

DIFFERENTIAL ADAPTATION TO A CANADIAN NORTHERN TOWN

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I. Introduction

Preface

As urbanization and modernization have come to the Arctic and Subarctic, the growth of towns in isolated areas and the consolidation of indigenous peoples into these towns have created a situation in which native peoples have an opportunity to adapt to new and alien lifeways. These northern towns present native persons with new forms of employment; formal educational systems and job training; health and welfare services; different types of clothing, housing, and other material goods of the larger society; new recreations, foods, and beverages--including alcohol; and new values and codes of conduct which are often formalized and codified in laws that are enforced by a segment of the larger society.

The Problem

The problem discussed in this paper is the differential adaptation of Athapaskans and three other minority ethnic groups - Algonkians, Inuit, and Other Natives - to the Canadian northern town of Porterville.¹ Briefly, I will compare these four groups in their adaptations to the larger society's economic, alcoholic beverage, and normative systems to demonstrate that, in Porterville, not all indigenous ethnic groups are adapting to the opportunities,

demands, and limitations of the larger society in a similar manner.² Nor are these groups being similarly "swamped" by the larger society and turned into a common lower-class subculture or "lumpenproletariat". (cf. Honigsmann, 1969).³

Methods

The method of comparison relies heavily upon some of the quantitative data I obtained in 1968. Information from liquor purchase slips, employment records, and court records was added to social background data from the community and programmed for analysis. For purposes of statistical analysis, only those persons of native ancestry in Porterville, July 1968, are included (Table 1). The evaluative comparisons of the ethnic groups in responding to opportunities and demands of the larger society help to illuminate the differential adaptation to town life, but it should be noted that such comparisons are inherently ethnocentric in the bias to the standards of the larger Canadian society.

Ethnic group affiliation was based upon legal treaty status in the instance of the Athapaskans and Algonkians and formal government status in the case of Inuit. Other Natives are persons of various native ethnic backgrounds who do not have a special legal status with respect to the federal government. However, some hunting and fishing privileges are extended to these individuals and not to Eurocanadians.

Table 1. Demographic Outline of Porterville's Native Population

Location: July, 1968	Ethnic Group				Total Number
	<u>Inuit</u>	<u>Other Native</u>	<u>Algonkian</u>	<u>Athapaskan</u>	
Porterville	100	363	69	299	831
Out in Jail		1		7	8
Out in Hospital		3		8	11
Out in Foster Home		6		7	13
Out with Adoptive Parents				4	4
Out - General (Work, etc.)			1	5	6
Unknown	<u>1</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>53</u>
Total Number	101	475	72	339	926

Note: This table represents the preliminary census made by Koolage in 1968 and includes natives who appeared on a previous census but who were later found to be living out of the Porterville area. In part, the larger number of Other Natives with Location Unknown derives from the preliminary inclusion of persons from way stations along the Hudson Bay Line of the Canadian National Railway whose names were found on various lists in Porterville.

The Community

While Porterville had been a trading post since the mid-18th century, it did not really feel the influence of the larger Canadian society until the 1930s when more modern transportation facilities linked it more closely to southern Canada. Since then, there has been increased government involvement (both civil and military) in the community with an increasing number of Eurocanadians entering the community. Porterville thus came to serve the needs of the larger society as well as its own inhabitants. In the 1950s, the Department of Northern Affairs began to relocate Inuit from economically depressed areas and the Department of Indian Affairs relocated a band of Athapaskans from a bush settlement to Porterville not only for ease of administration but also to provide services for them, such as schooling, health care, and new forms of employment and job training. Algonkians and Other Natives have entered the community primarily through self-selection.

The community is composed of seven distinct "neighborhoods". Some of these are contiguous to the Townsite (Porterville proper) while others are at locations up to five miles distant from the Townsite. In 1968, most of the Athapaskans were residing in Indian Village, a new neighborhood which replaced their former one of Half-camp. Most Inuit reside in Inuit Village while most Algonkians live in Northville. Other Natives are found primarily in Northville or the townsite. (See Table 2.) While some choice of

neighborhood of residence is open to persons of native ancestry, it is generally the dominant Eurocanadian population (3500 persons in 1968) who determine where native persons will live. The Eurocanadians of Porterville numerically, politically, and economically dominate the native ethnic groups in a manner similar to that described by Elias (1972) for Churchill. (See also Koolage, 1972.) Eurocanadians reside primarily in the Townsite, Aurora, and Inuit Village.

Table 2. Roster Population by Ethnic Group and Neighborhood of Residence

Neighborhood	Ethnic Group				Total Number
	Inuit	Other Native	Algonkian	Athapaskan	
Aurora	2	4	0	2	8
Inuit village	85	0	0	1	86
Townsite	6	107	4	15	139
Northville	5	190	54	5	259
Other Town Area	0	48	0	0	48
Indian Village	0	6	0	270	276
North Shore	0	0	0	5	5
Unknown	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>22</u>
Total Number	100	363	69	299	843

II. Differential Adaptation 1956-1970

The Economic System

Opportunities for employment in Porterville are many and varied, but these opportunities are not equally extended to all groups. Eurocanadians, Inuit, and Other Natives are given preference for the better jobs. Salaried and wage labor account for most of Eurocanadian employment and for that of many natives as well. The Federal Government is the largest employer in the area with over 1000 full-time personnel and some 300 casual or seasonal personnel. This represents approximately eighty percent of the area's work force. Most native persons employed by government agencies fill unskilled through skilled blue-collar jobs. Job types range from manual laboring positions, such as movers, sweepers, and cleaners, up through electricians, machinists, and firemen. Almost all supervisory and highly-skilled jobs are held by Eurocanadians.

