fact, a number of senior officials in Inuvik have described him to me in terms of "the one bad egg in the Aklavik basket ... a

troublemaker ... the one who is stifling Aklavik because of the way he dominates everything there." Undoubtedly, on occasion he has been a thorn in the side of an all-powerful government bureaucracy and their criticism of him possibly is not without some element of truth. For instance, he does appear to have dominated the proceedings of the Aklavik council when he was a member of that body according to the evidence I gathered from informants and the minutes of council meetings. However, unlike Jones whose anti-government attitude is basically destructive, carping and defeatist in nature, Lloyd shows obvious signs of being able to grapple with the complexities of bureaucracy and wring some satisfaction from it for himself and certainly for his clients. It is thought that his political involvement in territorial and local affairs bears some relationship to his success in business. However, I am uncertain as to what degree this is true, or indeed, if it can be said to be true at all. Nevertheless, the important point is that he is successful and that the knowledge, connections and abilities that this success denotes do not pass unrecognized by many in Aklavik.

The administrator wanted Lloyd in the new council since he considered him the only person in Aklavik with any real understanding of politics and appreciation of local government. Since Lloyd was also a member of the Territorial Council he could be expected to keep the local council, and, of course, the administrator informed as to directions various government matters were

taking in the capital. Also, although the administrator possibly would not agree with this observation, I believe he welcomed Lloyd's presence on council since, in a sense, the latter because of his high status and differing interests, presented him with somewhat of a challenge and therefore tended to relieve the usually humdrum tedium associated with most of the meetings.

Furthermore, certain complications could arise from Lloyd's failure to be re-elected. Because Lloyd held a more senior elected position and is of undoubted influence, I believe the administrator felt under constraint to consult with him to gauge his response to matters of local concern. To do so if Lloyd were not on the local council would mean that the administrator would have to visit the latter at his office since Lloyd only visited the government offices when he had business to conduct there.¹ Such a development in their relationship would pose a variety of difficulties for the administrator.

The first of these concerns the likelihood that the relationship between the two could come to assume patron-client characteristics with the administrator in the subordinate client

1 The administrator could telephone Lloyd but I believe this medium of communication would be inappropriate under the circumstances for various reasons: lack of knowledge as to when the receiver is alone, reliance on verbal cues only in interpreting the content of the message, etc.

role. Undoubtedly, the administrator would be reluctant for this to happen not only because it would involve the willing abrogation of part, at least, of his personal status but it may also serve to increase Lloyd's reputation locally. Of course, a closer association between Lloyd and the administrator could also be interpreted by some Locals as meaning that Lloyd was becoming 'pally' with the administrator, perhaps even being co-opted in some way by the latter. However, I feel this interpretation although possible is unlikely because the meetings would most often be taking place on Lloyd's 'home ground' where he would have ample opportunity to see that the interaction between the administrator and himself was 'staged' to his own best advantage.

Secondly, the development of a relationship with Lloyd that was carried on outside the confines of the government offices would involve a break with the administrator's pattern of nonsocializing with Local residents. This is a step I feel sure the administrator would be reluctant to take not only because it would mean a deviation from his principles and practice but because it would be instantly noted and commented on among the Locals.

Finally, the establishment of any regular entente between the two would almost certainly be brought to the notice of the administrator's superiors and might prove embarrassing.

It is of course possible that in such an association the administrator might be able to secure some knowledge and insights into the other's interests that would have been impossible otherwise and that could be parlayed to advantage, later, either locally or in communication with his administrative superiors. It will be remembered that the administrator does have some real strength in terms of management of information proceeding to his superiors and, therefore, likely would be able to provide a "definition of the situation" that was agreeable to them. As an example of this it would be interesting to know how the senior administrators have come to hold such a negative view of Lloyd. Certainly part of his reputation was likely earned as a result of statements he made in the Territorial Council and from personal dealings with certain government agencies and agents. However, these factors contribute to what I would describe as the 'general' anti-government reputation he is said to have. The more 'specific' one he has as the "one bad egg in the Aklavik basket" I believe, was largely formed as a result of information strategically passed on by government agents in Aklavik such as in the letters which accompanied the council's minutes already referred to.

At this point I want to stress that at no time did the administrator, or Lloyd for that matter, convey to me that they were aware of or had considered the factors outlined above. This does not mean that these can therefore be dismissed as hypothetical or irrelevant. On the contrary, I believe that they

exist as realities in the sense that as strategic possibilities they help to illuminate the configuration and practice of politics in Aklavik. I have dealt briefly with some of the difficulties created by the administrator by Lloyd's not standing for re-election. The inference is, of course, that it would be advantageous to the administrator if Lloyd were a councillor and that is what I shall now discuss.

With Lloyd as a councillor he would come to the meetings at the administrator's bidding as the other members do. This achieves two advantages for the administrator; namely, the meeting occurs on the latter's 'home ground' with all the benefits this implies, and it also legitimizes their presence together without the suspicion and possible loss of personal status and prestige described previously. But there are further ~~payoffs~~ in that the other councillors may be drawn into the discussion by Lloyd which could have the following results.

With the other councillors taking part in the discussion and questioning, Lloyd would not be aware of the administrator's 'exclusive' interests in his point of view. Not only this, but also the others may raise the very matters in which the administrator is interested or may be coached beforehand to do so thus relieving him of the need to voice the matters

himself.¹ Secondly, with someone else present to lead the discussion the administrator is relieved somewhat of his role as unofficial chairman and director of proceedings. In this way he can modify his public image as the 'dominator' of council if he senses that he is being sanctioned locally to a damaging degree as a result. He can further manipulate the proceedings if he so desired to cast Lloyd in the role of 'dominator' since the administrator is the only one present who has the status, willingness, or ability to either choke off Lloyd's discourse or let it roll on. Thirdly, with the voluble Lloyd participating in all council discussions the administrator has the advantage of being able to evaluate the other members' responses to Lloyd's comments, interjecting comments of his own on occasion to further draw the discussants out. Furthermore, he can later approach individual members and attempt to elicit their views by direct reference to what Lloyd said. Finally, because Lloyd is a Local, a 'one of us' as far as the other council

1 Local councillors were usually reticent as already stated but when Lloyd was present this was usually less so, at least in the case of some councillors. Three factors were involved here: (1) he questioned individuals directly drawing them into discussion; (2) his refusal to be dominated by the administrator appeared to foster discussion from the others; and, (3) whereas the administrator by his manner generally discouraged councillors from introducing "private bills" Lloyd often had several such matters to talk about which often provoked some response from his fellow councillors.

members are concerned his forceful presence and the active role he takes is likely to generate reactions among the councillors. It is then possible for the administrator to work on individual members in terms of the reactions he senses they have indicated towards Lloyd. The administrator, for example, reads the Debates of the Territorial Council and is therefore in a position to selectively interpret what Lloyd has said at those meetings. (I know of only one Local councillor who reads these Territorial Debates which are sent to him by Lloyd.) In this way the administrator could stress to an anti-Lloyd member that Lloyd seems far more interested in furthering his air charter interests in the Territorial Council than he is in seeking more jobs for Aklavik people. The 'proof' of such statements could easily be provided by pointing to specific statements in the Debates and connecting these with Lloyd's participation in the Aklavik council. In this way the administrator has the advantage of being able to work on the partially revealed strengths and weakness of interpersonal relationships, and to be able to do so to his own advantage in terms of the acquisition and control of information and the recruitment of reliable and useful clients.

In this sense I believe it is strategically far more valuable from the administrator's point of view to have an important and somewhat controversial figure such as Lloyd generating and communicating information in the public arena of council meetings

than if he were absent. I saw Lloyd participating as a council member on only two occasions and I was impressed by the completely different tone and character of the proceedings compared with those when he is not there.

The administrator early pointed out to me (and I later found his observation to be true) that Lloyd always dominated the first hour of the council's business picking up every point and vehemently discussing it. The administrator felt he did this to emphasize his presence and indicate that "no one is going to slip anything over on me" which was aimed at the administrator and for the benefit of those others present. After this initial talkative period, Lloyd usually became more amenable and less insistent on forcing his point of view on others.

The tone of council meetings was usually subdued. Members were extremely reluctant openly to challenge opinions expressed by others especially those in position of power such as the administrator or Lloyd.¹ The government clerk confided to me on several occasions how frustrating this was for him and how he longed that someone would say, "that's a load of bullshit!" to some proposals made by his boss, the administrator. Lloyd's importance was that he could, and did, make such statements, although in milder terms. It is obvious, though, that he was the only councillor who felt he could afford any direct confrontation

1 As earlier stated to do so in a public meeting or setting is likely to be sanctioned as "acting white" and being "bossy". Note, however, on the following page, few restrictions apply to the same criticisms and complaints privately expressed in the form of gossip.

with the powers that be. Unlike Jones mentioned earlier, Lloyd did not indiscriminately argue with or confront the administrator on each and every issue because to do so could possibly reflect on his business interests not to mention his relationships with supporters.

If it was unusual, if not unknown, to have any of the local members of council argue against proposals presented by the administrator, it was also unusual for them to take a contrary position publicly to Lloyd on any matter. However, some members did so privately to me afterwards on several occasions. When they did so their comments were always couched in terms of how Lloyd dominated the meetings and succeeded in pressing his own interests, for example, in working for the expansion and improvement of the airstrip, and the development of better opportunities and more money for local businesses. He is sanctioned locally to some degree on these accounts but it is acknowledged that in promoting these interests the community also stands to benefit. Nevertheless, the criticism of his main detractors is that he has given too much importance to his own interests and that as a result his usefulness to the community is limited.

To return now to our narrative of events in Aklavik, as the election date drew near there was little indication of any political activity or canvassing on behalf of the candidates. The nursing station housekeeper mentioned that Mrs. Stockholm had suggested

that she ask people to vote for her but she emphasized to me that she felt she could not do this. Jones was absent 'in the bush' for some time before, during and after the election and so was unavailable to even cast his vote. To my knowledge neither the clerk nor the two contractors took any kind of active role to solicit support for themselves or others.

The election was held on April 21, 1970 with the Court Room being used as the polling station. The administrator filled the role of returning officer and an Eskimo was hired to serve as the polling clerk. The voting was slow in the morning with only about 40 people turning out but as the afternoon wore on, things improved. By 4 p.m. the administrator was hopeful that the number voting would reach 100 "because it will look a lot better." His hopes were realized and 112 had voted when the poll closed at 5 p.m. To my knowledge there had been no pressure or suggestion on anyone to get out and vote. Interestingly, the administrator described how Lloyd during the previous council election (in which he had been a candidate) had gone "tearing around town" urging people to vote.

There were no spoiled ballots and when counted the following results were announced. (Each voter had the option of voting for up to four of the five candidates appearing on the ballot.)

TABLE 7

Voting at Aklavik Settlement Council Election
April 21, 1970

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>No. of Votes Received</u>
Clerk	98
Part-time contractor	86
Water contractor	70
Nursing station housekeeper	49
Local trapper	41

The voting can be broken down into the following categories:

TABLE 8

<u>Sex of Voters</u>	
Female	65
Male	47
	112

TABLE 9

<u>Ethnic Background of Voters</u>	
Eskimo	56
Indian (Treaty and Non-Treaty)	26
Metis	14
Local white	5
Outsiders	11
	112

The Locals' Point of View

Earlier, I have depicted the administrator as a rather aloof, patronizing bureaucrat with little interest in becoming personally involved with any Local residents. The councillors, like most people in Aklavik, would generally agree with this description except to them it does not necessarily have the negative connotation that may be inferred from my own evaluation. Most of them see the present administrator as an efficient, fair and consistent person who does not play favourites, or at least does not do so openly. The fact that he meets with people to a great extent in the administration offices rather than elsewhere is important in maintaining the latter image, I believe, because of the apparent openness of the offices and the fact that a wide variety of individuals are continually in and out of them. Perhaps more importantly, though, the office setting legitimizes any interaction the administrator has with people since the range of activities carried on there (post office, welfare, game department, public housing, etc.) provide abundant reasons for Locals to visit the offices. ¹

1 His pool hall and cafe provide Lloyd with somewhat similar cover in that (1) like the administration building there is much going and coming of people, (2) this, combined with the activities carried on there (playing pool, drinking coffee, etc.) make these important centers for the generation and circulation of information and gossip. It is precisely for the reason that people go to the pool hall or cafe to relax and talk, however, that differentiates it from the administration building in the minds of most Local residents and also why Lloyd in using it strategically for these purposes is perceived differently to the administrator.

A positive evaluation of an administrator is dependent, to a large degree, on what he has 'brought' or 'done for' the community. Thus, previous administrators are remembered as "the one who got us the sidewalks", "the one who started the fur shop" etc. irrespective of the fact that decisions at higher levels of government and budgetary considerations are usually far more important determinants in such matters than the inspiration of any local administrator. It is important, therefore, for an administrator to be able to demonstrate to the residents of the community that he can and will act in conjunction with community needs and values if the occasion arises. The administrator of Aklavik acquits himself reasonably well in this respect and I shall be returning to this in greater detail when discussing the Canoe Race day in Aklavik. On the other hand, an administrator is appreciated who sticks to what the Locals consider as "his job" (i.e., the regular duties he performs within his office setting). The previous administrator, for example, became most unpopular and was transferred as a result of a public petition because he was rarely in his office but instead was out around the settlement, as some Locals stated, "sticking his nose into all kinds of things that were none of his business" and in addition, became involved in a conflict with the school principal that caused much bitterness in the community. The administrator is looked upon as an authoritarian figure in the sense that he should be impartial and consistent

in his decisions and that these be rendered without "waffling about" or engaging in lengthy explanations as to why he can, or more usually, cannot satisfy the person he is dealing with. Again, on the basis of these criteria the present administrator ranks reasonably high.

The response that the Local people make to the government administration in Aklavik is basically a pragmatic one. Government involvement in so many areas of community life both directly and indirectly is accepted as an undisputed fact.¹ As a result, the response of any Local can be described as an attempt individually made to deal with this reality in terms that are profitable and rewarding without incurring the negative sanctions of either the government or his Local neighbours, and also in terms that are least threatening to his own sense of personal identity. Thus, some few families who live 'in the bush' remain to some degree outside the scope of government agents whose domain is largely that of the settlements. Others 'take' from the government (welfare, houses, etc.) while maintaining a fair degree of individual autonomy. Still others, such as some Indians, attempt to reverse or at least equate what is perceived by them to be a dependent relationship by stressing their rights to certain goods and services by reason of the fact of their

1 It should be remembered that the establishment of government agencies in Aklavik predated the residency of most of the present inhabitants of the community.

being 'Treaty' (i.e., welfare, etc. is a 'right' not a 'hand-out').

One element that I seem to detect in nearly all relationships, or potential relationships between Locals and government officials is, to coin an expression, a strong desire to 'hang free' as far as possible. The expression 'to hang free' is useful because it conveys a sense of individuality that I feel is appropriate here. Also, it implies a degree of suspicion and uncertainty as to the intent and motives behind government policy and action. As a result, many Locals adopt a 'wait and see' attitude and display an unwillingness to be co-opted or convinced in respect to such matters as community development programs sponsored by government departments.¹ Such response is obviously important for a variety of reasons of which the following two are perhaps the most significant.

First, in the North, government personnel are usually transient individuals who rarely stay longer than two years in any one community. Also government programs and policies appear to be forever changing with many proposed programs either never reaching some communities or doing so in a much modified form. Consequently a 'hang free' response would appear to have certain

¹ This view is echoed to some degree by what Smith (1968:32) has to say of the short-range decision-making patterns among the land dwellers and those without steady jobs in the Delta.

adaptive advantages in that a commitment to either the programs or the Outsiders who promote them may prove over time to be a poor investment in terms of any long-term benefits. Undoubtedly, however, such a rapidly changing scene is likely to produce speculative opportunities for short-term benefits.¹

1 By way of further explication of this point the following should be mentioned. The relatively rapid turnover of Outsiders tends to limit the opportunities Locals have of getting to know them well and, of course, to also become known to the Outsiders. This, I feel, poses problems for the establishment of patron-client relationships with any intentions that the relationships would be in some way permanent. This may indicate that patron-client relationships are relatively rare between Outsider and Local in comparison with such relationships occurring between Local and Local. Alternatively it may indicate that a different pattern and potential for development exists between Outsiders-Local versus Local-Local type patron-client relationships, because of this time element involved. My feeling is that the latter 'explanation' is the most likely.

