

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

A SURVEY INVESTIGATING VARIATIONS IN
ACCULTURATION OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN

BY

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ABSTRACT

This research focuses on the acculturation of indigenous women located in Inuvik, Northwest Territories. The process of acculturation is conceptualized in terms of individual modernity as defined by Inkeles as well as in terms of educational, political, and consumer acculturation.

Research indicates that acculturation is dependent upon several factors such as level of education, English language facility, length of residence, occupational involvement, contact with school children, and native cultural identity. The aim of this research is to examine the relationship between the independent variables, and each of the four types of acculturation. A step-wise multiple regression analysis was used to assess the degree to which each of the independent variables accounted for variations in each of the four types of acculturation.

Findings indicated that the six independent variables have a differing impact on the four measures of acculturation. English language proficiency and positive ethnic identities accounted for most of the variance in modernity, educational and political acculturation. But employment and degree of school contact emerged as the better predictors of consumer acculturation.

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING

Theories of social change postulate that in changing from a subsistence type of economy to an industrial economy, family patterns are altered such that males and females may direct their activities to other institutions. The family becomes a more specialized agency, and functions once performed by it are incorporated into the economic, political, educational, and recreational institutions of a "new" system.

The subsistence type economy of the northern natives of Canada, in which sex, and age were the main determinents of social organization, began to take a new form once contact was made with western culture. Social roles changed drastically; those people who had been independent producers became specialists linked to a larger social system for survival (Honnigman and Honnigman, 1972).

White contact took place in three phases; the whaling economy, the trapping economy, and the settlement in white communities. Contact with the whalers brought about demographic as well as social change for the Eskimos (Peake, 1966). During this period the Eskimo people gave up their economic independence for a symbiotic relationship with the larger society, and in the process, accepted many of its values. During the period of the trapping economy, the Indians and Eskimos participated intensely in the economics of the larger society, and acquired many of its material values, while simultaneously being able to sustain themselves from the land.

When fur prices dropped drastically after World War II, people found that specialization in one occupation put them in an imperiled position. However with the construction of the DEW Line site beginning in 1955, and the building of Inuvik in the late 1950's a number of jobs were provided. Most of these were filled by the Eskimos. As Honigmann and Honigmann claim:

The decline of trapping, hunting, and fishing, and sedentary life in towns are the changes that strike the native people as the most remarkable of this period (Honigmann and Honnigmann, 1972: 52).

It was during the transition from trapping to town settlement that the MacKenzie Delta developed a modern frontier culture (Osgoode, 1936). Frontier culture refers to the way of life followed by most Indians, Eskimos, Metis, and some non-natives. It is practiced in two ways. First, it consists of an assortment of outdoor activities. The values which people place on these activities can often interfere with other obligations associated with a modern culture. Secondly, people rely on informal rather than formal organizations to get things done. The formation of this culture owes much to the bifurcation of Delta society that grew steadily sharper as the non-native population became divided by occupational roles associated with different degrees of skill and education. The spread of Euro-American traits throughout the native ethnic groups slowed down and, as a result, the Delta population became divided into two culturally distinct strata: a predominantly non-native group who were committed to the values of the dominant society; and the Indians, Eskimos, Metis, and a few non-natives who

cultivated a new life-style which deviated from both the dominant and aboriginal cultures (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1972).

The decline in trapping coupled with the inflation that occurred after 1948, and the fact that most of the Eskimo population was afflicted by tuberculosis created deplorable conditions for the indigenous population. It was at this time that the Canadian government decided that something should be done. (Jeuness, 1957) "The ideal embodied in government plans, and programs was to bring about a standard of living, level of education, and conditions of health in the North that approach those found in Canada as a whole." (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1970: 51) Nursing stations and schools were built. Health measures included a concerted attack on tuberculosis.

During this period natives left the small settlements that had grown up in locations which suited the needs of the fur trade but did not satisfy the demands of aviation on which northern administration and medical care of the indigenous population depend. They moved into the more populous areas such as Tukloyaktuk, Coppermine, Aklavik, and Ft. Mcpherson, and laterly to Inuvik.