In the private sector, there is employment for approximately 220 full-time and 150 casual or seasonal employees with businesses located primarily in the townsite. Almost all positions in this sector held by members of the four ethnic groups are unskilled or semi-skilled from manual laborers, cleaning women, clerks, to truck drivers and carpenters.

With the exception of the construction project in Indian Village, most jobs in these sectors of the economy require adherence to work schedules as a condition for continued employment.

Traditionally based economic pursuits are seasonal and include hunting, trapping, fishing, and handicrafts, as well as guiding for tourists and sportsmen. Hunting is open to all but is primarily exploited by Other Natives, Athapaskans, and Inuit. The animals most hunted for food are caribou and seal and many game birds such as ducks, geese, and ptarmigan. Increasing restrictions upon hunting gamebirds due to international agreements, primarily with the United States, have affected treaty natives as well as Eurocanadians. Although game food is forbidden by law from being sold, there are channels for selling or trading meat for cash or goods.

Trapping of fur-bearing animals is done primarily in the late fall and winter. Part of the area's economy today, trapping involves both native trappers and Euro-canadian entrepreneurs as well as store managers who send the furs to southern urban centres. The Indian Affairs Branch also acts as a middleman for native trappers to convert their furs into cash but as this process takes longer than with local entrepreneurs, it is often less preferred even though more remunerative to the producer. Animals trapped include beaver, fox, mink, muskrat, otter, squirrel, wolf,

and wolverine. The white fox has been the most abundant and valuable animal for local trappers.

Fishing for char, whitefish, grayling, and pike is done during the summer, primarily with the use of nets. Only a small number of families are very dependent upon fish for summer sustenance while a larger number do it either as a pastime or a supplement to other economic pursuits.

Handicrafts provide added income for members of all four ethnic groups. They are manufactured primarily by the women with the exception of the Inuit men's carvings and Indian men's construction of cradle-boards, model canoes, etc. Moccasins, mukluks, mitts, hats, and occasionally parkas are made for sale to local citizens and tourists.

The Indian Affairs Branch handles the bulk of tourist and sport guiding through its local office and engages primarily Athapaskan, Algonkian, and Other Native men to act as guides. The department furnishes canoes, rifles (for whaling), and accommodations at either Porterville or an outlying tourist camp. Guides are paid on a per diem basis from a set fee to the sportsmen or tourists.

Other forms of obtaining income include family allowances, social assistance (welfare), scavenging, boot-legging, and theft. Social assistance is paid by the Federal Government to Indians and Inuit and by the Provincial Government to Other Natives who are unemployed or otherwise need economic assistance. Payments are not high and form, for most recipients, a supplement for other forms of income.

Scavenging refers to the collection and melting down of scrap copper products for sale to local entrepreneurs who pay \$0.20 per pound for it. It also includes obtaining used material goods from the dump or local scrap heaps for personal use or to trade with others. While relatively unimportant in terms of dollars and cents, scavenging does provide extra cash in small amounts for some segments of the population, notably a few of the Athapaskans.

Theft of goods or money from houses and local businesses occurs and for many of its young practitioners provides their only cash income.

We now turn to an evaluative comparison of the ethnic groups' adaptation to the opportunities for constant employment which is part of the ethic and life-style of the larger society to which native persons are expected to adapt. For comparative purposes, persons are categorized as regularly and irregularly employed. Regularly employed includes persons steadily employed (ninety through one hundred percent of the time) and fairly steadily employed (seventy to ninety percent of the time). Irregularly employed includes persons occasionally employed (thirty through seventy percent of the time) and rarely employed (less than thirty percent of the time). Employment is here considered to include trappers as well as wage laborers. A man who traps but also holds seasonal jobs which he performs regularly would be considered fairly steadily employed accounting for some slack time between seasons.

In Table 3 the vast differences in employment between the four ethnic groups appear. Consequent to their more steady employment, Inuit men and women are in a much better position economically in terms of the larger society than are men and women in other ethnic categories with ninety-six percent of the men and nine percent of the women regularly employed. Other Natives fall below this with only thirty-seven percent of the men regularly employed. Algonkian and Athapaskan men are in still less secure positions as far as regular employment is concerned with only twenty-seven percent and fifteen percent of their numbers, respectively, in regular employment.