In a purely exploitative sense the rapid turnover among Outsiders presents Locals with certain opportunities. For example, the newcomers, (although they may not be entirely new to the North) are likely to be approached by some Locals who will adopt a friendly and helpful manner. Soon after, these Locals will attempt to borrow from their new 'friends' and are usually successful in doing so. Occasionally such relationships may develop into a more or less permanent and satisfactory reciprocal arrangement. More often, however, the Outsider finds he has issued 'credit' in the form of money and bottles of liquor with little apparent chance of being repaid. Growing disillusioned with such 'dishonesty' he cuts off his Local partner by refusing to supply him further. This in effect ends the partnership, if it can be called such, with the Outsider suffering the loss. I know of more than one Local in Aklavik who consistently exploit Outsiders successfully in this way and are sanctioned by their fellow Locals for doing so. I should add, however, that such exploitation is not limited to Outsiders since Locals are often 'conned' in the same way by these same individuals.

Secondly, a 'hang free' response would appear to benefit those government agents who seek to maintain their own positions by ensuring that what changes occur locally are in keeping with the established policies of their department or branch. This would necessitate the use of a certain amount of control in channeling Local initiative and innovation into expressive forms that are non-threatening to the agent concerned. Such control and manipulation, possibly involving a large degree of information and impression management, would likely reinforce this 'hang free' response on behalf of the Locals permitting the official to effectively continue making the decisions and doing "what has to be done."

This 'hang free' attitude of most Locals to government matters is also true, to a large extent, of their attitude to the Settlement Council. For example, many Locals have never attended a council meeting. Similarly, the councillors told me that they are rarely asked by other Locals about what the council is doing or hopes to do. With so little first and second-hand information apparently available about the council I was therefore little surprised to find it was the object of so much suspicion and negative comments. Usually, however, such responses were directed at the government administration's involvement in the "running" of council rather than at the councillors although the latter were

not immune from criticism either. This anti-councillor criticism was usually directed at individual members and involved such things as over-preoccupation with their own business interests, being 'yesmen' for the administration, or because they were thought to be 'acting white'.

This last mentioned criticism, that of 'acting white' is important because it pertains not only to council members but to many of the day-to-day relationships between Locals and their activities that take place in Aklavik. Specifically, it relates to behaviour that is perceived as 'bossy' and 'greedy' or that by extension can indicate a de-valuing, disinterest in, or rejection of Local values, especially those relating to neighbourliness, sharing, and a willingness to 'help out'. Also, of course, it carries a heavy Local-Outsider connotation in that the 'whites' referred to in the statement do not include the Local whites, the term referring instead to the Outsiders, the transients who are perceived to have little more than a superficial commitment or interest in the Aklavik community. Thus, the clerk who has been in the settlement little more than two years is accepted as a 'Local' because of his Eskimo wife and family and his commitment to the place, whereas the manager of the power plant with almost three times that length of residency is definitely an Outsider and, it seems, will always remain so.

However, because of his identity as a Local, the clerk is subject to being sanctioned for 'acting white' should his behaviour merit it while the power plant manager by being an Outsider although he may also be sanctioned by the Locals, may be largely unaware of this fact, and is unlikely to be much affected by comparison.

If we analyse this Local pattern in relation to 'acting white' for its implications in respect to the councillors, several things become apparent. First, it enables us to understand the interaction between the administrator, councillors and spectators, not only in terms of Local values, but also as a drama involving a high degree of impression management. Secondly, and contingent upon this impression management, it enables us to better understand how it is that certain Local leaders can interact closely with powerful Outsiders such as the administrator without being sanctioned to the point of rejection by fellow Locals.

For example, besides the councillors' reluctance to display behaviour at meetings that would leave them open to charges of 'acting white'¹ other factors are involved. (Lloyd was an exception to this but I have already explained his special status.) These factors, which also result in councillors playing a passive

1 The fact that the councillors were unwilling to canvas votes at election time may also be interpreted as their refusal to be seen 'acting white'.

role at their meetings, include a lack of experience in dealing with such public situations, difficulty in coping with the 'High' English, fear of incurring the displeasure of influential individuals, and the 'not to make trouble' Local value.

In a way, the non-white councillors, by the very fact of their being councillors, would seem to be automatically exposed to the criticism of their fellow Locals for 'acting white' by adopting this essentially 'foreign' or Outsider role of councillor. However, if the role of councillor is interpreted, as it is in non-white Local terms, as being that of "a maker of decisions with others" rather than having any connotations of "leaders involved in directing the activities of others" this lack of automatic public sanction is more readily understandable. In the same way, the co-op directors' apparent unwillingness to lead, as described earlier, provides a similar example of this pattern. It would appear in the latter instance that they and their supervisor place different definitions on the situation in that he expects them to lead but they are unwilling to do so because of the possible social costs involved; as a result, the supervisor, partly because his job depends on the success of the co-op, takes over as leader. The councillors, although a different group in terms of ethnic composition and sophistication in such matters, nevertheless generally follow the same pattern and leave

it to the administrator to lead, and he assists them in this by providing a "definition of the situation" which makes it appropriate for him to do so. Thus, although there is some similarity in Aklavik with what Frankenberg (1957) describes in terms of using Outsiders as leaders, there is this major difference, that in Aklavik these Outsiders (the administrator, school principal and co-op supervisor) are expected to lead and not merely be figureheads or supernumeraries called upon to act as chairman or present awards at some local function (cf. Frankenberg, 1957:40-45).

Mrs. Stockholm and the Council

Having briefly described how the administrator, government and council are perceived by the Local community, I would now like to describe how Mrs. Stockholm, an important non-white Local, articulates between these various groups. As described earlier, the administrator appears to dominate the council meetings. He introduces items of business, comments on what action should be taken, invites members to propose motions actually supplying the words in many cases and encourages or discourages members from introducing their own items of business. It is clear that in many ways he both adopts and goes far beyond the prerogatives of chairman and yet he is not the chairman since

the council already has one in the person of Mrs. Stockholm. To suggest that the reason the administrator is so easily able to overshadow her is because she is incompetent in the role of chairwoman is erroneous as later discussion will indicate. What are the factors, then, that prompt Mrs. Stockholm to adopt this apparently subordinate role? My belief is that there are several, some mentioned already in this chapter, and all of which relate to her position as an important Local leader.

Mrs. Stockholm comes from an influential Metis family in nearby Fort Macpherson and married a Swedish settler in Aklavik over thirty years ago. Her husband has always been influential in the community and operated a number of commercial enterprises as well as being a trapper. Of all the native Local people, Mrs. Stockholm probably has had the most exposure to Outsiders and is able to use the knowledge and experience so acquired to good use. In the Local idiom, "she knows how to handle the whites." Normally quiet, good-humoured and perceptive, she has the ability to meet and converse with Outsiders in a way that makes them react positively to her. Two factors that contribute to this positive response by Outsiders are that, first, she presents herself as an Indian and it is unusual to meet Indians with such composure and assurance. Secondly, it is readily apparent that Mrs. Stockholm has a very real and sincere attachment to Aklavik and a knowledge of 'how the place works'. As many Outsiders are govern-

ment people or others (such as anthropologists) with a vested interest in learning 'how the place works', Mrs. Stockholm comes to fill an important role as spokeswoman for Aklavik. For example, she has been invited to numerous conferences both in the Territories and in the South in this role. Her interests in various community activities is indicated by her work as president of the Women's Institute for eight of the past nine years and involvement in many social and recreational events which I shall deal with later. She visits widely among Local people, although her closest friends are Indians, and she is not seen to be overly friendly with the main body of Eskimos. One of the most important functions she considers she does is pass on, or interpret into the Indian language, information that relates to the government and which she has acquired from government agents or elsewhere. Mrs. Stockholm first ran for office on the Settlement Council in 1964 but was not elected until 1966 and has held her seat since then, becoming chairwoman in 1969.

It is important to point out that the present administrator did not launch or develop Mrs. Stockholm as a Local leader but rather 'inherited' her, and their relationship has proven beneficial to both. She is valuable to him as a source of information and ideas and in the role of spokeswoman serves as a barometer of local public opinion. Also, because of her interest and initiative, the administrator can rely upon her as an organizer

and mobilizer of workers for special occasions. In this sense, she provides a dependable service in a community where such dependability is rare among Locals. The administrator, in his turn, is valuable to Mrs. Stockholm as a source of information and has been instrumental in having her nominated to attend various conferences outside Aklavik. As Mrs. Stockholm's support and following is drawn mainly from Indian and Metis families she can be said to be involved in a competition for leadership and/or influence with many other Locals. Her associations with the administrator and his approval of her are important in this context because originating from such an important Outside source they serve to acknowledge and validate her influential position in the community. My earlier comments as to the way the present administrator is perceived by the Locals is important in this context. The fact that he is generally approved of as an administrator is likely to reflect positively to some degree at least on those Locals of whom he approves. Similarly, the 'during-office-hours-only' manner in which he conducts his dealings with Mrs. Stockholm help safeguard her against accusations of being 'too friendly'.

It is also significant to point out that at present the administrator is the only Outsider with whom Mrs. Stockholm

has any kind of a close relationship.¹ My belief is that given the specific type of responsibilities, activities and resources that pertain to each category of Outsider, that while it may appear to be strategically advantageous for a Local leader to have a close relationship with two or more of these, it would be difficult and dangerous to do so both in terms of maintaining the relationship and remaining unsanctioned Locally.

1 She has no more than a nodding acquaintance with most other Outsiders and not even that with some. This lack of interaction with Outsiders is common to many Locals who normally choose to remain aloof. Similarly, Locals usually wait for an Outsider to indicate his willingness to greet or socialize with them. This is true of all the ethnic and cultural classes of Local residents who tend to verbalize their feelings in terms such as, "Aklavik is our town. Whites (Outsiders) come and go. Most of them have no interest in us so why should we go out of our way to be friendly with them? If they are interested and want to learn something (i.e. get to know us) then they should come to us."

This is interesting because many Locals stress how poorly educated they are in comparison with most Outsiders who are therefore 'superior' by inference. However, I see this response as an attempt to reverse this asymmetrical relationship by devaluing the importance of Outside 'learning' in comparison with the 'learning' necessary in order for one to live successfully as a Local (cf. Schwimmer, 1970 re symbolic competition). This response also contains, of course, a veiled but biting criticism of the relevance of formal education in the North which is administered and controlled almost exclusively by Outsiders.

This is true, I believe, even if the Outsiders happen to be close friends (e.g. the administrator and the school principal) because the very fact of their friendship with the sharing of information and confidences that it implies would seem to rule out the necessity for having both Outsiders involved with the same Local. Enmity or competition between Outsiders, rather than friendship, would appear to offer a more exploitative situation where a Local may attempt to strategically play one against the other by acting as a go-between.¹ Or, perhaps, the Locals may attempt to deal with each one separately. This latter pattern, that of a client simultaneously being involved with two or more patrons, does not occur in Aklavik to my knowledge. I am not even aware of attempts at such 'doubledealing' although one would surmise that these must occur.²

1 There seems to be some potential for this kind of development whereby the water contractor (who was enticed to seek council election when his partner Lloyd could not do so) either may offer himself to, or be recruited by, the administrator also as a client. This is slightly different, however, from my discussion above since the Local water contractor would then potentially be operating between an Outsider and another Local rather than between two Outsiders.

2 One closely related aspect of patron-client relationships would seem to be the exploratory 'sounding out' by clients of potential new patrons while still retaining, at least temporarily, their client status with their present patron.

I would argue that there is a much better likelihood of 'double' or 'multiple' dealing between a patron and his clients because of the

Mrs. Stockholm has two of her protegees -- the Social Development Officer, Mrs. James, and the nursing station housekeeper -- on council with her. Both of these ladies were encouraged by Mrs. Stockholm to enter organizational life and they represent her closest allies among the Aklavik Eskimos although both are marginal in terms of social, religious, and

disproportionate control of resources enjoyed by the patron. Thus (1) would be described as a relatively stable model,

(1)

Patron $\begin{cases} \text{a. client} \\ \text{b. client} \\ \text{c. client} \end{cases}$

whereas (2) if and when it exists, is probably volatile and temporary in nature, especially if the patrons are all being exploited for the same resource (e.g. information) that the client may be able to use to promote himself out of the subordinate position he formerly occupied in respect to the patrons.

(2)

Client $\begin{cases} \text{a. patron} \\ \text{b. patron} \\ \text{c. patron} \end{cases}$

All of this, of course, is related to the type of conundrum concerning the circumstances under which a client can achieve more control over his patron to the point that he becomes the patron and the former patron his client (cf. Freeman in Paine, 1971). For example, in the next chapter, dealing with a number of special events in Aklavik, I shall be describing Mrs. Stockholm in a relationship with the administrator that reveals her as patron and he as her client. However, in the council situation, I believe that it is strategically important for her not to appear as the administrator's patron even if this were possible because of the serious problems this would raise regarding the acceptance of her by her fellow Locals in such a dominant position.

other ties to the main Eskimo groups. Mrs. James is married to Mrs. Stockholm's nephew.

While Mrs. Stockholm obviously attempts to enlist these females as her personal supporters, she is not always successful in doing so. For example, before a particular council meeting she had approached Mrs. James and asked for her support that night in relation to two proposals she was going to place before the council. Mrs. James, however, was in a predicament since she favoured one but not the other of these proposals. Not wishing to tell Mrs. Stockholm this fact outright or later be placed in the embarrassing position of having to support her at the meeting she chose an obvious alternative and did not attend the meeting at all.

That particular meeting was an interesting one for several reasons. First, there were eleven spectators present, the highest attendance I had ever seen. Secondly, it provided a glimpse of Mrs. Stockholm 'in action' on the council.

The meeting started twenty minutes late because the administrator called three of the councillors individually into his adjoining office for private talks. During this time the Court Room was as quiet as a church; in fact, the similarity was emphasized by the solemn way that the people sat with occasionally someone turning to whisper something to his neighbour before

relapsing into silent meditation once again. At last the administrator came bounding in, remarking to Mrs. Stockholm that he saw she had a quorum and asking if she wanted to begin -- as if it were her fault that the meeting had not started before then.

The administrator proceeded briskly with the items of business he wished to introduce and these were quickly concluded. At no time did he glance at the spectators or indicate that he was aware of their presence. The spectators, for their part, sat quietly but attentively. The councillors were also subdued, as they normally are. Mrs. Stockholm spoke more often than usual although hesitatingly and holding her hand shielding her mouth on the audience's side so that her comments were indistinct and muffled.

Under the heading of 'new business' she reintroduced the idea of converting the basement of the old, demolished R.C. Mission into a swimming pool. Her suggestion was made softly, but with a note of firmness that had been missing in her earlier comments. At once there was an "Oh no! Not all that again!" response from the administrator and his technical supervisor who had been invited to sit at the table to give 'expert' evidence on an earlier matter. The government foreman, and the part-time contractor, also reacted in the same fashion but the only other councillors present, the clerk and the nursing station housekeeper

were quiet at this time.