INUVIK

Behaviour patterns which have evolved in a primitive society, such as those of the Indians, and Eskimos who lived off the land in the Arctic, die hard. Many of the older people living in Inuvik lived off the land prior to becoming residents of the "instant" town. It was founded in 1955 as an administrative, and educational centre for Canada's Western Arctic. It was judged superior to Aklavik which was

already established on the western side of the Delta. Inuvik is situated on the east side of the MacKenzie River Delta, about 130 miles north of the Arctic Circle, and about 80 miles south of the Beaufort Sea. Advantages of the Inuvik site included a large level area above flood level, availability of gravel for construction, and good potential locations for an airport and landing strip (Diand: 1972). It was thought that most of the inhabitants of Aklavik would move to Inuvik away from the dangers of flood, but this was not the case.

Individuals first moved to Inuvik to work on the construction of the town and then sought continued employment in order to be close to health, and educational facilities. The building of the town provided employment for trappers, especially Indians, and Metis who did not participate in DEW Line construction. When DEW Line construction was completed in November 1956, Eskimos also came to Inuvik or to construction jobs at the airport just outside of Inuvik (Honigmann and Hongmann, 1970). By 1959, about 285 persons of native descent had settled in Inuvik, half of whom had formerly lived in Aklavik.

In a sense, the establishment of Inuvik constituted an elaborate experiment, in the words of one observer, "it was consciously designed to demonstrate the possibility of building a northern town with as many of the features of our urban civilization as possible." (Cooper, 1967: 12). Inuvik has most of the services, and facilities found in any sizeable southern community, and even a few which are not (Parsons: 1970, p. 7).

It has been suggested that the site seems to have been selected more on the basis of technological, and engineering feasibilities than on consideration of the needs expressed by the native population. Many still feel the move would have been more acceptable to the local people if Inuvik had been located on the West Channel near adequate fish, game,

and fur resources. The present location creates problems for the native people since such resources are inadequate, thus forcing them to depend for subsistence upon either wage-labour or welfare assistance (Erwin: 1969).

The town of Inuvik with a population of approximately 2,800 includes structures found in most southern towns; these include town administration, schools, churches, medical services, business, and voluntary organizations. It was for this reason the town of Inuvik was chosen for the location of this study.

Inuvik has had a Town Council since 1967 which is responsible for carrying out local administration. It is comprised of a mayor, and six councillors, and is one of the most important groups in town allowing for citizen participation in local government.

Inuvik's infrastructure is more extensive than some southern towns. It is composed of both fire, and police departments, air, and marine facilities, and water, and sewage systems. Electricity is produced by The Northern Canada Power Commission. Residents of Inuvik have access to three airlines with scheduled flights into Inuvik as well as two airlines which are based in Inuvik. In addition there are six helicopter companies based in Inuvik, and three companies which provide water transport up the Mackenzie River to Hay River, and down to points on the Mackenzie Delta as far as Tuktoyaktuk. There is a fairly extensive local road network, however, none of the roads lead to the outside.

A child living in Inuvik can obtain all his elementary, and high school education in the town. There is a large primary

school, Sir Alexander Mackenzie which houses grades kindergarden through grade six, and Samuel Hearne High School with grades seven to twelve inclusive. Indeed, a child living in Inuvik may even attend nursery school as there is a private nursery school operating there. There is the opportunity for adults to take various adult education courses ranging from basic upgrading to university courses offered through the extension department of the University of Alberta.

The churches in Inuvik are Anglican, Baha'i, Pentecostal, and Roman Catholic.

Medical services available to residents include a large hospital with five doctors, and two dentists. It is not necessary for individuals to leave the community for surgery unless it requires the services of a specialist. There is a Public Health Clinic which provides the typical services offered in the south such as well baby clinics, immunization shots, information on venereal disease, and family planning.

Commercial establishments in the town offer modern consumer goods, and services. Included among them are a Hudson Bay supermarket, and department store, another fairly large size supermarket, several smaller retail outlets of different kinds, taxi firms, a service station, barber shop, hairdresser, movie theatre, two hotels, and several restaurants including a Steak House, Chinese food, and an "A and W".