Table 3. Native Men and Women 21 Years and Older Regularly and Irregularly Employed in 1967-68 as Percents of All Men and Women in Each Ethnic-Sex Category

<u>Ethnic Status and Employment</u>	Sex		
	<u>Male (1)</u>	<u>Female (2)</u>	<u>Both Sexes (3)</u>
Inuit			
Regular	96	9	53
Irregular	<u>4</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>47</u>
Number	23	22	45
Other Natives			
Regular	37	3	21
Irregular	<u>63</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>79</u>
Number	86	74	160
Algonkians			
Regular	27	0	17
Irregular	<u>73</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>83</u>
Number	15	8	23
Athapaskans			
Regular	15	0	7
Irregular	<u>85</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>93</u>
Number	62	67	129

1. Significant at the .001 level. Kendall Tau C = 0.46.
2. Not significant at the .05 level. Kendall Tau C = 0.05.
3. Significant at the .001 level. Kendall Tau C = 0.28.

The Alcoholic Beverage System

The use of alcoholic beverages is one of the foremost recreational activities in Porterville and the conviviality which it engenders is seen as bringing people together in this isolated area. But the same use of alcohol, especially the manner in which it is used by some members of the native ethnic groups, is also seen as one of the major problems of the community.

There are several sources of alcoholic beverages in the Porterville area. The foremost that we shall consider here is the government's Liquor Store in the townsite which sells wine, beer, and spirits for consumption in the home. The store is open from 11 a.m. until 6 p.m. on Tuesday through Saturday. All persons, regardless of ethnic status, are permitted to purchase alcohol at the Liquor Store providing that they are 21 years of age or older, sober in the opinion of the clerk, and not forbidden to drink by the courts for past liquor offences. The method of purchase involves filling out a purchase form with one's signature, address, catalog number of the beverage desired, number of bottles, name of the brand of alcohol, price per bottle, and total amount of the sale. The slip is handed to the clerk who fills the order, totals and imprints the order slip in the cash register, and takes the payment. During a six-month period from February through July 1968 the Liquor Store had sales of \$175,000 to individuals as well as licensed premises.

Several establishments in the townsite serve alcoholic beverages for consumption on the premises and beer by the case on a "carry-out" basis. The two hotels have restaurants, beer parlors, and cocktail lounges which serve drinks, and in them singing groups brought in from "outside" also provide entertainment. Another restaurant in the townsite which also has a liquor license caters primarily to Eurocanadians. The hotels are open to members of all ethnic groups, although in 1966 there was some self- and forced segregation in seating arrangements which, for the most part, had disappeared by 1968.

Several "clubs" operate in the area. The Canadian Legion Hall in the townsite has a beer license and caters to members and guests--most of whom are Eurocanadian. Two clubs in Aurora, the "A" Club and the "B" Club, have liquor licenses and are open to members and guests.

We now turn to our quantitative examination of native persons' use of the liquor store. Table 4 illustrates the distribution of the liquor store's sales of beer, wine, and spirits to the roster population as well as to other buyers, including local hotels and clubs. Since we have data only on roster population buyers purchasing alcoholic beverages at the store itself, we will be discussing only one-fifth of all sales made in the Porterville area during the sample period. When we explore more closely these "over the counter" sales (Table 5), we find that Athapaskan

buyers spent an average of \$51.80, or more than three times the average of Inuit buyers. Other Native buyers also averaged high amounts, while the average amounts spent by Algonkian buyers were relatively low.

Table 4. Buyers, Amounts, and Percent of Sales by Liquor Store in Six Sample Periods (42 Business Days) February to July, 1968

<u>Category of Buyer</u>	<u>Amount of Sales</u>	<u>Approximate Percent of Total Sales</u>
Native Buyers in Roster Population (N = 232)	\$ 9,839.82	20.0
All Other Buyers	26,780.93	50.0
Local Hotels and Clubs	16,599.10	30.0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Sales	\$53,219.85	100.0

Table 5. Amounts Spent at the Liquor Store by Roster Buyers
in Six Sample Periods

<u>Ethnic Category</u>	<u>Average Amount Spent per Buyer</u>	<u>Total Amount Spent by Ethnic Group</u>
Inuit (N = 15)	\$14.15	\$ 212.25
Other Natives (N = 107)	39.74	4,252.30
Algonkians (N = 11)	22.49	247.42
Athapaskans (N = 99)	51.80	5,127.85
	<hr/>	<hr/>
All Native Buyers (N = 232)	\$42.41	\$9,839.82

Distribution of Amounts spent by the ethnic groups is significant at the .001 level.

(F 3, 228 = 6.21)

Since the liquor store has been open to legal usage by Inuit, Algonkians, and Athapaskans only from 1960, we will use visits to the store to gauge how these groups have responded to the relatively new opportunity. Other Natives had always been permitted to use the store for they did not come under the legal prohibitions affecting Indians and Inuit. Table 6 illustrates a differential readiness to use the liquor store between the native ethnic groups in Porterville. (Our "buying pool" consists only of adults 21 years of age or older.) While only thirty-three percent of

the Inuit adults visited the store at any time in our sample period, forty-seven percent of the Algonkian and seventy-six percent of the Athapaskan adults did so at least once. Other Native adults were less likely to have visited the store than the Athapaskans but more so than Algonkians.