This was a subject that Lloyd had introduced three years previously and which had resulted in a confrontation between him and various government officials. Lloyd had insisted that the plan was feasible and certainly many of the Local population thought so, too, and still do. The administrator at that time who was strongly anti-Lloyd held an opposite view and was supported in this by several Outsiders and a few Locals.¹ The government sent in their engineers and other experts who produced a negative report on the proposed conversion. Lloyd stuck to his guns, however, to the point that he threatened to take the matter to the Commissioner and the Territorial Council. The administrator, in his turn, had written to his superiors stressing the intimidating effect Lloyd was having on the other councillors and hoping it would be possible to encourage Lloyd "to step down from the local council ... in the interests of development of local authority within the council" (quoted from a letter in the Settlement Council's file). Eventually, the matter was dropped and the R.C. basement has remained as a large, empty and rather dangerous hole in the ground. Now it appeared that Mrs. Stockholm was attempting to

¹ The issue was more involved than this but does not merit a full discussion here.

reopen the whole question.

A brisk discussion was soon underway with the normally reticent councillors proclaiming that Mrs. Stockholm's suggestion did not make sense, would cost too much money, was a 'crazy idea' and so on. The administrator and the technical supervisor made similar comments, especially the latter, who expressed himself very excitedly, giving Mrs. Stockholm a 'dressing down' for suggesting this project again after the engineers ("and after all they should know") had already condemned the plan. Finally, the technical supervisor was restrained by the administrator who reminded him that since he was not a councillor he should take no part in the discussion. This interruption served to calm the discussion somewhat. The spectators, of course, had perked up considerably as a result of this spirited display and most now sat leaning forward in their chairs to catch every syllable and nuance of the interaction. One of them, a white contractor (and an Outsider), proposed an alternative plan and soon several councillors were suggesting other plans too.

Mrs. Stockholm through all this had not retreated from her original point of view and continued quietly and firmly, whenever she could get a few words in, to say that she still thought the idea of developing the basement as a pool "was at least worth a try." When the councillors had reached the stage

where they were suggesting alternative means of acquiring a pool the administrator indicated to the clerk that the discussion should end and the latter made a motion, quickly passed, to table the question. Mrs. Stockholm, however, had the last word, declaring, "Even if you're going to beat me once again, I'm going to keep on fighting!"

I mention this brief incident at one council meeting for a variety of reasons. First, the matter under discussion can be described as an Outsider versus Local issue. By this I mean that there is a widely felt need in Aklavik to provide the young people with some activity that will keep them 'out of trouble' in the summer. Furthermore, by patching up the concrete walls and floor of the basement Mrs. Stockholm was articulating the feeling that this would provide a pool adequate by Local standards and values since it would be utilizing a resource that was already there, hopefully without too much work or expense, and with only a minimum of 'expert' (i.e. Outsider) supervision necessary. The other side of the argument while agreeing that a pool would be a recreational asset suggests the kind of long range planning necessary to do the job 'properly' -- on site visits by 'experts', the need for blueprints, budgetary approval followed by a mis-shipment of materials and the other peculiarities so familiar in all northern communities in association with most projects conceived, planned and supervised by Outsiders, especially

those in the government service.

Secondly, the incident indicates something of Mrs. Stockholm's individuality, political awareness and expertise. She had obviously given her proposal some forethought (i.e., this was one of the issues on which she had lobbied Mrs. James), and chose to present it when a relatively large number of spectators was present. ¹ Of the eleven, however, I could only identify one as a definite Stockholm supporter. Nevertheless, the way in which she introduced the subject, the nature of the subject itself, and the manner in which she quietly, but firmly, defended it were likely to count in her favour. This, I feel, is true especially since the behaviour of her sharpest critics during the discussion bore strong overtones of their 'acting white'.

Thirdly, the discussion serves to illustrate one important aspect of the council that I have hinted at several times but have left undefined until now. I have already described some of the factors pertaining to the 'hang free' attitude of the Locals in reference to the council. The point I wish to stress

¹ One of the reasons for their attendance was a petition that Mrs. Stockholm had circulated to have the evening curfew for children enforced. Many parents had signed this and it was assumed that it would be discussed at the meeting that night. The matter was raised very tentatively by the administrator but after some whispered asides by him to Mrs. Stockholm the council moved on to discuss the next item of their business, not dealing with the petition at that time.

here is that this response stems to a large degree from the fact that much of the business transacted by council is perceived by the Local people to be lacking in any relevance or real meaning for them. For example, on my way home, I met an Eskimo who, when I told him what had transpired at the meeting that night, (a total of 13 separate items of business), commented in an offhand way that he was not interested in such things. Then, after a momentary pause, he blurted out vehemently, "why the hell doesn't that bunch talk about jobs for people and things like that?"

It is true that the council does not do this to any significant degree, nor indeed are other general or wider issues raised such as social problems in Aklavik, education, or the presence and effects of the oil companies carrying on exploration in the Delta at the present time. Yet these are the kinds of issues that many Locals, including the councillors, discuss among themselves and in which they have an understandable concern. This is especially important since the council provides the only public arena for the discussion of such topics at the present due to the relative inactivity of the other Local organizations (the Community Association and the Trappers' Association) capable of raising some of these issues.

I believe that it is a distinct indication of the administrator's control and influence that such issues are

effectively excluded from the council's discussions. It can perhaps be argued that the council officially is not authorized to deal with these matters. However, in this respect, it is interesting to note that the Commissioner at the meetings of the Territorial Council while having to guide the members through an always busy agenda, nevertheless, allows them scope in their discussions to comment on precisely these kinds of topics if they wish to do so.

In ending my discussion of the Settlement Council and some of the key Local people connected with it one final comment remains to be made. While a great many northern settlements similar to Aklavik have some kind of council in operation, communication from these councils invariably goes vertically to government headquarters with very little information horizontally communicated to other communities. In addition, it might be added that little information about the progress and problems of other councils ever percolates down to Local members from headquarters. This is interesting in terms of the curiosity most northern people have about their neighbours in other parts of the north as evidenced by their rapt attention to T.V. and films depicting life in these other areas (cf. E. Eades, forthcoming publication). Thus, while the council is neither a divisive nor a uniting element within the community (as evidenced by the 'hang free' response of most Aklavikites), neither does

it serve as a focus of Local attention vis-a-vis inter-community rivalry or alliances (cf. Frankenberg, 1957:70-88). In short, there is little about the local Aklavik council that in Frankenberg's terms "symbolizes" or is "expressive of (that community's) unity." To find activities that are symbolic in this way it is necessary to turn to specific events, especially sporting and recreational ones.

CHAPTER V

AKLAVIK IN ACTION: THREE SPECIAL OCCASIONS

During my stay in Aklavik there were a number of occasions or events that may be termed 'special' in that they generated activities and behaviour not usually encountered during the everyday pattern of settlement life. These events included such diverse happenings as drownings, funerals, sports days, centennial events, special church services, graduation ceremonies at the school, performances by visiting professional musicians, and even on one occasion a weekend which was described with some exaggeration by one of the R.C.M.P. as being one on which "everyone in the place was drunk." In the following chapter I shall be describing only three of these special occasions: the Mail Run, the Aklavik Invitational Bonspiel, and the Canoe Race weekend. What I shall be specifically dealing with are the emotional and social contexts of the events themselves with particular attention to the parts played in these events by the administrator and Mrs. Stockholm.

The Mail Run

1970 was Centennial Year in the Northwest Territories. As a result, all the settlements were participating in various events to commemorate the occasion. Each settlement had a local Centennial Co-ordinator who reported to the central centennial headquarters in Yellowknife. The clerk was chosen by the administrator to fill this co-ordinator's position in Aklavik.

One event in which Aklavik was involved was a re-enactment of the mail run by dog teams down the Mackenzie River from Fort Smith to the Delta. Formerly, the run would have ended at Aklavik which was the capital of the Western Arctic but now the route continued to Inuvik, the new capital. Each settlement chose a dog team and driver to carry the mail to the next settlement. On the completion of the run many of the drivers were flown to Inuvik for a banquet. While the run was in progress it received ample coverage from the northern stations of the C.B.C. which, with newspaper and Centennial Commission articles, served to turn a spotlight on each settlement in turn.

The administrator approached Mrs. Stockholm suggesting that the Women's Institute choose the Aklavik driver who would take the mail to Inuvik. Because this was the final lap, the driver would be sure to receive a maximum of publicity and acclaim. For this position Mrs. Stockholm chose a non-Treaty

Indian relative of hers although many women in the settlement, mainly Eskimos, felt that the honour should go to a local Indian who had, in fact, been the last man in the Delta to deliver the mail by dog team. One of the reasons Mrs. Stockholm is reputed to have opposed the latter is that he has an Eskimo wife and as I have mentioned earlier, she was not on friendly terms with many of the Eskimos. The administrator was aware of this conflict over the two drivers but accepted Mrs. Stockholm's nominee, T.G. Elias, as the man for the job.

Two Indian ladies, Mollie Netsi and Frances Babiche, Mrs. Stockholm's close friends, made a decorative parka for T.G. and also colourful back cloths and standing irons for his dogs. The same ladies prepared food for a dance that was to be held the evening the mail arrived in Aklavik. On the eve of this day, Mrs. Stockholm persuaded the administrator to drive his government pick up truck around the settlement with T.G. in his regalia standing on the back with herself and her two friends. A number of children also succeeded in climbing aboard and for about half an hour the administrator drove them about loudly sounding his horn as those on the back waved and shouted. This spontaneous mini-parade which, to everyone's surprise, prominently featured the administrator served to advertize the coming event and in addition functioned as a kind of 'one-upmanship' for Mrs. Stockholm and her group since it publicized their part in the Mail Run activities. There seemed to be little concern on their

part that some Locals would react negatively to this ostentatious display possibly because it might appear that it was the administrator's idea rather than Mrs. Stockholm's. However, many Locals did react to it negatively, sanctioning Mrs. Stockholm for being so 'pushy' whereas the administrator was the recipient of some positive approval because of his apparent interest in 'helping out' in connection with an important Local event.

On the following afternoon, the school children were dismissed early and they joined a large number of the other residents on the riverbank to await the arrival of the Fort Macpherson team and T.G. who had driven his own team out to meet them. The children waved streamers and banners they had made and Mrs. Stockholm's ladies had produced a "Welcome to Aklavik -- Never Say Die" banner which was erected on the river bank. The administrator allowed a multitude of cheering kids to climb aboard his truck and drove them around until reprimanded by the R.C.N.P. corporal for "driving a dangerously overloaded truck."¹

Eventually the dog teams drew near and several of the older women were in tears as they watched this reminder of another era

1 Some indication that the administrator was not entirely unaware of the positive effect his unusual behaviour was likely to produce locally may be gained from his remark to me that the corporal had really done him a favour by reprimanding him in front of the Local people.

being re-enacted. There was no formal ceremony of greeting other than the clerk, as Centennial Co-ordinator, shaking hands with the drivers. The administrator stayed well back among the spectators many of whom (mainly Outsiders) were taking pictures of the colourful drivers and their teams.

That evening, a large number turned up at the school for the dance. The administrator and his wife were there and sat with the principal's wife (the principal was playing in the band with two Locals) while two teachers and their wives sat together at the opposite end of the room. No dancing was done, however, for an hour or two (the Outsiders never took to the floor at all except for the administrator and his wife) and the floor was occupied mainly by young children who played around or noisily rolled pop cans across it. The onlookers, Locals and Outsiders alike, made disapproving sounds and comments about the children's behaviour but no one made any attempt to correct them. The meal, (cakes, cookies, sandwiches and coffee) was not served until after 11 p.m. and the administrator later expressed his anger about this to me since he had brought his wife after Mrs. Stockholm had assured him that they would be fed at 9 p.m. The other Outsiders were equally incensed at this 'obvious' example of poor planning and lack of organization by the non-whites. As a matter of fact, the food was ready at the appointed time, but was held for the arrival of the Locals many of whom did not appear until late in the evening as is their custom.

Mrs. Stockholm and her two helpers served coffee and food until a fight ended the dance at about 2 a.m. Just a few people were left in the school when the R.C.M.P. constable, a new arrival in town, came in to "check things out." He found an empty liquor bottle under a chair and smilingly brought it over to where I sat talking to Mrs. Stockholm and Mollie Netsi. One of the latter's small sons sat next to us and when the constable asked, "Did anyone see who brought this bottle in?" the little chap started to answer that he did. Immediately, he received a sharp kick from Mrs. Stockholm and fell silent while she started to tell Mrs. Netsi and me stories of how the Locals used to up-end "nosey policemen" in snowbanks. The constable stoically stood there for some time, with a fixed grin, awkwardly caught in the position of having to listen to their very pointed stories while at the same time being excluded from the group.

On the following morning T.G. left with his dogs for Inuvik. Three elderly male Indians were sent by plane to Inuvik by the administrator to represent Aklavik at the banquet with T.G. The administrator also arranged for seats on the plane and at the banquet for Mrs. Stockholm and Mrs. Babiche.

In summarizing the Mail Run activities I should like to mention the following. Essentially, this was an "Indian" event in that it was an Indian activity, delivery of mail by dog team, that was being commemorated and the main participants, Mrs. Stockholm, T.G. and the other Locals involved were Indian, at least by association.

The role adopted by Mrs. Stockholm is symptomatic of her behaviour on several similar occasions; mainly, she emerges as a situational leader and organizer, in response to an occasion that has specific relevance to local interests and values in Aklavik. In this she is aided and assisted by her two closest supporters. Here, she is also assisted by an Outsider, in this case, the administrator, who provides her with specific types of support (necessary authorization to purchase supplies, strategic use of his vehicle, authorization to fly to Inuvik, etc.) She is rewarded for her efforts in many different ways: the knowledge that the good name of Aklavik has been upheld (Aklavik -- Never Say Die!), seeing her nominee, T.G., chosen for the honour of representing Aklavik, ensuring that at least one of her female friends accompanies her to the festivities in Inuvik and by demonstrating her 'indispensability' to the administrator and others in Aklavik. It is this last characteristic that I should like to expand briefly. To a large degree she is indispensable to the administrator since on occasion she is able to and does mobilize her followers to see that everything "goes right on the day." I have already mentioned how the administrator may be affected in a general sense by everything that occurs in the settlement and this is assuredly true on such days as the Mail Run when the attention of neighbouring settlements is focussed on the place. It is imperative to him, then, that things progress favourably especially when another area of government, in this case, the Centennial Commission, is involved.

The Bonspiel

The Aklavik Curling Club each year puts on some half dozen bonspiels, the most important of which is the Invitational Bonspiel to which neighbouring settlements are invited to send teams. These teams have to pay their own transportation and entry fees. The host community, however, is responsible for providing accommodation during the three days of the event, but this is a matter of little difficulty since most of the visitors have either relatives or friends in the settlement with whom they stay. Two facts, this very welcome visitation by so many friends and relatives, and the keen sense of competition involved in the bonspiel itself, give the weekend its emotionally charged and festive atmosphere.

A total of 27 rinks entered in the 1970 event held in mid-March. Two rinks were from Fort Macpherson, 11 from Inuvik, and 14 from Aklavik. However, this does not mean that all the members of each team were from one of the settlements mentioned since some were 'pick-up' rinks containing individuals from different settlements. There was no clearly distinguishable pattern evident as to the composition of the rinks. Essentially, each 'skip' tried to recruit the best team he or she could (three of the 'skips' were women). Where a husband and wife were curling it was usual to find both on the same rink. Brothers were teammates in some cases but in others they were scattered among various

teams; the same applied to sisters as parent-offspring combinations. Outsiders appeared on rinks with Locals except in the case of one Inuvik team which was made up of four Outsiders. Finally, a few teams could be described as consisting of teenagers and young adults.

Most of the visitors arrived around supper time of the Friday and the airstrip was busy with many small planes each disgorging a handful of curlers. Many visitors brought liquor or beer with them and received willing help in transporting this to their weekend billets. By 7 p.m. the small foyer of the curling club was packed with contestants and spectators and nearly everyone was seen to be sporting some kind of decorative emblem or crest. Each curler was given a nametag trimmed with white fur (made by a small group of Aklavik ladies, all Outsiders). In addition, many Aklavik curlers and spectators wore distinctive tams produced by Mrs. Stockholm's W.I. group. Colourful curling sweaters and tasselled headgear all contributed to the drama of the occasion.