Table 6. Persons Buying at Least Once from the Liquor Store
as Percents of Ethnic Buying Pools

All Buyers as Percent of Buying Pool		
<u>Ethnic Category</u>	<u>Percent of Buyers</u>	<u>Number in Buying Pool</u>
Inuit	33	45
Other Native	67	160
Algonkian	47	23
Athapaskan	76	129
	—	—
Total Natives	65	357

Distributions of Buyers by ethnic groups significant at the .001 level.

Kendall Tau C = -0.23.

If we examine readiness to use the store by ethnic group and sex, we find differences between male and female adults within as well as between ethnic groups (Table 7). Men are more ready to buy at the store than women in every group except Algonkians. There is little difference between Athapaskan and Other Native men with seventy-nine percent of

the former and seventy-six percent of the latter visiting the store at least once, but Inuit and Algonkian males are less likely visitors with fifty-two percent and forty-six percent respectively doing so.

Table 7. Persons Buying At Least Once From the Liquor Store
As Percents of Ethnic Buying Pools

<u>Ethnic Category</u>	Male Buyers as Percent of Buying Pool *		Female Buyers as Percent of Buying Pool **	
	<u>Percent of Buyers</u>	<u>Number in Buying Pool</u>	<u>Percent of Buyers</u>	<u>Number in Buying Pool</u>
Inuit	52	23	13	22
Other Native	76	86	55	74
Algonkian	46	15	50	8
Athapaskan	79	62	74	67
	—	—	—	—
Total Native	72	186	57	171

* Significant at the .01 level for Native Males.
Kendall Tau C = -0.10.

** Significant at the .001 level for Native Females.
Kendall Tau C = -0.37.

Among females in different ethnic groups there is much greater variation. Whereas only thirteen percent of the Inuit women ever visited the store, seventy-four percent of the Athapaskan women did so at least once. Other Native and Algonkian women were less frequent visitors than Athapaskan

women, with fifty-five percent and fifty percent respectively doing so. In comparison with the men, Athapaskan and Algonkian women were even more likely to deal with the liquor facility than their male counterparts. Inuit and Other Native women, however, were less likely to visit the store compared with their male counterparts.

The figures for the Athapaskan women reveal the high degree of independence they enjoy in some social contexts, especially in the townsite and in dealing with the larger society. This is also revealed by the pattern of husband and wife making simultaneous purchases to consume at parties in Indian Village. Women have occasionally said that they buy their own wine so that they need not ask for it.

We have seen that the native ethnic groups vary in their readiness to use the liquor store, and we now turn to examine those persons who did make use of the store to see the relationship between spending habits and employment. Table 8 examines the buyers in our ethnic groups by amounts spent at the store arranged in quartiles. The Athapaskan buyers distributed throughout the four quartiles are concentrated in the two highest groups of amount spent while the Inuit and Algonkian buyers are mostly in the two lowest quartiles. Other Natives are fairly evenly distributed throughout the quartiles indicating that they follow more than one pattern of spending.

Table 8. Amounts Spent by 232 Native Buyers at the Liquor Store in the 42 Business Day Sample Arranged by Quartiles

<u>Amounts Spent</u>	Ethnic Category							
	<u>Inuit</u>		<u>Other Native</u>		<u>Algonkian</u>		<u>Athapaskan</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Q 1 :</u>	9	60	30	28	4	36	16	16
\$ 1.05 -								
\$ 13.65								
<u>Q 2 :</u>	5	33	25	23	6	55	22	22
\$ 14.30 -								
\$ 32.05								
<u>Q 3 :</u>	1	7	31	29	0	0	26	26
\$ 32.55 -								
\$ 61.15								
<u>Q 4 :</u>	0	0	21	20	1	9	35	35
\$ 63.00 -								
\$231.70								
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	15	100	107	100	11	100	99	100

Distribution of Natives by Ethnic Group and Amounts Spent is significant at the .001 level.

Kendall Tau C = 0.20.

Comparing employment status of native buyers to the amounts spent reveals that regularly employed buyers are concentrated in the lowest quartiles (sixty-nine percent) while our irregularly employed buyers (fifty-four percent) are in the upper two quartiles (Table 9). At first glance these figures would seem to indicate that native persons in Porterville with low economic access as measured by employment tend to spend more for alcoholic beverages. However, when we

consider the vast differences in employment between the ethnic groups as well as spending differences, it appears that this finding is more related to ethnic status than employment.

Table 9. Amounts Spent by 232 Native Buyers at the Liquor Store in the 42 Business Day Sample Arranged by Quartiles

<u>Amounts Spent</u>	Employment Category			
	Regularly Employed		Irregularly Employed	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Q 1: \$ 1.05- \$ 13.05	18	40	41	22
Q 2: \$ 14.30- \$ 32.05	13	29	45	24
Q 3: \$ 32.55- \$ 61.15	5	11	53	28
Q 4: \$ 63.00- \$231.00	9	20	48	26
	—	—	—	—
Totals	45	100	187	100

Distribution of Native Buyers by Employment Category and Amounts Spent is significant at the .05 level.
Kendall Tau C = 0.15.

Table 10 illustrates the frequency with which native buyers purchased from the liquor store during the six sample periods. Athapaskan buyers did so in a greater number of periods than other buyers with sixty-nine percent visiting the store in 4-6 periods. Other Natives demonstrate the same internal variation in visits that they do in spending.

Algonkian buyers use the store more frequently than Inuit, and a majority of the latter bought at the store only during one period.

Table 10. Frequency With Which Native Buyers Purchased From the Liquor Store in 6 Sample Periods

Ethnic Category of Buyers	Percent Purchasing During 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 Periods						Number of Buyers (N = 100%)
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	
Inuit	67	13	7	13	0	0	15
Other Native	18	12	15	17	16	22	107
Algonkian	27	18	9	27	9	9	11
Athapaskan	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>99</u>
Total All Natives	18	11	13	19	16	23	232

Distribution of Buyers by Periods and Ethnic Category significant at the .01 level.
Kendall Tau C = 0.21.

The Normative System

We have discussed some of the opportunities for employment or use of the government liquor store offered to native persons by the new town environment and their differential adaptations to these opportunities. However, life in the town also places demands on these persons to behave according to norms set by the larger society. While each ethnic group has its own set of norms, which to some extent clash with new demands, we will primarily concentrate upon how native persons have adapted to the legal system of the larger society. We ask to what extent do the members of the four ethnic groups accept or reject the norms set forth for them.

Although the Porterville area embodies the governing powers of both the Canadian Government and the Province of Manitoba, there is but one police force--the R.C.M. Police--which enforces both federal and provincial laws. The small R.C.M. Police force, ten officers, in the area must also patrol a large area south of the community as well. It is the segment of the larger society which has perhaps the most direct contact with the members of two of the four ethnic groups and, as such, must be reckoned with as a factor in native persons' adaptations to town life.

Relations with the police are somewhat strained for all ethnic groups, with the common complaint being made by Indian, Other Native, and Eurocanadian that "they're

never around when you need them". To be sure, the R.C.M. Police claim that their force is too small to handle the amount of work and duties--such as "prepare for inspections"--they have to perform. In effect, the police are criticized from all sides, including court officials like the Crown Attorney, for their handling of law enforcement in the community. They, like the Athapaskans, provide a ready "scape-goat" for the town's problems.

The court system in Porterville consists of a magistrate's court which meets every Monday and more or less when needed to handle discharging persons from the local jail by remanding them in their own custody or taking pleas of "guilty" for minor offences, usually involving infractions of the Highway Traffic Act or Liquor Control Act. Once a month, a magistrate from a southern community and a crown attorney (prosecutor) come to Porterville to hold trials for major offences and handle pleas of "not guilty". As there are no lawyers in Porterville, a person desiring one must send south for legal assistance. Few persons, except for Eurocanadians, ask for or obtain lawyers and do so only in the event of a serious crime.

One special problem which Porterville residents voice strongly is that there are no permanent judicial mechanisms in the area for handling juvenile cases. During the summers of 1967 and 1968 a probation officer was stationed in Porterville to supervise and recommend court action

dealing with juvenile offenders. However, during the remainder of the year juveniles are remanded in their parents' custody and will frequently have several arrests prior to the family court's monthly meeting. The situation remains that there are no mechanisms for handling the cases of children under 12 years of age other than through rather vague agreements between welfare and probation services.

Arrests and the almost invariable convictions of members of our four ethnic groups in Porterville are generally for Liquor Control Act and Criminal Code offences. Generally, charges for Liquor Control Act violations are for the following specific offences: intoxication in a public place; illegal possession of alcoholic beverages; supplying alcohol to a juvenile or person interdicted from buying; or consuming alcohol while under the age of 21. The charge for illegal possession is common and conditioned both by patterns of alcohol use and the legal code. Under this portion of the Liquor Control Act, a person may not break the seal on a case of beer or wine unless he is in his own home. Technically, a person may not take a bottle to a party or consume his own alcoholic beverages any place other than his home. This law is flaunted by all ethnic groups, including the Eurocanadians, who however happen to be more skillful in remaining undetected than the native ethnic groups. Members of the four native ethnic groups, especially Athapaskans, feel that this law is "stupid", and they will often before reaching home break open

a case of wine or beer or uncork a bottle of whiskey to give a friend or take a drink. Their dependence upon public transportation or "foot power" makes it more difficult to conceal this infraction of the legal code.

Charges laid under the Criminal Code generally involve theft of money or property valued at less than \$50, common assault (fighting), breaking and entering, assault with intent to commit bodily harm, and unlawful possession of goods.

We will now examine Liquor Control Act and Criminal Code convictions within and between the four ethnic groups in a quantitative manner.

The illustration of Liquor Control Act convictions in 1968 by age, ethnicity, and sex in Table 11 reveals that Athapaskan youths and adults both have had a high percentage of their numbers (twenty-five percent) convicted during the 2½ month sample period. For these youths, being of legal age to purchase alcoholic beverages has little influence on their access to such beverages and their subsequent problems with the legal system of the larger society over its use. Athapaskan adults are more likely to have been convicted of Liquor Control Act offences than adults of the other ethnic groups.