One characteristic readily apparent even at this early stage of the proceedings was that the bonspiel was essentially a Local event. Only 5 out of the 15 Aklavik Outsiders who regularly curled took part, and to this can be added one Inuvik rink, bringing the total Outsiders participating to 9 out of 108 curlers. Their relative degree of competence and skill

in curling was hardly a factor to keep the other Aklavik Outsiders out of the bonspiel since some were among the best curlers in Aklavik and the others were at least as good or better than the poorer Locals competing. Nor was the fact that they would be curling on rinks with Local teammates important because this was the practice in all regular curling. A more likely explanation is that they did not wish to enter and be associated with Locals many of whom would be drinking thus making the whole situation unpredictable and therefore 'dangerous' as far as the Outsiders were concerned. In this respect it is significant, I believe, that during the entire three days of curling, which included some very closely fought and exciting games, only two Outsiders, the R.C.M.P. corporal and his wife, stopped in at the arena for a very brief visit. The Aklavik Outsiders who were curling, it was noted, left the premises as soon as their games were completed.

The curling continued non-stop from Friday night until Sunday afternoon since that was the only way that the required number of games could be played on the two sheets of ice. Nearly all the teams curled three or four times, with the early losers in the "A" event being relegated to the "B" competition and those failing to win there progressing to the "C" event, according to the pattern of such bonspiels. This, of course, meant that after the bonspiel got well under way there were three events going on simultaneously with rinks constantly checking their own progress

and that of their rivals on the master score board. This board also indicated the times of all future games and served as a focal point for the spectators also, who, regardless of the hour, were constantly in and out of the arena. To my knowledge only one rink failed to appear at the appointed time of their game and lost by default.

The Women's Institute had undertaken to serve breakfasts, lunches and dinners in the Home Economics room of the school during the Saturday and Sunday. As usual, Mrs. Stockholm provided the initiative here by arranging the use of the school, purchasing the food and organizing the ladies involved. She herself took an active part in cooking and serving the meals. Despite the good value offered, however, the W.I. had relatively few customers and no one, for instance, appeared for breakfast on either morning. There are several possible reasons for this. Their enterprise was poorly advertised; also, the school, while containing excellent facilities, was not centrally located, nor was it a place (because of poor school-community relations) where most Locals felt entirely at ease. Perhaps as important, however, is the fact that most Locals were not accustomed to paying several dollars for a restaurant meal.¹

¹ They do, of course, 'eat out' in the sense of purchasing sandwiches, soups, hamburgers or pie at Lloyd's coffeeshop or in the Inuvik restaurants.

In addition, the W.I. also had competition since Lloyd's coffee shop was open and continued to do good business, and a concession at the arena serving light refreshments operated by the Curling Club also had considerable sales.

A bar, or in curling circles what is referred to as "the broom closet", was operated by the curling club under special licence in Stockholm's movie theatre. This was supervised by the R.C.M.P. constable with the help of a small group of Outsiders who acted as barmen.¹ I was unable to observe what transacted in the "broom closet" since I was informed that its services were available to curlers only. However, I later found out that many non-curlers were among the customers served there. The bar was open the first night but closed early on the second evening because of a fight between two Local Eskimos. Much dissatisfaction was expressed locally over the fact that the bar was closed for this reason. Several people described to me what had occurred, adding such comments as, "why did they have to boot everyone out?" ... "why should everyone suffer?" These people suggested that the

1 This arrangement had been in operation for the last few years and evidently had worked to the satisfaction of both Outsiders and Locals, although some members of both groups, for religious and other reasons, were obviously opposed to having any kind of bar service in Aklavik.

bar had been better run the previous year when the stricter corporal was in charge, " ... then, anyone who got too high was booted out and everyone 'watched it'" (i.e. didn't get too drunk).

No Outsiders, other than those who were there in charge of the bar, either drank at or visited the "broom closet". Two of the barmen later described how shocked and disgusted they had been by the behaviour of the Locals there. Especially objectionable to them was the fact that some Locals "who were deeply in debt to the Bay" (i.e. the Hudson's Bay Company) had the "audacity" to throw down \$20 bills on the counter to buy drinks for their friends when the barman who was serving them was the Bay manager himself. Without a doubt, it was a weekend on which much drinking took place, although certainly not the "booziest" during my stay. There were several curlers who were drunk to the point that they had difficulty keeping their feet while on the ice and, many others, including spectators, who were "high". Many teenagers, especially the males, appropriated the term "broom closet" and used it as a basis for in-group joking with an accompanying mimicry of drunken gestures and behaviour. At the arena, everyone was busily engaged watching the games and behaviour of those around him. There was a fair amount of 'big talk' and bravado from some of those who had been drinking. There were no fights or near fights, and this fact was reacted to positively by the Locals many of whom, such as Mrs. Stockholm, felt that such things would spoil Aklavik's good name and offend their many visitors.

In short, it was apparent and understood by all that Aklavik was 'on show' and the expressed desire was that everyone 'have a good time' and later that the visitors return to their home settlements satisfied and happy although hopefully without too many trophies.

There was one incident that occurred midway through the competition and which later became the subject of conversation among Locals. It concerned an Aklavik team on which two Outsiders, the power plant and HBC managers, were playing. They were in play against one other Aklavik team of Locals, and the 'skip' of the latter team was one of those debtors of the HBC mentioned earlier who became a 'big spender' at the "broom closet"

The game was an important one and the two Outsiders were noticeably tense. Their opponents took an early lead which was maintained and increased partly as a result of the Local skip's strategies. The latter took to standing closer and closer to his Outsider competitors when they were either getting ready to make their shots or when calling (i.e., directing) shots to their teammates. In addition, he made some joking comments to the Outsiders' teammates and was painfully slow when it came to his own turn to curl. All of these strategies had their effect and the two Outsiders completely lost their remaining composure. They cursed and swore, especially the HBC manager well known for his quick temper, and threatened to take their team off the ice. They

appealed to an Eskimo official to penalize the other rink for the skip's behaviour but he declined to do so and persuaded them that they would have to complete the game or lose by default. Much disgruntled, and still fuming the Outsiders took to the ice again to be soundly beaten by the Local rink. After the game, the two Outsiders turned from their teammates and opponents, marched out of the doorway and did not reappear for the remainder of the tournament.

The HBC manager later shamefacedly apologized to me for losing his temper and swearing because he had learned that my wife was present.¹ He also went on to say how foolish he had been since in his anger he forgot that he was the president of the bonspiel committee and as such could have ordered the other skip off the ice. He stated that had he remembered he held such authority he would have used it even though "it would have looked bad" since the other rink was, in fact, leading comfortably at that time.

Dances were held in the school on both the Friday and Saturday nights with an Inuvik band, all Locals, providing the music. As usual there were no Outsiders present at either of these functions and the attendance for the most part was made up of teenagers and young adults. This type of generational grouping was noticeable also at the arena where the teenagers formed small

¹ Interestingly, there had been at least a dozen Local ladies present but he gave no indication that he considered he had committed a social impropriety by swearing in their presence.

groups of their own, observant of, but not participating in, any of the social interaction of their elders. These younger groups, always dissolving and reforming, were in a constant state of mobility, moving in and out of the arena, trekking down to the coffee shop and pool hall, and making innumerable visits to the homes of their friends. Their parents were also mobile in much the same way but to a less noticeable degree. The activity at the arena was one of the principal attractions that drew Locals outdoors but another reason for the adults' mobility was that some household liquor supplies expired or, more correctly, were 'killed' sooner than others which precipitated searches for friends who might be in a more fortunate position.

As the bonspiel proceeded the level of excitement increased when it appeared that, for the first time, an Aklavik team stood a good chance of winning the "A" event. In fact, for a time, it appeared that two Aklavik teams might meet in the final, but one was defeated, leaving the rink whose skip was earlier involved in the altercation with the two Outsiders, to carry the honours for Aklavik. The final of the "C" event was played during the early hours of the Sunday morning and was won by the Outsiders' rink from Inuvik. However, since the latter event amounted to little more than a 'competition for losers' little enthusiasm was generated over it.

The finals of the "A" and "B" events were played simultaneously on the Sunday afternoon. The arena was packed with Locals who strained forward to catch a glimpse of the action through the large glass windows which separated them from the players. Long gone now among the curlers and spectators was any indication of drinking.¹ In the "A" event the Aklavik team was meeting an Inuvik rink which included one Aklavikite. The "B" event was to be decided between an Aklavik team and one made up of teenagers and young adults from several communities but 'skipped' by a Fort Macpherson youth. Both games were close and extremely exciting, especially the "B" event which ended in a draw and was therefore decided on the basis of each 'skip' throwing a single rock to win. Gasps of relief and scattered applause indicated that the Aklavik teams had won both finals. All that remained now was the awarding of the prizes and then a short walk to the airstrip where the first of the chartered aircraft were already waiting to take the visitors back to their home settlements. A minor embarrassment developed, however, since neither the HBC manager, who was the president of the bonspiel committee, or the other Outsiders involved, turned up to award the trophies. In their

1 The other Aklavik team beaten in the semifinals of the "A" event curled masterfully in their earlier games although several of them were quite drunk while doing so. The fact that they sobered up before the semifinals and as a result were strained and tense was felt by many, including myself, to have cost them the game.

stead, a Local curler who was a member of the executive, after some encouragement, stepped forward, presented the trophies with the assistance of another Local, thanked everyone for participating and brought the bonspiel activities to an end.

A number of observations remain to be made, however, in respect to the importance of curling in Aklavik. At the present time, curling is the only recreational activity that brings all elements of the social community together. This includes a fair number of Alaskan Eskimos many of whom normally exclude themselves from other organizational activities other than those connected with the Pentecostal Church. I have already mentioned the fifteen or so Outsiders who normally curl in the ongoing 'scheds' that take up most of the curling season. Of importance also is the participation of teenagers and young adults who, even though they do not become involved in the regular 'scheds' to a great degree, do turn out to play in the bonspiels. In their case also, this is the only occasion when they join in what might be termed one aspect of the adult organizational life. Equally important, is the fact that rinks are re-chosen for each 'sched' and bonspiel which produces a mixing effect in that rink memberships are re-shuffled and new partnerships formed. A further 'socializing' aspect of curling is that during the season the arena is used as a 'drop-in' center by many, old and young, who come to sit and watch the games or talk with their friends.

Curling presents one of the rare opportunities in Aklavik for Locals to meet and beat Outsiders in a public setting. This is not to suggest that this is a motivating factor for all or most Local curlers. On the contrary, I believe that most of these are unaware of this reality but some of the better Local curlers, especially the 'skips', on occasion appear to gain a keen sense of achievement in outplaying and outmaneuvering a rink 'skipped' by an influential Outsider. Two factors appear to be involved here: prestige, and sportsmanship.

Prestige is involved in the public acknowledgement that one is skilled enough in the game to qualify as a 'skip' although there are no formal qualifications or standards that one has to measure up to in order to do so. In theory, anyone could declare himself as a 'skip'; in fact, few without some specific qualifications would attempt to do so. An Eskimo friend of mine expressed it thus, "I learned when I was in day school ... they made me a 'skip' ... It's important, I tell you. You got to know what you're doing ... The 'skip' is the one who counts ... He calls the shots ... He's got to be the best ..."

All the 'skips' play to win and some take their losses harder than others. The Aklavik people like many people elsewhere, do not appreciate "soreheads", those who are poor losers, yet it was apparent that there were a few Local 'skips' who had difficulty in maintaining their composure in defeat. (In terms of overreaction

it is obvious, of course, that victory can also be as difficult a reality to handle for some.) However, the best known 'bad sports', acknowledged by Outsiders and Locals alike, have been a few Outsiders. One of these, the authoritarian R.C.M.P. corporal, is reputed to have shot the pet dog belonging to a Local skip the day following his defeat by the latter. I do not claim to know the motives behind the corporal's action, but the fact is that he did indeed shoot the pet, and in most unusual circumstances. Outsiders have also been described as having walked off the ice in the middle of a game because they were losing, and displaying ill-mannered and short-tempered behaviour similar to that of the two Outsiders mentioned earlier. Significantly, many Outsiders have said that they would rather play under a Local skip than an Outsider because the Locals are more 'fun'; that is, they give the impression of not taking the game as seriously as their Outsider counterparts (cf. Schwimmer, 1970).

Each year, the curling club awards in the region of 100 trophies to the winners and runners-up of the various 'scheds' and bonspiels. Some of these are provided by Outside organizations such as liquor companies and the Northern Canada Power Commission but many are purchased by the club itself. It is common to see these trophies in nearly every household in the settlement. Some homes, where several of the family may be curlers, are literally festooned with trophies; in others, just one or two stand in lonely splendour on a cupboard or a shelf. The

Outsiders who curl also display their trophies but rarely accumulate as many as some of the Locals presumably because of their shorter residency in the community. From such demonstrativeness it appears that these trophies are important in that they symbolize some particular skill and ability and also some success in a specific type of competition with others. ¹

Finally, I would like to make some comments in respect to the organization of the bonspiel itself. The bonspiel committee consisted mainly of Outsiders and it was those who sent out the invitations to nearby communities, arranged for the special liquor licence to operate the "broom closet", ordered the trophies and the refreshments to be sold at the concession, saw to the advertising of the event and other related duties. Some Outsider ladies made the novel nametags but there was no liason between these ladies and the Locals of the Women's Institute who on their

¹ One informant emphasized to me the symbolic importance of trophies but in relation to dog team racing. For many years an unsuccessful competitor in these races he described how he would like to win the trophy in a forthcoming race (although he admitted there was little likelihood of his being able to do this). There was a cash prize also, but significantly, he did not stress this at all, instead mentioning the trophy repeatedly which "you'd always have ... it would mean something."

The only anti-trophy opinion I heard in Aklavik was that of the Anglican minister. He held that the curling trophies were "terribly ugly, useless things" and that "useful prizes" such as cutlery and table lamps would be more appropriate for the Locals.

own initiative made the other favours (tams and ribbons) worn by many during the weekend.

However, in terms of the actual running of the three day event, with the exception of the participation of Outsiders as barmen and in drawing up the schedule of games, essentially all the work was done by Locals. For example, the preparing of the meals served in the school was done by the Women's Institute under the direction of Mrs. Stockholm. Meanwhile, at the arena, a large number of Locals took turns in serving refreshments from the concession. When supplies of particular items were exhausted, the workers took the responsibility of having these replenished from one of the stores. When the appointed time for a game was drawing near, concern was expressed quite often by non-participants that a team member might be late and in many cases 'search parties' were dispatched to get the laggard to the arena. In this way the games were kept on schedule, a very necessary consideration because of the many visitors who had to return home on the Sunday afternoon. Finally, I have already described how some Locals stepped in, as it were, to bring the bonspiel to a successful and friendly conclusion by awarding the trophies and saying a few final words to visitors and hosts alike.

The Canoe Race

As part of the centennial celebrations a canoe race was planned down the Mackenzie River from Fort Providence to Inuvik, a distance of approximately 1200 miles. Ten teams, eight from the Northwest Territories and one each from the Yukon and Alberta, were entered. The Duke of Edinburgh, during the Royal Family's visit to the Territories, started the race on July 6. Each team consisted of six paddlers using 25 foot replicas of the 'northern' canoes of the voyageur era. The prize money totalled \$10,000 which was to be split proportionally between the various teams according to their finishing position in the race. Additional prize money was forthcoming from the various sprints put on in communities along the route, and individual trophies were awarded to the team members of the winning team.