Inuit and Algonkian youths have a higher percentage of their numbers convicted of liquor offences than their adult counterparts; fourteen and seventeen percent of their numbers,

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Table 11. Percents of Native Ethnic Categories by Age Ever
Convicted for Liquor Offences, 2½ Months

Both Sexes as Percent of Age Category		
<u>Ethnic Category and Age</u>	<u>Percent Convicted</u>	<u>Number in Population (N = 100%)</u>
Inuit		
16 - 20	14	14
Over 21	4	45
Other Native		
16 - 20	3	29
Over 21	9	160
Algonkian		
16 - 20	17	12
Over 21	4	23
Athapaskan		
16 - 20	25	24
Over 21	25	129
All Natives		
16 - 20	14	79
Over 21	14	357

The distribution of natives 21 years and older convicted and not convicted among the four ethnic groups is significant at the .001 level.
Kendall Tau C = 0.16.

The distribution of natives 16 to 20 years old convicted and not convicted among the four ethnic groups is not significant at the .05 level.
Kendall Tau C = 0.14.

respectively, were convicted at least once during the $2\frac{1}{2}$ months. Inuit and Algonkian adults were not likely to be convicted of liquor offences, nor were Other Native adults although we have seen that they spent rather heavily at the liquor store.

If we examine age and sex by ethnic groups in respect to Liquor Control Act violations (Table 12) we find that male adults and youths are more likely to have problems with the law than are their female counterparts, with the exception of Algonkian girls.

Approximately one in three Athapaskan men and boys were convicted for liquor offences during the sample period. Athapaskan women and girls, while less likely to be convicted than the males, nevertheless found use of alcoholic beverages much more troublesome than females in other ethnic groups.

When we consider all natives as a group, we find that there is a slight tendency for natives who bought at the liquor store to have more of their numbers convicted than non-buyers (Table 13). However, when we control for ethnic status, this relationship "washes out" statistically. There is a trend for Inuit, Other Natives, and Algonkians to be at higher risk of conviction for a liquor offence if they purchased at the store, but our numbers of Inuit and Algonkians are too small for generalization. Athapaskans on the other hand show no appreciable variation in convictions for liquor offences between buyers and non-buyers which indicates the extensive sharing of beverages and consequent problems all users encounter in the larger society's normative system.

Table 12. Percents of Native Ethnic Categories by Age and Sex Ever Convicted for Liquor Offences, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Months

<u>Ethnic Category and Age</u>	<u>Males as Percent of Age Category</u>		<u>Females as Percent of Age Category</u>	
	<u>Percent Convicted</u>	<u>Number in Population</u>	<u>Percent Convicted</u>	<u>Number in Population</u>
Inuit				
16 - 20	22	9	0	5
Over 21	9	23	0	22
Other Native				
16 - 20	6	16	0	13
Over 21	13	86	5	74
Algonkian				
16 - 20	0	6	33	6
Over 21	7	15	0	8
Athapaskan				
16 - 20	33	12	17	12
Over 21	32	60	18	67
All Natives				
16 - 20	17	14	11	36
Over 21	18	186	9	171

The distribution of convictions and no convictions for men 21 years and older among the four ethnic groups is significant at the .01 level. Kendall Tau C = 0.18; for women, the distribution is significant at the .05 level. Kendall Tau C = 0.14.

The distribution of convictions and no convictions for either males or females 16 to 20 years old is not significant at the .05 level.

Table 13. Native Adults Convicted and Not Convicted of Liquor Control Act Offences in 2½ Months by Ethnic Status and Buying Categories as Percents of Buying Categories

<u>Ethnic Status and Buying Category</u>	<u>Convictions</u>		<u>Total Number</u>
	<u>None</u>	<u>One or More</u>	
All Natives (1)			
Non-buyer	91	9	125
Buyer	83	17	232
Number	307	50	357
Inuit (2)			
Non-buyer	97	3	30
Buyer	93	7	15
Number	43	2	45
Other Native (3)			
Non-buyer	94	6	53
Buyer	89	11	107
Number	145	15	160
Algonkian (4)			
Non-buyer	100	0	12
Buyer	91	9	11
Number	22	1	23
Athapaskan (5)			
Non-buyer	77	23	30
Buyer	75	25	99
Number	97	32	129

1. Significant at the .05 level. Kendall Tau C = 0.07.

2, 3, 4, 5. Not significant at the .05 level.

Thus, while there appears to be a slight tendency for all natives as a group to be at higher risk of conviction for liquor offences if they bought at the store, this is probably spurious and the relationship is probably with ethnicity. Thus we can say that in Porterville, buying at the liquor store by itself has little or no bearing on whether individuals within each ethnic group will be convicted of a liquor offence.

In Table 14 only buyers at the liquor store are examined to see if the amount spent there is related to liquor convictions. Again we find a trend for all natives as a group to be at higher risk if they spent high amounts (\$32.55 - \$231.70), but this relationship disappears when we control for ethnic status.