There had been considerable speculation for some months prior to the race among individuals who hoped to be paddling. In fact, the possibility of having such a race was first discussed during the Canadian Centennial Canoe Race of 1967 (from the Rocky Mountains to the Montreal Expo site). I was the Chief Voyageur of this earlier race (in charge of the N.W.T. team) and some of the friction between Indian and Eskimo paddlers that occurred in this 1970 race had their origins in this earlier event.

The government clerk, as local co-ordinator of centennial activities held a meeting with Charlie Kudloo, the 'self-appointed' leader ¹ of the team about a week before the race was to begin. Three other paddlers were also present and they discussed who the team might be, what supplies they would have to take, and related topics. The team consisted of 3 Eskimos, 2 Metis, and 1 Indian. Factors pertinent to these choices were: availability and willingness of the individual under discussion to go, compatibility to the four who were doing the choosing, and strength. Ability to paddle was never mentioned, apparently following the belief that if an individual were strong and had endurance, he could pick up the necessary paddling skill quickly. Kudloo, in his middle forties and father of 12 was the oldest member of the team since the others, with one exception, were all in their twenties and single.

After a few days the team left and Aklavik settled down to follow the race by means of C.B.C. commentaries originating in Inuvik. The Fort Macpherson team took a slim early lead and

¹ Kudloo had been the captain of the N.W.T. canoe team in the 1967 race until demoted by me and replaced by an Indian who in this 1970 race was the captain of the Fort Macpherson team. In respect to Kudloo I use the term 'self-appointed' because he took it upon himself to go around the settlement asking various individuals to form the Aklavik team. This was done before the clerk, as centennial co-ordinator became involved and when he did, it was tacitly agreed among him, the paddlers and Kudloo that Kudloo would be the captain.

managed to maintain it as the race progressed with Aklavik in second place. Occasionally, two or three days went by without any news of the race being broadcast. This served to intensify local curiosity and discussion about the Aklavik team's progress. Rumour and gossip were rife, especially after an early radio report that Kudloo had left the team and was now paddling for Yellowknife.¹ As the teams daily worked their way downriver towards the Delta, Aklavik was still in second place only a matter of minutes behind Fort Macpherson and excitement ran high in Aklavik because of the hope that with their greater knowledge of the Delta's intricate system of waterways the Aklavik paddlers might yet win.

The race was due to arrive in Aklavik on Sunday, July 26 with its accompanying flotilla of supply vessels, administrative personnel and news correspondents. Three days prior to this, the administrator became somewhat worried because the clerk had been absent on holidays and had told him nothing regarding the plans for the coming festivities except to say that he would be back and would arrange everything. Meanwhile, the clerk had

1 I was informed that Kudloo ran into trouble with his teammates early in the race for, among other things, being bossy, refusing to consult with them regarding tactics, and for doing too much drinking and thus being unable to do his share of the paddling.

apparently told others, including Mrs. Stockholm, that the administrator was taking over the arrangements while he was away and that he might or might not be back for the race. Mrs. Stockholm expressed surprise at the clerk's not telling anyone what he had done or not asking someone to take his place, remarking, "Every time there's anything going on here they (the administrator and the clerk) always ask me to help." It was at this time that the administrator did, in fact, officially enlist her aid. Mrs. Stockholm, however, was not entirely unprepared because she had already mentioned her ideas in respect to such things as a community picnic, a dance at the school and the need for banners and flags. Now the administrator told her to buy anything she needed and charge it to the Centennial account although he did not know how much his clerk had allotted to cover such expenses.

Mrs. Stockholm was extremely busy for the next few days. She purchased cake mixes and other baking supplies and enlisted local ladies to make cakes and bannock and workers were sought to make flags and bunting. Fish roasting racks were required and she arranged to have some sent from Inuvik. Also, it had been decided to set up a museum and handicraft display in the settlement's oldest house with the administrator promising to have his men clean the premises and Mrs. Stockholm taking responsibility for organizing the exhibits. Finally, the site for the picnic had to be prepared and although it was the government-employed labourers who did this with the help of one or two others, Mrs.

Stockholm was involved making suggestions and sending requests to the administrator for additional supplies and support.

At this time, my wife volunteered to help and Mrs. Stockholm asked her if she would approach the other Outsider ladies to see if they would bake something for the picnic. Mrs. Stockholm also expressed much concern over the lack of flags. During their many centennial events (which had been attended by many Aklavik Locals) nearby Inuvik was liberally bedecked with flags and bunting. Mrs. Stockholm had previously asked both the clerk and the administrator to obtain some of these for use in Aklavik but apparently they were not interested, or did not appreciate the value she and many other Locals placed on such things. Now she tried to get my wife to ask the administrator to phone his superiors in Inuvik to get some flags but my wife refused.

Most of my remarks so far have referred to the activities of Thursday, July 23. On this day Mrs. Stockholm was busily working and organizing, helped mainly by her close friends, Mrs. Netsi and Mrs. Babiche and the latter's son who was making large banners. These activities continued and intensified on the Friday and Saturday when other ladies became involved in cooking and related jobs. Essentially, however, the most work fell on the trio just named.

On the Saturday, five things occurred which are worthy of mention. The first of these was the arrival early that morning of some boats carrying the advance party of the canoe race which

greatly increased the interest and excitement over the race which was due to reach Aklavik the following morning. Secondly, Saturday was Treaty Day which saw the arrival of an administrative party to dispense the annual treaty payments to the local Indians. This had little direct relation to the canoe race activities except that it was one more event added to an already busy weekend, and perhaps in some cases provided funds for drinking parties which were later a part of the festivities. Thirdly, the clerk returned to town from his vacation. Fourthly, trouble developed between the Anglican minister and the Women's Institute over the canoe race programme. Fifthly, Mrs. Ransom, a member of the national committee of the Women's Institute, arrived in Aklavik on her annual visit to northern communities.

The clerk returned with his family, empty-handed and tired, after several weeks of unsuccessful hunting along the sea coast north of the Delta. Following a talk with the administrator soon after his arrival he felt that his participation in the proceedings at this stage was unnecessary, since everything was apparently proceeding relatively well. However, later that afternoon in respect to the forthcoming day's programme, Mrs. Stockholm was uncertain as to when the meal was to be served and whether the paddlers would expect a snack on arrival. Once again, she asked my wife to help, asking her to phone the clerk to tell him to "come and help out a bit" and that there was no wood for the picnic fire, etc.

My wife phoned but found the clerk reluctant to become involved or offer suggestions and giving no indication that he intended to come down personally. When my wife returned to Mrs. Stockholm after making the phone call, the latter questioned her, "Did he sound sick? Was he in bed?" Receiving negative answers to these questions she seemed very bitter, mentioning that "he had let the people down" adding, "Why did he take the job (i.e., Centennial Co-ordinator) if he didn't want to do the work?"

It was on that Saturday also that word quickly spread throughout the settlement that the Anglican minister was furious with the Women's Institute or more precisely with Mrs. Stockholm and her two main helpers. The previous evening and again on the Saturday, an announcement had been broadcast over the Inuvik radio station under the signature of the Aklavik Women's Institute outlining Sunday's programme of events. The message contained the information that the sprint race, one of the highlights of the day's events, was scheduled to start at 2:00 p.m. The minister regularly had two services each Sunday, one for Indians at 11:00 a.m. and another for Eskimos at 2:00 p.m. Although he had friendly relationships with some Indians he appeared to favour his Eskimo parishioners, and had no affection at all for Mrs. Stockholm and her friends. Sunday was to have been the occasion for his farewell service since he was leaving the settlement early in the week to take a new posting abroad. On hearing the radio announcement, he immediately concluded that the programme was deliberately

conceived to interfere with his afternoon service for Eskimos.
When I visited him that day, he angrily declared,

They knew jolly well that we had a service then.
Not one of them even had the courtesy to come
and ask. ... They don't care because they have their
Loucheux service in the morning, ... but if there
is no afternoon service I'm certainly not going
to have a morning service. I'm not going to run
a service for one group and not the other.

During my visit with him there was also an old Indian lady present
and apparently several later visitors were treated to a similar
outburst.

The minister had also been invited to offer a thanks-
giving prayer at the Sunday picnic following the safe arrival of
the paddlers. He now refused to have anything to do with the
event.¹ He also refused permission to the Local ladies to use
the Parish Hall for what would have been a surprise party for
him at which he was to receive some farewell presentations. All
of this caused surprise and wonderment among the Locals at first,
but as the weekend wore on these feelings were replaced by hurt
and indignation in many. Up to the time of his outburst he had
generally been well liked and respected both as an individual
and because of his ministerial role. Also, although remaining an
Outsider, he had achieved a degree of intimacy with many Locals
through his church work and many visitations to their homes.

1 Of the many public or special events that occurred in Aklavik
during my stay the minister only appeared at two of these and on both
occasions he was there in the role of minister. The first was the
school graduation ceremony, and the second, also at the school, was
part of the celebrations in connection with the visit of his arch-
bishop.

Now, however, many Locals after they had recovered from their original surprise reacted negatively to what they described as "childish behaviour" and what they felt was his greater concern for himself than for them.

Significantly, I perceived not one suggestion or indication among the Locals of any negative sanction aimed at Mrs. Stockholm or her friends for their supposed roles in the affair. In actual fact, they were innocent although I am uncertain as to how many Locals were aware of this. What had happened was that the administrator had prepared the radio announcement taking the times for the arrival of the canoes and the sprint from the official race timetable prepared in Yellowknife some months previously. He had completed the announcement with the information about the outdoor feast and dance and signed it "Women's Institute" focussing attention on the very important part these ladies were playing in the festivities. Before sending the announcement to the radio station he showed it to Mrs. Stockholm who apparently saw nothing wrong with it. As a postscript to the affair it is worth mentioning that the canoes were late in arriving and that the sprint was not held until 5:00 p.m. This permitted the minister to send word to some of his Eskimo friends for whom he did put on a short service. However, no Indian service was held.

Among the arrivals in town that Saturday morning was Mrs. Ransom, a diminutive, elderly, but energetic fieldworker from the national executive of the Women's Institute. A meeting was arranged for that evening and Mrs. Stockholm extended an invitation to my wife to attend. Since this was exclusively a gathering of females, the description that follows is largely drawn from my wife's observations.

The meeting was to start at 7:30 p.m. but at that time only Mrs. Ransom, two Local ladies and my wife were present. Mrs. Netsi arrived near 8 o'clock but left immediately when she saw that Mrs. Stockholm and Mrs. Babiche were not present. Mrs. Ransom, by this time getting impatient and trying not to show it, asked anxiously, "Where are you going?"

"I'm going down to see Margaret and Betty ... they're probably down at Betty's house working." With this Mrs. Netsi left with Mrs. Ransom telling her rather sharply to get them to hurry up. A short while later the trio arrived having been joined by an elderly Indian lady.

Mrs. Ransom quickly got down to business, working from a list of items which were ticked off as they were dealt with. While doing so her tone was touched with annoyance and each item was peremptorily introduced:

You haven't sent in your 25¢ per member fees to Ottawa.... You didn't send in a report for the Northern Lights.... You have started on your wall hanging, haven't you?

They hadn't and made no reply, sitting there impassively throughout Mrs. Ransom's polite, but scolding presentation. Next, Mrs. Ransom introduced her council's idea of having a permanent fieldworker for the Northwest Territories and said that she would be talking to the Commissioner of the N.W.T. to see if the Territorial Government would assume financial responsibility for such a worker. "I have to have a good case to present to him so I want to find out from you all the reasons why you think having a fieldworker would be a good thing." Initially, there was no response to her request and Mrs. Ransom rephrased it.

Mrs. Stockholm then spoke up and said that having a fieldworker would be a good idea, "so there would be someone handy to find out how to do things ... someone from whom to get advice." As an example, she recounted how the W.I. regularly ran a Bingo until the R.C.M.P. corporal stopped them a few months previously. He told her that her group had to be incorporated and have by-laws, refusing to accept the local W.I.'s 'blue book' of by-laws as sufficient (i.e., the by-laws of the national organization of which the Aklavik group was a chapter). Quite a discussion developed on this subject and the Local ladies present were fairly unanimous that it was because of "meanness" that the corporal had cancelled the bingos rather than for any important legal infraction. As a result there was strong agreement that having a fieldworker, "someone with know-how" might be valuable in helping to deal with

such situations. Mrs. Ransom tried valiantly to extract more suggestions from them but none were forthcoming even when she made the suggestions herself, waiting for them to give some kind of affirmation.

Mrs. Ransom next directed the discussion towards the future. "What projects have you planned for the remainder of this year? ... What programmes have you planned?" There were no responses whatsoever to these questions and Mrs. Ransom seemed embarrassed by the silence. Again, she tried by reminding them that the wall hanging which presumably all the local chapters of the W.I. were supposed to be making was due in January, six months hence. After a few moments, Mrs. Babiche replied, "Oh, we always do things at the very last moment!"

This comment brought loud laughter from all the Local ladies and was followed by a period of joking in a boasting way, about how many things there needed to be done before the following morning when a hundred people would arrive and later that evening of their arrival the whole town had to be fed:

We have caribou to cut, distribute and cook, fish to fillet, soup to be made, flour to distribute for making buns and bannock, a case of cake mixes to be baked, hats to be finished and sold, the handicraft store and museum to be set up, etc.

These were all laughed over with jokes of how "we'll have to work all night!" Then, further comments like, "But I feel real lazy ... I think I'll sleep in tomorrow!" from Mrs. Netsi would produce new waves of laughter. Throughout all this Mrs. Ransom sat

quietly, looking very serious, as the Local ladies continued their fun providing a striking contrast to the absolute silence with which nearly everything she had said was met (cf. Schwimmer, 1970).

Mrs. Ransom attempted to get the meeting back on a formal level by trying to pin the ladies down on setting a date for their August meeting (no regular meetings had been held for three years). She stated, "Get Mrs. Eades to show you how to make braided rugs." Although there was no great enthusiasm from any of the ladies present over this suggestion, it appeared they were in favour and a date was set.

Throughout the meeting Mrs. Ransom tried to get the secretary, Mrs. Netsi, to take minutes and once asked her, "Shouldn't you be writing these things down (handing her a pen and paper) or do you think you'll remember it all?"

Not accepting the paper, Mrs. Netsi replied, "I'll remember it all."

Similarly, Mrs. Ransom felt they should be consulting their "little blue book" -- "You know, the little blue book that was in the folder you received at the Yellowknife seminar?"

"Aw, I've got so many folders from all the meetings I've been to," said Mrs. Stockholm, "I never bother looking in them folders ... there's so many of them ... I got them all at my house."

The fieldworker also inquired if the ladies had received their W.I. newsletter. A bundle of them had been sent to the secretary, Mrs. Netsi, but she had them all at home, and said, "I wasn't sure who were the paid up members, so I kept them all."

In summarizing this meeting, it hardly needs stressing that, to a large degree, Mrs. Ransom and the Local ladies were talking past each other, or, to put it more correctly, were talking about different things. The fieldworker was concerned with 'proof' that a Women's Institute group was, in fact, in existence on a continuing basis hence her preoccupation with record keeping, regular meetings, projects and programmes for the future, and liaison with the national organizational structure. As a result, the community activities that the group had been and were involved in as enumerated by Mrs. Stockholm and the others, left Mrs. Ransom largely unconvinced and unmoved. This is not to suggest that Mrs. Stockholm and her friends are uninterested in, or reject the concept of an organization such as that implied by Mrs. Ransom. For example, they seemed quick to grasp the possible advantages of having a fieldworker available in the north to help them when problems arise (i.e. the bingo incident). One important aspect of this incident, seemingly unrecognized by Mrs. Ransom, was these ladies' long felt and bitter attitude towards the authoritarian corporal and that a 'victory' against him in an incident such as this was as important a consideration as the actual running of the bingo games. Mrs. Ransom, meanwhile, saw the fieldworker as a

travelling 'supervisor' who through continuous contact with local groups could see that they functioned according to plan. This inference was not missed by Mrs. Stockholm who, after a brief exchange in Loucheux with her two Indian friends, said that a visit two or three times a year would be enough.