Inuit and Algonkian buyers sustained only one conviction in each of their spending groups and the convicted individuals spent low amounts at the liquor store. Each of these groups had only one buyer in our high spending category and the numbers are so small as to discourage us from even delineating a trend.

In the case of Other Native and Athapaskan buyers we note a slight trend towards liquor conviction being associated with high spending as opposed to low spending, but these relationships are not statistically significant at the .05 level. Thus, we conclude that amount spent at the liquor store has little bearing on whether a buyer was

Table 14. Buyers Convicted and Not Convicted of Liquor Control Act Offences in 2½ Months by Ethnic Status and Buying Habits as Percents of Low and High Spending Categories.

<u>Ethnic Status and Buying Category</u>	<u>Convictions</u>		<u>Total Number</u>
	<u>None</u>	<u>One or More</u>	
All Natives (1)			
Low	88	12	117
High	78	22	115
Number	193	39	232
Inuit (2)			
Low	93	7	14
High	100	0	1
Number	14	1	15
Other Native (3)			
Low	91	9	55
High	86	13	52
Number	95	12	107
Algonkian (4)			
Low	90	10	10
High	100	0	1
Number	10	1	11
Athapaskan (5)			
Low	82	18	38
High	70	29	61
Number	74	25	99

1. Significant at the .05 level. Kendall Tau C = 0.10.

2, 3, 4, 5. Not significant at the .05 level.

convicted or not convicted of a Liquor Control Act offence. Ethnic status, as we noted in Table 11, is a better predictor of convictions than either buying or amount spent.

An analysis of all convictions for Liquor Control Act and Criminal Code offences in 1968 and 1964 reveals that Athapaskans have over time run into more problems with the law than other ethnic groups and reveals them to be adapting relatively poorly to this normative aspect of the larger society (Tables 15 and 16). Other Natives appeared to have had difficulties with the use of alcoholic beverages in 1968 but generally had less trouble than either Athapaskans or Algonkians in 1964, and this ordering seems to reflect the local model of social status in the community today. Local conceptions of the status hierarchy appear to change more slowly than the criteria upon which they are based. Inuit have had little trouble with the law in either 1968 or 1964 reflecting not only their protected position in the community but also their ready acceptance of many of its "overt" norms as embodied in the legal code.

An examination of employment status and liquor convictions demonstrates that nearly equal percentages of regularly employed and irregularly employed Athapaskan men are convicted of liquor offences (Table 17). Employment also appears not to be of significant importance for Inuit or Algonkians with respect to convictions. The distributions of convictions by employment category within Athapaskan, Inuit,

and Algonkian ethnic groups are not statistically significant. However, within the Other Native group the distribution of men convicted and not convicted by employment status is significant at the .05 level. Whereas only three percent of Other Native males who are regularly employed are convicted of liquor offences, 18.5 percent of Other Native males irregularly employed are convicted.

Table 15. Convictions of Natives 21 Years and Older for Liquor Control Act and Criminal Code Offences in 2½ Months, 1968

Ethnic Category and Number of Natives in Each Category	Number of Convictions			
	Liquor Control Act		Criminal Code of Canada	
	Average Number per Capita	Number of Convictions	Average Number per Capita	Number of Convictions
Inuit (N = 45)	.04	2	.02	1
Other Native (N = 160)	.15	24	.01	3
Algonkian (N = 23)	.04	1	.04	1
Athapaskan (N = 129)	.34	45	.10	13
Totals	.20	72	.05	18

The distribution of Liquor Control Act convictions by ethnic groups is significant at the .01 level ($F_{3,353} = 5.22$).

The distribution of Criminal Code of Canada convictions among the ethnic groups is significant at the .05 level ($F_{3,353} = 2.73$).

Table 16. Convictions of Natives 21 Years and Older for Liquor Control Act and Criminal Code Offences in 10 Months, 1964-1965

Ethnic Category and Number of Natives in Each Category	Number of Convictions		
	Liquor Control Act	Criminal Code of Canada	
	Average Number per Capita	Number of Convictions	Average Number per Capita Number of Convictions
Inuit (N = 45)	.07	3	.00
Other Native (N = 160)	.38	61	.03
Algonkian (N = 23)	.61	14	.00
Athapaskan (N = 129)	1.17	151	.14
Totals	.64	229	.08
			23

The distribution of Liquor Control Act convictions by ethnic groups is significant at the .001 level (F 3, 353 = 17.40).

The distributions of Criminal Code of Canada convictions by Other Natives and Athapaskan only, is significant at the .01 level (F 1, 287 = 8.48).

Table 17. Employment Status and Percent of Convictions for Liquor Offences in
2½ Months of Native Men 21 Years and Older

<u>Employment Status</u>	<u>Ethnic Status</u>			
	<u>Inuit</u>	<u>Other Native*</u>	<u>Algonkian</u>	<u>Athapaskan</u> <u>All Natives**</u>
Regularly Employed				
Percent with no convictions	91	97	100	67
Percent with convictions	9	3	0	33
Number in each ethnic category	22	32	4	9
Irregularly Employed				
Percent with no convictions	100	82	91	68
Percent with convictions	0	18	9	32
Number in each ethnic category	1	54	11	53

* Distribution among Other Natives is significant at the .05 level.

** Distribution among all natives is significant at the .05 level.

Summary

The quantitative data indicates that the Athapaskans are adapting marginally to the larger Eurocanadian society in Porterville. While opportunities for regular employment have not been extended to them as with the Inuit, those opportunities offered are often spurned in favour of more autonomous pursuits such as part-time work, hunting and fishing, and scavenging. Thus, there are only a small percentage of Athapaskan males regularly employed. The construction project in Indian Village which allows men to work when they wish permits such maintenance of autonomy and has been accepted by those desiring more of the economic benefits of the town.

The opportunity to purchase and use alcoholic beverages, however, is utilized by a larger percentage of Athapaskan adults than adults in any other ethnic group. Adults and youths utilizing alcohol do not adhere to the limitations placed upon them by the larger society's normative system and consequently find themselves at odds with the police and local court system. By virtue of their own situational position and their identification as Athapaskans, they are adapting as an ethnic group in a manner marginal to the larger society.

Inuit, in contrast, exemplify a different form of adaptation to the urban milieu. While they are set apart from the larger society spatially, they have accepted their

protected but controlled position in the town and utilized opportunities for regular employment in order to obtain the material benefits available. As a group, they overtly comply with demands of the larger society which results in little conflict with the normative system.

The opportunity to buy alcoholic beverages at the liquor store is seldom used. However, they do make some use of the local beer parlors and packaged beer for social and recreational purposes.

Important factors in Inuit adaptation are their favoured and protected position in the community, as well as their overt compliance in the face of directed culture change.

Other Natives in Porterville are not adapting as an ethnic group but may be considered to be following either of two distinct life styles. One of these is Eurocanadian oriented with acceptance of regular employment and educational opportunities as well as adherence to the norms of the larger society. Alcoholic beverages are used but in a manner producing little conflict with the police. In contrast to this, some Other Natives are following what the Honigmanns (1970:14) have termed "frontier-style culture" with rejection of opportunities for regular employment in favor of part-time or seasonal work. These Other Natives, like the Athapaskans, utilize alcoholic beverages in a manner resulting in conflict with the police.

With respect to the economic system, the small number of Algonkians occupy a marginal position somewhat similarly to Athapaskans. However, they generally reject the opportunities to use the liquor store. In contrast with earlier years in the town, Algonkian adults do not come into much conflict with the normative system, although the youths find the illegal use of alcohol rather problematical.

III. Postscript 1970 - Present

The preceding discussion has indicated the four minority ethnic groups in Porterville were adapting differentially to this northern town. Since 1970, several changes in the town and its populace have taken place which have brought about a convergence on the part of the native ethnic groups and new (old) lifestyle for some Athapaskans.

One major change has been a decrease in the number of Eurocanadians resident in the community and a decrease in their power with respect to the native ethnic groups. Also, a local building project utilizing native supervisors has increased the opportunities and their attractiveness to persons of native background.

Athapaskan employment has now reached approximately eighty percent for men 21 years and older and Algonkian and Other Native employment has also risen. Convictions for Criminal Code and Liquor Control Act violations have reportedly decreased for native persons. Alcohol purchases remain high, but appear to be concentrated more toward the weekend than during the week.

Fieldwork in 1971 and 1972 revealed that many members of these minority ethnic groups are moving toward "mainline" Eurocanadian culture as described by John and Irma Honigmann for Inuvik (1970: 13-15). Briefly, mainline

culture is characterized by a "stake in society": maintaining regular employment and living within the normative system of the larger society without having alcohol upset that balance. To be sure, there are members of all minority ethnic groups who reject that formula for life in Porterville. There are still Athapaskans, Other Natives, and Algonkians who enjoy and promote a frontier style of life with its flamboyant use of alcohol, its autonomy maintaining temporary employment, its rather realistic deprecation of education as being beneficial for better jobs, and its flaunting of the larger society's norms. There are young Inuit who are also being attracted to this life-style. While quantitative data needs yet to be statistically analyzed, the qualitative evidence is suggestive of remarkable changes brought about by a few individuals from the community, Native and Eurocanadian alike. (Koolage, 1972).

A further life-style involves a return to the bush by some 70 Athapaskans who have chosen to reject town life in favour of an older life-style somewhat modified. Moving approximately 100 miles west of Porterville to North Bes Lake, they have removed themselves from the frustrations as well as many of the opportunities of town life. To be certain, they maintain a life-line via airlifts to the community and import some of the material benefits, such as snow-mobiles, outboard motors, tape recorders, etc. They have chosen a way of life with which they feel more comfortable and which has proven to be viable over the past several years.

Notes

1. All place names used in this paper are pseudonyms.
2. Research conducted in Porterville between 1966 and 1972 was supported by the Northern Studies Committee of the University of Manitoba and by a U.S. National Institute of Mental Health Fieldwork Training Grant. This support is gratefully acknowledged.
3. Elsewhere, I have criticized formulations of deculturation, disintegration, and disorganization as applied to a Canadian Indian group (Koolage, 1969; 1971).

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