The implication from this and other aspects of the interaction at the meeting was clear: Mrs. Stockholm and her ladies form a group which is essentially Local in character in that it operates and maintains itself by relation to Local rather than Outsider values or pattern of organization.¹ The fact that at present there are no Outsiders in Aklavik who are directly involved in the group's activities is significant as is the fact that the association provides its members with a chance to initiate and participate in types of activities not presently available through any other group or organization. In addition, the group's present relationship to the national Women's Institute organization, however tenuous, is important for several reasons. First, it serves to legitimize and institutionalize the group's existence and activities within the settlement, with Mrs. Stockholm in the position of its most influential member and leader.

1 Many Outsiders in Aklavik do not know that a chapter of the Women's Institute exists in their settlement, and most who do, know little about its operation. This is in contrast to the W.I. several years ago when the Outsider ladies although not elected to the executive nevertheless controlled and directed the group.

Secondly, the Women's Institute organization provides the Local group with support in several ways. For example, it is a source not only of information and material assistance, but also provides funds for delegates to attend conferences outside Aklavik. The allocation of some of these resources, for instance, the decision as to who shall be the delegate to the conferences, appears to come largely within the domain of the president, Mrs. Stockholm who has the power to reward or deny such benefits to her co-members.¹ Thirdly, the W.I. also provides affective support in the sense that it is an organization of women who, in theory at least, have a common interest in community involvement as well as having some potential for rewarding its members with approval and esteem.

Sunday was a beautifully warm, sunny day. Originally, the canoes were due to arrive at 11:00 a.m. but early in the morning word reached Aklavik that they had been delayed and now would not reach town before 2:30 p.m. After lunch, a great number of people came down to the river and wandered up and down the bank chatting with friends, obviously excited over the outcome of the race. Most of the children had made paper flags and a large

¹ There does appear to be some ambivalence, however, among many of Aklavik's Local women about accepting the chance to attend conferences outside Aklavik (cf. earlier discussion of delegates to co-op conferences).

banner proclaiming "Welcome to Aklavik -- Aklavik Never Say Die" was strategically placed in the usual place on top of the cutbank of the river. Other flags and bunting (made by Local ladies) were in evidence at the school and nearby site of the feast.

The excitement swelled and enthusiastic cheering broke out as the canoes came into sight, first Fort Macpherson and then Aklavik about one minute behind them. The spectators surged along the riverbank to the beach in front of the school where the canoes came ashore. As the canoes arrived, spread out considerably because of the many hours they had been racing, Mrs. Stockholm, Mrs. Netsi and Mrs. Babiche raised a welcoming cheer for each one and many Locals stepped forward to shake the hands of the canoeists. Within an hour the paddlers had all arrived and proceeded to pitch their tents beside the school after which most of them stretched out for a rest before the sprint now due to take place at 5 p.m.

As the sprint was about to begin, much attention was focussed on the Aklavik team as another problem had developed. When Kudloo, the team captain, had left the team a few days after the race started because the team was dissatisfied with his performance, another Eskimo, Dick James, had taken over as captain and an Indian was recruited in one of the settlements along the way to bring the team up to its required strength. When the paddlers arrived in Aklavik, James immediately went home, fell asleep, and either could not or would not be awakened by the others when the

time for the sprint arrived. Several groups, including his brothers, had been dispatched to the house and attempted to get him mobile but with no success.¹ Since the Aklavik team already had the one allowable substitute paddling for them, the race officials were at first reluctant to let them recruit another, but they relented and a replacement was allowed to join the team, but for the sprint only.

The sprint generated tremendous excitement among the spectators. Aklavik took an early lead but was soon passed by the Fort Macpherson and Alberta crews and these positions were unchanged at the end of the race. The wild cheering that urged on the home team died off somewhat as the race progressed but a large number of the spectators moved along the beach accompanying the canoes down and back over their marked course. After the race,

1 One of his elbows was badly swollen and obviously sore when he arrived in Aklavik but it was generally agreed that this was not the sole reason for his refusal to paddle, or even 'wake up' when roused by his friends. Highly temperamental in nature and perhaps stung by his inability to beat his arch rivals, the Indian captain and crew of the Fort Macpherson team, James feared, the Locals hinted, another defeat in the sprint (Macpherson had lost only one sprint in the entire race) and this fear was the cause of his withdrawal. However, no clearcut or unanimous sanction was generated by his behaviour. A close friend of his family described James' mother and brothers as being "so embarrassed they didn't know where to look." Certainly on the beach many Local people, including his teammates, seemed quite embarrassed by his non-appearance, commenting, "it looked bad for Aklavik ... what will the visitors think!"

However, the incident also produced scattered comments among Indians and Metis such as, "Damn Huskies, you can't depend on them anyway!" It is important to note that on the next morning, however, when James rejoined the team, his return was greeted warmly without the slightest sign of recrimination by anyone.

the canoes were brought up on the beach, turned over and left there unattended while the paddlers and spectators moved to the school and picnic spot.

Mrs. Stockholm and her two friends went to the kitchen of the school to complete preparations for the banquet helped by several other Local ladies. Women who had baked bannock, cakes and other items brought them along and these with the meat and fish were carried to the picnic tables outside. The Local free trader had earlier distributed several cases of pop free of charge and had spent the day driving large numbers of children with banners and streamers throughout the settlement.

With the arrival of the canoes the administrator also took an active role in the proceedings. The role he adopted and played until after the canoes had left was the subordinate role of 'helper'. He put his services at the disposal of all the paddlers, Mrs. Stockholm and her group, and in fact, almost anyone who needed help. The stores were closed since it was Sunday, but opened to the paddlers so that they could get supplies. The administrator made innumerable trips with his truck for the paddlers and for the workers. Wherever he went, he also carried a cheering bunch of flag-waving children on the back of the truck. Many Locals commented favourably on the good-humoured and friendly way he "helped out." "Gee, that Mr. Smith is real nice today!" remarked one of the Aklavik paddlers after the administrator had driven him to the store for some candy bars, and everyone

nearly smiled in agreement.

The clerk came down to watch the canoes arrive but went downriver soon after to bring his father-in-law and family in for the banquet. The banquet went off smoothly and with little formality. Two large tables held the food. Mrs. Stockholm and her Indian friends served the food from one and some Eskimo ladies not connected with the W.I. served from the other. People sat around on the grass or on logs and no noticeable grouping of people by ethnic or other status occurred except that families tended to stay together. Only one or two Outsiders from Aklavik attended the banquet but several wandered down to the site later in the evening. When they arrived several Local ladies were cooking fish on racks over an open fire and everyone helped himself except the Outsiders who seemed reluctant to do so. When the banquet was nearly ended, children started throwing the paper plates and half-eaten buns at each other, chasing one another as they did so in and around the seated groups. As was normal in Aklavik, the adults made comments such as, "Gee, those darn kids!" but no one took the initiative to halt their play or suggest they move to another area.

After the feast was over, all the pots, dishes and cutlery were taken to the school by Mrs. Stockholm's ladies who did the washing up there. While at work Mrs. Stockholm was called aside by the administrator who introduced her to one of the visiting race officials as "the one who did so much to make the day the success

it was." The official thanked her and presented her on behalf of the race organizers with some tokens of their appreciation, a voyageur's sash, a paperweight and a book. She appeared very touched by this gesture and the administrator also was delighted and beaming in his approval.

The next item in the programme was an Eskimo dance in the school. Four Eskimos supplied the music playing bright blue plastic drums (they had planned on using the usual caribou skin coverings, but were unable to find these of the requisite quality). Dancers were slow to step forward and during the hour or more of drumming only two women and an inebriated male danced. On the previous day, when Mrs. Stockholm and Mrs. Netsi were discussing the coming events it had been mentioned that the Eskimo drummers wanted to be paid for performing. Mrs. Stockholm felt that this would be inappropriate since the festivities were in honour of the visitors and it would "look bad for Aklavik" if a charge was made. After some discussion as to whether or not to charge admission she disposed of the matter by directing her friend, "Aw, go put up a sign saying, 'Free Dance Tomorrow Night'." ¹

¹ Two days later the clerk told me that all musicians would be paid stating that a precedent had been set at an event earlier in the year when the same group of drummers had hired the theatre and charged \$1 admission for a dance. Now, he said that performers expect to be paid and that spectators expect to pay too. Since no admission charge had, in fact, been made, presumably he would pay the drummers from the centennial funds. Several times during the

Later, after the drum dance had concluded, a regular dance started and continued more or less all night. Mrs. Stockholm and two or three of her ladies served soft drinks and refreshments for part of the evening. Most of those participating in the dancing were young adults and teenagers with a large number of children also present. It was two of the younger teenagers who, later that night, committed an act that, to some degree, brought shame to the community and certainly caused embarrassment to the residents of Aklavik.

About 3 a.m. some boats arrived from Fort Macpherson containing some women from that settlement who were en route to Inuvik to take part in a special women's canoe race there. The two boys evidently approached these women, "trying to bum things off them." They proceeded to make a nuisance of themselves and started shouting obscenities. When the women told them to go away, the boys went to the school, got a knife, returned to the beach and carved a hole in the canoe belonging to the Fort Macpherson men's team.

year some local drummers had been invited to perform with other drummers from the Delta region at Inuvik and elsewhere often as part of the centennial events. Whenever they did so, they had been paid. However, as was pointed out to me by some of the Locals in respect to the clerk's present decision concerning the four drummers at this canoe weekend dance, one of the drummers was his father-in-law; a second was his father-in-law's brother, and a third was the common-law husband of his sister-in-law.

The damage was discovered an hour or so later by one of the Fort Macpherson men. Word quickly spread through the settlement and there was little difficulty in identifying the culprits. The damage took an hour or so to repair but could not be done until about 9 a.m. when the requisite materials had been found and the temperature warm enough to dry the fibreglass used.

The incident caused a noticeable change in the spirit and atmosphere of the entire weekend which up until then could be described as festive with the host community doing its best to entertain and be hospitable to its visitors. The fact that there were just a few minutes separating Aklavik from the leading Fort Macpherson team in the overall race standings also tended to increase the seriousness of the act of vandalism. Little of the previous day's gaiety was in evidence among the spectators that morning as everyone waited for the Macpherson canoe to be repaired and many Locals expressed their feelings in terms of, "What will the others think of us!"

In the meantime, the other teams were preparing for the race to Inuvik which would take almost ten hours of hard paddling. The administrator was kept busy running errands in his truck and carting supplies. All the government employees had been permitted to come and watch the start of the race but considerably fewer spectators were present than for the arrival two days previously and especially noticeable by their absence were many of the children.

James, the captain of the Aklavik team, had rejoined his teammates and with the aid of a map discussed race strategy with them and Local advisors who stepped forward to make suggestions. With respect to their route, three possibilities existed and the merits and dangers of each were talked about but with neither James nor any of his teammates indicating that they had decided on a particular route nor even indicating which of them was likely to eventually make the decision. ¹ Eventually, the race was started and the Aklavik team strongly forged ahead into the lead. It is very likely that this is where the other teams wanted them so they could indicate which was the best route to follow. Churning along in the wake of the canoes were the support vessels, the ladies from Fort Macpherson, and a few boats from Aklavik. No word was

1 This was one of the only occasions in the entire race where, because of the interlaced waterways of the Delta, a choice of routes was possible. Also, because this was the home territory of the Aklavik team they had an obvious advantage over the other competitors. Their decision, then, as to which route they would follow, was very important because, conceivably, by making the right choice they could erase the minutes which separated them from the Fort Macpherson team. However, several factors influenced their decision: (1) their position in relation to the other canoes, especially the Fort Macpherson one, when a diverging route was reached; i.e., a 'surprise' versus 'no-surprise' move depended on the others and could not be predicted with any degree of certainty; (2) the water level in some areas was uncertain; (3) the other teams were all watching and listening, during this discussion, to catch any indications about where the Aklavik team planned to go.

This willingness of the new leader, James, to consult with his teammates and others, and his 'unbossy' demeanour generally in respect to this important lap of the race would appear to stand in contrast to the behaviour of the earlier leader, Kudloo, commented on earlier.

forthcoming about the progress of the race until the first canoes were actually in sight of Inuvik. At the finish, Aklavik was ahead of Fort Macpherson by 30 seconds. The result of the overall race thus left Aklavik in second position about ten minutes behind the Macpherson crew.

In summarizing the events of the Canoe Race weekend, the following points may be made. The government was the sponsoring agency in both this event and the Mail Run and the participation of the administrator has been noted. It is significant that on both these occasions he adopted a subordinate role, that of helper, rather than appearing as a leader involved with the directing and mobilizing of people. From the Locals' positive reactions to this subordinate role, particularly during the canoe race activities, it would appear that such behaviour occasionally enacted may considerably assist in stabilizing his administrative position vis-a-vis the Locals.¹ Conversely, the clerk's relationship with the Locals, such as Mrs. Stockholm and her associates, who knew of his position as Centennial Co-ordinator, probably

1 Bateson (in Bohannan and Plog, 1967:196) when discussing symmetrical and complementary relationships cites the example of the squire who is "in a predominantly complementary and not always comfortable relationship with his villagers, but if he participates in village cricket (a symmetrical rivalry) but once a year this may have a curiously disproportionate effect upon his relationship with them."

deteriorated as evidenced by Mrs. Stockholm's disapproving comment, "Why did he take the job if he didn't want to do the work?"¹ (It will be remembered that the same sentiments were earlier reported in respect to the present school principal in his role as president of the Community Association.)

The subordinate 'helper' role adopted by the administrator is important for other reasons also. Not only did this allow Locals such as Mrs. Stockholm to do things in their own way, but by the radio announcement he prepared, and by pointing out Mrs. Stockholm to the race officials as the one worthy to receive their tokens of gratitude he was directly focussing attention on her and the Women's Institute group as playing an indispensable part in the proceedings.

The meeting of the Women's Institute held on the occasion of Mrs. Ransom's visit emphasizes not only the strong Local character of the Aklavik branch of that organization at present, but also, the particular kind of symbiotic relationship that exists between this group and its national office. The latter is illustrated by the interaction in respect to the proposed northern fieldworker. In addition, the activities of the Aklavik branch, as evidenced

1 It appears likely that most Locals did not know that the clerk actually had little choice in accepting the job since he was nominated for the position by his superior, the administrator.

by the behaviour at the meeting, shows some strong evidence of symbolic competition with the aims and practices of the organization as expressed by Mrs. Ransom. In my concluding chapter I shall be returning to a discussion of this symbolic competition as outlined by Schwimmer (1970).

The incident concerning the Anglican minister indicates how on occasion the differences between Indians and Eskimos are perpetuated by Outsiders, for example, in his "punishing" the Indians by not having a Loucheux service while holding one for the Eskimos. Such an action would also appear to be aimed at drawing down the wrath of the Indian group so "punished" on the heads of their fellow Indians, Mrs. Stockholm and her friends, who, supposedly, precipitated the whole affair.¹ In this, however, he was disappointed since the Locals mostly did not feel called upon to choose sides in the affair, and those that did apparently saw the matter in terms of the minister versus the canoe race activities, rather than a question of allegiance to the Anglican Church versus allegiance to Mrs. Stockholm.

In relation to the canoe race activities and Aklavik's team itself some comments are in order. Although there was a fair degree of social mixing and interaction between members of the different ethnic groups, some ethnic distinctiveness was

¹ The minister, like several other Outsiders, considers Mrs. Stockholm to be Indian because of the strong association she has with other Indians in Aklavik.

apparent. For example, at the feast, Indian women served from one table and Eskimos from another, and, at the school, an Eskimo drum dance was followed by a 'regular' dance. Significantly, in relation to the canoe team, no ethnic bias was in evidence and members of all ethnic groups, with the possible exception of Local whites, were involved in discussions plotting strategies for the sprint race and the last lap. However, a highly competitive feeling was expressed towards the all-Indian team from Fort Macpherson who were the leaders in the race and this was displayed just as intensely by the Indians in Aklavik as by non-Indians. On the other hand, the ladies' canoe team from Aklavik, hastily assembled at the last moment, was composed of five Eskimos and one Indian married to an Eskimo, all of whom normally have little to do with non-Eskimos.

Finally, as was the case on nearly all special occasions or events witnessed by me in Aklavik, the Outsiders, with the few exceptions mentioned, either appeared briefly and peripherally as spectators, or did not join in the activities at all.

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSIONS

Our discussions have focussed on some of the dynamics involved in relationships between Outsiders and Locals in a multi-ethnic settlement of the Canadian sub-arctic. The development of these groups, which may be described as two communities having their own sets of social and cultural characteristics, dates from the establishment of Aklavik. However, it has only been in the latter part of the 1960's that the dichotomous nature of these groups has become pronounced. For instance, the close involvement of many Outsiders with Local whites and non-whites a decade ago, to a large extent, precluded the dichotomy and polarity in evidence today. However, in respect to some of these white transients just referred to, for example, the earlier school principal, Scott, it would appear to be more appropriate to refer to these persons as "people from the Outside" rather than Outsiders because of the interest and commitment they had to Aklavik and its people that are uncharacteristic of Outsiders at the present time.

One of the most striking aspects of the contemporary settlement is the influence of government which permeates and touches almost every facet of life. Certainly, government agents are among the most important Outsiders in Aklavik. Although

Balikci (1960) does not agree with many points of Dunning's analysis (1959) in respect to white agents in isolated northern communities, they both are in agreement on two factors at least: the dominant high-status position enjoyed by these whites, and the fact that the "power distribution among Euro-Canadians reveals a chaotic picture ... no hierarchical order exists...." (Balikci, 1960:171). Regarding the latter, Dunning (1959:119) goes on to state that among these whites there is "inherent conflict in the shared high statuses ... (as a result of which) leadership in a community is chronically unstable." Vallee (1967:97-133) has much the same to say of the Kabloona (i.e., whites) at Baker Lake stressing that "within the Kabloona community there is co-operation and solidarity, but there are also competition, conflicts and strain" (Vallee, 1967:98). To some extent the latter summation would appear to be appropriate for the Aklavik situation also; however, during my residency, the following patterns in respect to the allocation and use of power and influence among the various Outsiders there were noted.

First, the Outsiders hold most of the key positions in Aklavik. They control the administration, school, law enforcement, medical facilities, power plant, co-operative, the largest of the two stores and two of the three churches. Thus, although the manager of the co-operative is a Treaty Indian, he is in fact subordinate to the resident co-op advisor, as is the Eskimo Social Development officer to the administrator.

Secondly, although it is not possible to rank the Outsiders in hierarchical order in any absolute sense from either their own or the Local population's points of view, nevertheless, a status differential is obviously present, although determined by role and situation. For example, in educational matters, the school principal ranks higher than his teachers or the settlement administrator, but in general terms of community affairs, the school principal is subordinate to the latter. Closely allied with this status differential is the fact that the Locals have general expectations of how the incumbent of any of these key positions should behave. The superiors of these individuals also have expectations as to their performance, and while these may or may not correlate with those of the Locals, the fact remains that for the holder of each high status position there is apparently a fair degree of latitude available as to the manner in which he will play his role. For example, the administrator 'runs a tight ship' in terms of control over his staff and the business matters which come within his jurisdiction. This apparently is perceived and appreciated by both of his superiors outside Aklavik and most of his coresidents in the settlement. On the other hand, the Locals consider that the present school principal does not provide direction or control either within the school milieu or in relation to his position as president of the Community Association. (I have no indication as to how the principal's superiors rate his performance.) He is

sanctioned by the Locals to some extent as a result, but not to the degree that it affects his position.

Thirdly, it is the personal choice of each Outsider as to whether or not, and to what degree, he wishes to establish bonds with any of the permanent residents outside his usual occupational relationships with them. A number of factors are involved here. For instance, costs may be incurred in that the Outsider who identifies strongly with Locals may find himself ostracized by many of his fellow Outsiders. This happened to a young female teacher during my stay in Aklavik, and I have witnessed the same pattern in other northern settlements. Also, associated with this personal decision is the choice whether the Outsider will become involved with any community organizations. While some types of organizational involvement are ascribed (e.g., the administrator's participation in the Settlement Council and Housing Association affairs), it is usually the Outsider's own decision as to whether he will, for example, join the Curling Club, participate in church activities, or help to form a scout troop. Similarly, a differential exists in respect to the manner in which Outsiders who do socialize or form informal relationships with Locals wish to conduct these relationships. Thus, some may wish to do so in their offices or place of work and never allow the Locals to visit them in their homes (e.g., the administrator); others visit Local homes and are visited in return (e.g. the school principal), while others may

socialize only in the context of groups, for example, when curling or attending church (e.g., wives of R.C.M.P. officers). Yet others may go on hunting trips or spend some time 'in the bush' with Local families (e.g., the Game Officer).

Fourthly, there is a differential present in respect to the resources the individual Outsiders have access to or control. This fact is important for an understanding of the development of patron-broker-client relationships between Outsiders and Locals. For example, the administrator controls greater resources than a grade three teacher and may therefore be more attractive to potential Local clients than the latter. Similarly, because of the nature of his responsibilities, he is more likely to require the services of Local clients than the teacher. This fact would indicate that there is apparently a greater potential for patron-client relationships to cluster or give around certain Outsider statuses than others. In addition, this differential in respect to specific resources coming within the domain of particular Outsiders also partially explains the participation of certain Locals in specific voluntary associations with which the former are connected. For example, Local entrepreneurs have an understandable interest in Settlement Council affairs since under the administrator, the council discusses proposed developments and is involved with the allocation of government funds for various contracts. Significantly, there are now three Local entrepreneurs on council:

the part-time contractor, the water contractor, and the government foreman, the latter being in partnership with some of his close kin in a small-scale contractual enterprise.

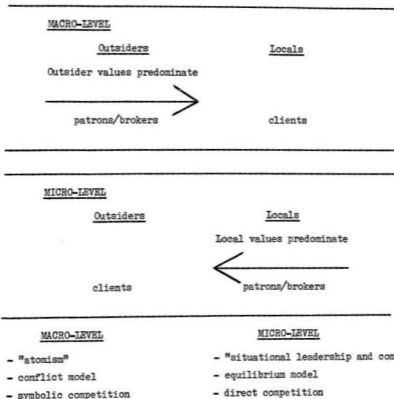
In short, the importance of the above comments is to indicate that neither the Outsiders nor the Locals view the establishment of patron-client relationships as a kind of ad hoc 'grab-for-all' (see Dunning, 1959 and Smith, 1970 for a contrary view). Instead, they see the establishment of such relationships as a selective process which takes into account the allocation of statuses and roles among the population, and also which is voluntary to a degree and idiosyncratic as to the type of strategy or pattern followed.

Mailhot (1968:14) describes social occasions in Inuvik

where both white and native individuals participate in a common activity without any form of social interaction across ethnic lines. The only contact between the two groups at such times is a simultaneous presence in a given place

(cf. Furnivall re plural society, quoted in Morris, 1967; also Dewey, 1962, and Kuper in Kuper and Smith, 1969). While the same pattern occurs to a large degree in Aklavik, some informal and more 'personal' interactions between Outsiders and Locals also take place as evidenced, for example, in the relationship that exists between the administrator and Mrs. Stockholm. This relationship has been described in two contexts, that of the

Settlement Council and that of the special events. Not only is the behaviour of the administrator different in both of these contexts, but even more noticeably, so is that of Mrs. Stockholm. More significant, however, for the discussion that follows, is the fact that the nature of their relationship also undergoes major change. Schematically, I shall outline the dynamics of the two situations on the model below.



On the macro-level, an Outsider, the administrator, is the dominant figure and the values involved (e.g., the need for such a council, the manner in which the councillors are elected, format of the meetings, etc.), are representative of the Outsider's world. These characteristics are reflected in the term 'macro' which here refers to the fact that Aklavik is perceived as merely one settlement among many in Canada. Because the administrator is able to promulgate these non-Local values by affectively providing a "definition of the situation" in respect to the council meetings, he is able to maintain his dominant position vis-a-vis the Local councillors. To use a term of Schwimmer's (1970:11) the non-Local world through its agent, the administrator, could be described as "selecting" and "scaling the criteria" in respect to the council so that Locals end up in a subordinate position. That is, his control of the proceedings can only be interrupted by a Local displaying non-Local behaviour; i.e., by 'acting white', an unlikelihood, since this would entail social costs for the individual concerned. Parenthetically, in this respect, it would appear that Lloyd posed the administrator with his most severe challenge since the former was obviously, at least to some degree, able and willing to provide a redefinition of the council situation and absorb whatever social costs were involved by his 'acting white' in the process. Jones, the white trapper, of course, was also willing to absorb these costs but lacked sufficient support to

ever get elected.

On the macro-level, I have designated the Outsiders as patrons or brokers and the Locals as clients. Specifically limiting myself to the relationship between the administrator and Mrs. Stockholm, it would appear that in respect to the council situation, he qualifies alternatively both as patron and broker in that as patron, "only values of the patron's choosing are circulated" (Paine, 1971:15, emphasis in original), as evidenced by his ability to control and direct the proceedings at the council meetings. As broker, he purveys "values that are not his own (and) is also purposively making changes of emphasis and/or content" (Paine, 1971:21), for example, through his preparation and direction of the council's agenda, as well as processing the council's correspondence. Mrs. Stockholm demonstrates her client's role by her acquiescence to the "definition of the situation" in respect to the administrator's role in the council's affairs as it presently stands. In this she is, of course, reinforced by Local values (e.g., 'acting white') but the proof that the latter are not the main behavioural determinants in her case is her loyal support of the administrator generally in council and non-council matters. Since the relationship between the administrator and Mrs. Stockholm does, in fact, overlap into other non-council contexts, I shall momentarily leave this discussion of the macro-level to deal with that of the micro-level.

On the micro-level the predominant values are those

representative of the Local community. Among the latter values are those pertaining to egalitarianism and what I shall refer to as situational patterns of communalism and leadership. Fried (1967:33) defines an egalitarian society as one "in which there are as many positions of prestige in any given age-sex grade as there are persons capable of filling them." He goes on to state (1967:34) that "most egalitarian societies have powerful levelling mechanisms that prevent the appearance of overly wide gaps in ability among its members." Both of these statements would appear to be particularly applicable to the Aklavik situation. For example, in respect to executive positions in nearly all associations, the lack of any real competition for these so-called "positions of prestige" might indicate that there is a close correlation between the number of positions available and the number of individuals capable of filling them. In this respect, it is important to point out that there are a large number of Locals in Aklavik who are not now, and in many cases, never were interested in seeking or accepting executive office. For instance, many of the Eskimo Pentecostals studiously avoid becoming involved in organizational life other than that in connection with their own church. Also, some influential Local whites and Metis neither want to participate meekly in organizations that are Outsider-controlled nor risk the costs of openly challenging such control. This is also true, to a degree, of some non-white Locals. In addition, other non-white Locals, although they reside

in the settlement most of the time, still have an orientation towards bush-based activities that leaves little room for preoccupation with or participation in community affairs. In respect to "levelling mechanisms" these would appear to include those patterns and values relating to 'acting white' and the desire neither to "boss" nor "be bossed." Such "mechanisms" as these would also seem to function efficiently in keeping the supply of candidates proportional to the number of high status positions available.

As a result of these egalitarian characteristics, especially the "levelling mechanisms" which serve to maintain the relative status of the community's residents vis-a-vis one another, it seems appropriate to describe the micro-level as an equilibrium model. In comparison, the macro-level would appear to be characteristic of a conflict model involving as it does dominant Outsiders participating in programmes of directed social and cultural change (cf. Bateson in Bohannan and Plog, 1967:187-198 and Kuper in Kuper and Smith, 1969:7-22).

There is another basis of comparison between these two levels. On the macro-level in relation to the Outsiders in their formal positions of power, the Local society displays characteristics similar to those of other "atomistic-type" societies as outlined by the Honigmanns (1968:220-21): individualism, emphasis on short term relationships and reciprocities, reluctance of individuals "to commit themselves to larger groups", "weak and ineffectual

leadership", and social relations ... "marked by strain, contention and invidiousness." Such criteria closely correlate with some stereotypes of Local behaviour held by Outsiders, for example, the Locals' apparent "apathy" in community affairs, "non-participation" in organizations, "undependability" and "erratic behaviour" in wage-labour situations and "lack of control" and "abuse" in respect to drinking behaviour. While it is apparently easy to perceive examples of behaviour that would be supportive of these stereotypes, and Outsiders provided me with an infinite number of such examples, it appeared, to me at least, that if Aklavik can be considered as an "atomistic-type" society, then this fact would be perceived primarily by Outsiders. That is, involving as it does a negative summation of Local values and behaviour, it would be a perception that one would expect to find reflected on the macro-level of our analysis. Thus, while energy, participation, enthusiasm and co-operation are displayed by Locals on various occasions, either Outsiders are not present to observe this 'positive' behaviour or, if present, choose to denigrate or ignore such characteristics because they do not follow patterns familiar to and valued by the Outsiders (e.g., Mrs. Ransom at the meeting of the Women's Institute). As one Indian in Fort Macpherson succinctly put it, "How is it that the whites get mad when we don't show up to things they're interested in but when we invite them to come to things we're interested in, they never show up (cf. Wax et al, 1964).

Of significance here are the special events in Aklavik described earlier. On this micro-level, the obvious ability and willingness of large numbers of Locals to co-operate and unite in response to interests and values reflective of this community is extremely important. Although the Mail Run and Canoe Race were actually initiated by Outsiders far removed from Aklavik, the Locals identified strongly with these projects and responded to them in ways that were typically Local. For example, to a large degree, those events "ran themselves" in that there was a significant absence of individuals identifiable as leaders or directors. Mrs. Stockholm's main role during these events, for example, seemed to be that of co-ordinator rather than that of leader directing the activities of others. One of the only occasions she was heard to directly tell someone to do something was when she told Mrs. Netsi to put up the sign for the Drum Dance. For an earlier era and in respect to male chiefs and leaders among the Kutchin, Slobodin (1969:66) stressed the necessity for their possessing "a proper balance of 'hard' and 'soft' qualities of character." Now, in a different context and in reference to a different sex, it is interesting to note the same type and balance of qualities being brought into play in the figure of Mrs. Stockholm.

In this co-ordinator role Mrs. Stockholm might be described as being directly involved in redistributing to her followers and the community any credits accruing from her efforts.

In the process, she as actor and they as audience are brought into an open, direct and affective relationship. It would seem appropriate to refer to this pattern of dispersing authority and redistributing credit among the widest possible range of participants as 'acting native'¹ in comparison with the hierarchically structured and formalized pattern of non-Local organizational life (e.g., the Settlement Council and Mrs. Ransom's concept of the Women's Institute). Thus, by way of comparison, on the macro-level, Mrs. Stockholm's much more restrained performance as councillor may derive from the fact that participation on an elite-type (cf. Bailey, 1965) committee such as the council builds up credit for the performer alone and that the community, qua audience, is excluded or ignored.

On the micro-level, Locals sometimes appear as patrons and brokers, and Outsiders as clients. According to the explication which follows, Mrs. Stockholm appears as both a patron and a broker and the administrator as her client. It is necessary first to outline the interests of both individuals in the events concerned.

1 An excellent example of this 'acting native' by a Local white occurred as follows: the clerk, acting in his capacity of Centennial Co-ordinator decided a few days prior to July 1st that a Sports Day should be held (none had been held for the past three years). On his own initiative, he made up the list of events, produced some signs, marked out the courses and arranged for people to man the refreshment booth and supervise the events. On the day itself, he took no active part as director of events; in fact, he was not present for most of the events. The Sports Day "ran itself" involving a large number of individuals accepting responsibility for specific aspects of the program.

The administrator is involved primarily because the Mail Run and Canoe Race events are connected with government activities (e.g. Centennial Commission), placing a public spotlight on Aklavik which is likely to reflect on his official position in the settlement. Mrs. Stockholm's interests are twofold. First, she is interested out of a sense of duty and service to the community and a desire to uphold the 'good name' of Aklavik. Secondly, she is also motivated by personal reasons, such as the desire to consolidate and reinforce her position of prestige, and as a result of interpersonal and inter-ethnic rivalries as well, possibly, as the hope of achieving some other kinds of reward or social advantages. Each needs the other; the administrator needs a co-ordinator; she needs someone to provide her with affective and material support. While each, therefore, is dependent on the other, the administrator's dependency, on these occasions, is greater. For instance, if he did not have the benefit of Mrs. Stockholm's services he would be faced with two alternatives, (a) to find a suitable replacement for her, or, (b) to take over the role of co-ordinator himself. Both of these alternatives involve risks and difficulties out of proportion to the benefits and positive aspects of the present arrangement. Mrs. Stockholm, on the other hand, enjoys a position of high prestige in the community, has been involved in co-ordinator type roles for a lengthy period of time on her own initiative (e.g., Curling bonspiel), and presumably can continue such efforts in the

future, at least to some extent, without the necessity for an Outsider partner. In short, although potentially rewarding, it is little more than convenient for Mrs. Stockholm to be involved with the administrator on these two occasions whereas from the administrator's point of view, their relationship is of crucial necessity in terms of protecting his own interests.

For a patron-client relationship to develop it is necessary for the patron to have his client accept those values which the patron wishes to circulate between them (Paine, 1971:15). In the present case, this appears to have been accomplished in that Mrs. Stockholm was able to satisfy her interests both in respect to protecting and advancing the values of the Local community, and in having her importance as co-ordinator recognized and rewarded. Not only did the administrator acquiesce to these terms but he assisted her publicly by stressing her importance to other Locals (e.g. radio announcement re Women's Institute) and Outsiders (e.g., Race officials).¹ Mrs. Stockholm is a broker in that while she articulates Local interests and values to the Outsider world, these interests and values are "processed" (Paine, 1971:21) so that they reflect those of herself (e.g., her importance as a Local person), and those of her associates (e.g., the interests of the latter group include a strong element of anti-Eskimeness, particularly in relation to the influential Alaskan families).

¹ It appears most unlikely that the administrator would perceive that he, in fact, was the client on these occasions, a similarity with the RCMP constable in Freeman's analysis (in Paine, 1971) worth noting.

This last comment introduces a topic, ethnicity, which is of considerable importance to our concluding remarks. Barth (1969:15) cogently remarks that in respect to ethnicity, the critical focus of attention should be on the "ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff it encloses." The boundaries that he is here discussing are social ones, although as he notes, there may be territorial ones also. Later, (p.17), he goes on to state

the principle that ethnic identity implies a series of constraints on the kinds of roles an individual is allowed to play, and the partners he may choose for different kinds of transactions. ... Regarded as a status 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 ... one might say that (ethnic identity) is imperative, in that it cannot be disregarded and temporarily set aside by other definitions of the situation.

Elsewhere, Barth (1969:13-14) comments on the characteristics of "self-ascription and ascription by others" in respect to ethnic identity and also culture contact and change (1969:32-35) mentioning the importance of "agents of change". It is important to mention, however, that in discussing these "agents of change" he is describing those whom I would refer to as Local elitists rather than the Outsiders; that is, he is talking about changes occurring from the 'inside out' rather than from the 'outside in'.

As a result of these comments, two general statements may be made about ethnicity in present day Aklavik. First, Outsiders and Locals must be included in any discussion of ethnic statuses. Furthermore, while the boundary between these two groups has been becoming more pronounced in recent years boundary maintenance between the various ethnic groups comprising the Local community has been declining. As a result, some ambiguity and uncertainty as to self-ascription and the ascription of ethnic identity by others is now evident among these Local groups. Secondly, it would appear that Outsiders play an important role in determining what ethnic cultural characteristics are worthy of development among the various ethnic groups, characteristics that may be converted into "tangible assets", to use Barth's phrase (1969: 25), by those groups concerned.

To return to the first of these issues, I believe I have already discussed the two groups, Locals and Outsiders, in terms of maintaining different cultural and social patterns. I have also suggested that the Locals in the course of their adaptation to a settlement way of life have become more dependent on the Outsiders, due to the latter's control of a wide range of important resources. However, while the challenges of adaptation faced all Locals in reference to settling in Aklavik, these challenges did not face all groups equally. For example, those such as the whites and Metis were usually able to parlay their cultural background

to advantage in economic pursuits or in other ways. Similarly, the Eskimos appeared to have benefited from the more favourable manner in which they were perceived by the whites in comparison with the Indians.

Before and during the Fur Period, social, and to some extent, territorial boundaries were maintained between the various ethnic groups. Within these groups an individual measured his standing in terms of prestige and social position in relation to that of other members of his own group. Following the change to a settlement way of life, this pattern still persists but now another variable is also involved. This is that some Locals, particularly those not in continuous wage-employment, are being drawn into a variety of economic and other relationships with fellow Locals of a different ethnic background. One consequence of this development is that social standing in a general sense as well as in specific circumstances is now reckoned for an increasing number of Locals and is perceived by these individuals themselves, in relation to a population that includes individuals from different ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, in order to facilitate the formation of such inter-ethnic relationships, it would appear that changes in the individual's "performance" patterns are called for (Barth, 1969: 15,25) de-emphasizing some cultural characteristics and stressing others. As a result, the values and behaviour, or "cultural stuff" that Barth (1969:15) referred to, pertaining to particular ethnic

groups is undergoing a constant and considerable amount of redefinition and change.

The Honigmanns (1970:13-16) focus on this cultural redefinition in respect to Delta society in general, and Inuvik, in particular, in terms of a "frontier culture" which, they state, is "a way of life followed by most Indians, Eskimos, Metis and even by a few whites" (1970:14). This type of culture, they claim, contains two distinguishing elements in Inuvik, (1) an orientation to "outdoor-type activities like trapping, hunting, fishing, bush living" and (2) a rejection, in part at least, of the norms and values of the "mainline culture of North American society" (1970:14). In their stead the practitioners of the "frontier culture" follow their own systems of norms and values some of which "conflict directly with those of the dominant culture ... (in addition) there is even a tendency to ignore or 'neutralize' (Rodman, 1968:260-261) particular conventions of the dominant culture, in effect making the frontier way of life a contraculture." (the Honigmanns, 1970:14). Furthermore, the Honigmanns state

Native Inuvik's frontier culture, which scoffs at the legal basis of power held by the dominant society, is a way of resisting any greater concessions of superior rank to the dominant society than has already occurred.... In this sense frontier culture acts as a nativistic brake controlling further assimilation and as a symbol of native group identity.

After outlining what would appear to be a very fruitful conceptual framework, it is disappointing that the Honigmanns have not followed through in the remainder of this work just cited to

explore the dynamics involved between these co-terminously superimposed cultures. For example, undoubtedly implied in the Honigmanns' comments on "frontier culture" is the idea of competition between opposing ideologies, a topic stimulatingly discussed by Schwimmer (1970).

Schwimmer analyzes a Sun Dance ceremony held by a group of Blood Indians in terms of an opposition ideology expressed through symbolic competition. In regards to the dynamics of an opposition ideology he says:

An opposition ideology may use one of two tactics: it may be aimed directly at competition with the White man on economic or political ground, or it may aim at a purely symbolic victory which leaves the actual power relationship unchanged, but gives an oppressed and exploited people a belief in their own superiority. (1970:6)

Schwimmer goes on to state (1970:11) that "Whites have selected the criteria for the social class scale in such a way that the Indian must always be on the bottom." However, he adds, if Indians could choose the criteria they would choose those which would place them at the top of the scale and the Whites on the bottom. Thus, the resulting belief system which would provide the basis for competition would emphasize "Indianness" while devaluing the elements of the white culture. This occurs to the point of

the emphasizing of opposition between White and Indian values by suppressing such similarities as exist ... (e.g.) there is a strong ideological emphasis that an Indian should unstintingly give what he owns to any other Indian who asks for it, without expecting a return gift.... Anyone who jibes at this is accused of 'acting like a whiteman' (emphasis mine, Schwimmer, 1970:15).

There is obviously much of interest in Schwimmer's remarks concerning my own analysis. One initial distinction should be made to the effect that he is describing the "ideology" of a single cultural group, the Blood Indians, whereas under the title of 'Locals' I have been referring to a community in which several constituent ethnic entities are represented. While, as a result, it may appear that the Locals lack some of the cognitive unanimity characteristic of the group Schwimmer discusses, nevertheless, strong undercurrents of both direct and symbolic competition may be inferred from my earlier descriptions.

On the macro-level, for instance, where the Outsider values are predominant, the council situation might be interpreted as an invitation to the Locals as councillors to enter into direct competition with the Outsiders and risk being 'put down' as a result of the "scaling criteria" operating in the Outsiders' favour. The councillors, instead, respond as Locals (e.g. by not 'acting white') and may be thus considered as symbolically competing with the Outsiders. Similarly, and also on the macro-level, the apparent 'apathy', 'non-participation', 'undependability' and other negative types of behaviour commented on earlier in this chapter in respect to the Locals take on a new significance when interpreted as elements of symbolic competition. Concerning such an interpretation, Schwimmer has this to say (1970:34):

having been made into second class citizens (the Indians concluded) they might as well behave as such ... The crucial point is that inactivity in itself became a way of paying back the dominant society.

Further support of this type of analysis comes from Hagen (1962:496) who reaches a similar conclusion as a result of the workings of what he describes as "hostile dependency". He uses this term in the sense that the Sioux Indians whom he is discussing,

are hostile and also that they are dependent, but it also means more; it means that they act as if they were using their dependance, the only weapon they have perceived available to them until very recently, as a weapon against the government officials. ¹

Schwimmer (1970:26-7) mentions the strategic role of the "mediator" in respect to the likelihood of direct competition being utilized by the minority group. ²

whenever we find sympathetic mediators between White and Indian, and a degree of mutual understanding, we are likely to find institutions engaging in direct competition.

1 Braroe (1965) provides an additional example of how Indians use to their advantage the negative stereotypes held of them by the whites.

2 Note: nowhere does he suggest that "mediators" are essential for direct competition to take place.

On the micro-level, we find several examples of direct competition from the Locals. One example, involving "sympathetic mediators", concerns the Mail Run and Canoe Race where the administrator assisted the Locals, facilitating their being able to provide a "definition of the situation" in each case that was decidedly Local in tone and content. In addition, in pointing Mrs. Stockholm out to the Race officials as "the one person who did so much to make the day the success it was" would appear to emphasize his recognition of the fact that Locals can and do put on a "good show" when the occasion calls for it, and when they are allowed to do things in their own way (cf. Schwimmer, 1970:27). For example, if he did not have this faith in their ability, it seems unlikely that he would allow them unchallenged right to organize matters as they did.

Additional examples of direct competition on the micro-level would include the Local ladies handling of the Women's Institute meeting with Mrs. Ransom at which the former would appear to have asserted their influence and intent to the effect that the Aklavik branch clearly seems to reflect Local values and interests rather than those of the national organization. Curling, of course, provides another obvious example of how Locals can and do compete directly with Outsiders.

In summarizing symbolic and direct competition as expressed by the Locals, it has been suggested that symbolic competition will appear on the macro-level and direct competition on the micro-

level. This, I hasten to add, is suggested as a general rather than a specific rule since on occasion direct competition may also occur on the macro-level and symbolic competition on the micro-level. A single example may serve to illustrate each of the last two points respectively. First, Locals, as they have on occasion done in the past, may become involved with a petition to oust a particular government agent for "negligence in his duties" thus, directly challenging whatever "definition of the situation" he had been generating in respect to his own position. Secondly, Local curlers who within the context of a situation where Locals do directly compete with Outsiders also introduce an element of symbolic competition through their behaviour to reinforce the impression held by Outsiders that they "don't take the game as seriously" as some of the latter, especially the well known poor sports who are almost always Outsiders.

The Honigmanns (1970:16) state that "frontier culture" is the northern people's creation." This is true, but only up to a point, as a reading of Schwimmer's (1970) work demonstrates. Obviously, a great deal of the actual content of the Local culture is influenced, if not indirectly determined by what might be described as cultural 'inputs' from the larger society. These cultural 'inputs' which emanate from the non-Local world may, for example, emphasize or devalue the actual or supposed cultural characteristics of a particular ethnic group. (For example, Eskimos make more

dependable employees than Indians.) It would appear that such 'inputs' on occasion might be capitalized upon as "tangible assets" (Barth, 1969:25) by Local individuals and groups. One well known example of this is the "smiling Eskimo" whose friendly demeanour 'pays off' in terms of the favourable disposition it helps to foster among influential whites.

In terms of such cultural 'inputs' most of those I noted favoured Eskimos. For example, 1970 was Centennial Year in the Northwest Territories and a large number of distinguished visitors toured the region. Many of these visited Inuvik where they were invariably entertained by various groups of performers, usually Eskimos. One such group consisted of Eskimo drummers and dancers, while another was a group of young Eskimo men who demonstrated Eskimo traditional games. Government funds and personnel were actively employed in such activities which received excellent coverage in the press and other media. In addition, a well-planned Arctic Summer Sports meeting was held in Inuvik which emphasized Eskimo skills and games and to which Eskimos came from many northern areas, including Alaska.

Such emphasis on one cultural group in a multi-ethnic setting would appear to be significant for a variety of reasons. First, the government was one of the main agencies engaged in such promotional activities. As a result, some possible inconsistency is apparent: on these occasions the government functions

in sponsoring and reinforcing ethnic distinctiveness, whereas other government activities are aimed at integration or assimilation with a de-emphasis on cultural distinctiveness.¹ Secondly, Eskimo identity in the Delta generally appeared to be enhanced as a result of so much attention, and it would seem likely that the positive stereotypes of Eskimos in comparison with Indians held by whites were strengthened accordingly. While the latter might indicate a possible detrimental change in relationships between Indians and Outsiders I have no direct evidence of this happening. However, various references and gossip among some Indians about their Eskimo neighbours and the "special" attention they were receiving was noted. Thirdly, such sponsorship as the Eskimos received, especially in connection with elements of culture that can be described as traditional (e.g., drum dances, songs, games) has helped to establish the Mackenzie Delta Eskimos as "100 per cent Eskimos" in comparison with the often derogatory "half-breed" image they had in an earlier era.

1 For example, one high status government official described the new housing programme to me in these words:

"the aim of the housing programme is complete integration of Indians, Eskimos, Metis, whites, the lot! As soon as people begin to think of themselves as Canadians rather than Indian or natives or what have you, the better it will be for them and for Canada."

In conclusion, I have been dealing throughout this paper with the dichotomized society of contemporary Aklavik. As is probable with such social constructs, dichotomies undoubtedly receive a certain amount of 'bruising' in terms of exposure to the 'real world', for example, in reference to the existence of some individuals who are not looked upon as "one of us" by either group. Nevertheless, in Aklavik there are two 'realities' for the analyst to deal with. The first relates to the presence of an apparently dominant group of non-permanent residents who control most of the valuable material resources. The second 'reality' is the multi-ethnic permanent population who are faced with the choice of either ignoring their influential non-permanent neighbours or achieving some kind of accommodation with them that is amicable from their Local point of view. It would appear that the Locals do in fact utilize both of these choices and in the process are able, at least cognitively, to redefine and achieve some control over their own particular cultural and social world.

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