Residents of Inuvik have access to the local, national, and international news through both the C.B.C. radio, and television, with the television programming coming from Vancouver via Anik. There is

a local C.B.C. radio station, and newspapers are flown in from the south, and from other centres in the Territories. In addition, there is a weekly newspaper, The Drum, published in Inuvik. Communication is further augmented by Ministry of Transport, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police radio communication, and daily mail service.

There are many voluntary organizations, too numerous to mention. Among them are church-affiliated associations, a Home and School Association, a Housing Co-operative, Women's Institute, Lions Club, and Girl Guides, Brownies, and Boy Scouts.

There is a community hall in the arena complex with a hall capacity of five hundred. Recreational activities such as bingos, sports events, and festivals are often held in this complex. The Inuvik Centennial Library which houses the Northwest Territories Library Service also provides a source of recreation, and an opportunity for people to broaden their horizons.

In terms of residential patterns, Inuvik, roughly speaking consists of two residential areas separated by a business section. The basic physical feature is the dichotomy, created by the differences in housing, and services, between the serviced, and unserved areas. Due to the extreme cold, and permafrost it is impossible to provide water, sewage, and heating services in the same manner which it is provided in the south. These services are provided to the individuals living in the "serviced" area by means of the utilidor. The utilidor is a large insulated tube, which runs above the ground, enclosing the necessary pipes, and cables to provide water, sewage, and heating services to the residents.

The utilidor is an ever-present critereon establishing the separation not only between the two ends of town, but also between the whites from the services area, and the natives from the unserviced area (Maihot, 1969: 1).

The business core, together with the residential area which lies immediately east, is known as the "serviced area". Public, commercial, and residential buildings in this area are hooked up to the utilidor. Most of the people living in the "serviced area" are government employees, and their families, but there are a sizeable number of business people, employees of private firms, clergymen, and others living in non-government housing attached to the utilidor. A few native people, mostly government employees, and their families live in the east end. It should be pointed out, however, that the Federal Government housing allocation program tends to discriminate against people who are native to Inuvik since it does not provide housing for individuals who are already settled there.

West of the commercial core is the "unserviced area", much of which does not have access to the utilidor. Water and sewer services are provided by trucks. In this area there are primarily three neighbourhoods.

The first consists primarily of low rental houses provided by the government. Low rental houses vary from 512's (five hundred, twelve square feet) to two and three bedroom houses. Local people were eligible for these houses until 1969 when the Central Mortgage and Housing Act was established. The rent for these dwellings varies from two to one hundred dollars per month, dependent upon the total family

size, and income. This plan is being phased out and people are being encouraged to move into public housing.

The second area consists of public housing units which are large two storey three bedroom units with refrigerators, electric stoves, and washers, and dryers. Rent is from sixteen to twenty-five percent of the total family income. This makes the rent prohibitive to young married couples who are both employed, and have no children. Minimum rent is thirty-four dollars per month, but if the head of the household is on social assistance the total economic rent is paid for by the Government of the Northwest Territories. The majority of the local people are not enthused by the phasing out of the low rental housing plan. Most are not prepared to make the transition from these to public housing. Low rental housing resembles the type of home they consider to be part of their life-style.

The third area, Co-op Hill, is an attractive area in which individuals have built their own homes. The original sixteen residents living on Co-op Hill financed their homes through the Housing Co-operative. The houses were prefabricated ranch style bungalows. Since that time more houses have been built in this area, some of them two storey. This is the area where most of the native elite live.

Despite residential segregation, there are opportunities for the native individuals to develop the perspective, and behaviour of a "modern" person. The dominant institutions in Inuvik are "Southern Canadian". The individuals holding dominant positions in the town are white. It is impossible for an individual to live in Inuvik without

participating to some degree in the life of the town. Although not all channels of participation are equally accessible to all individuals, all must interact out of necessity with the dominant white society. No longer being able to depend on hunting for one's livelihood for instance means a dependence on consumer goods. This implies one must become involved in wage employment or interact with the white social assistance officer to obtain money to buy modern consumer goods, and services. Children over the age of six must attend school. If an individual chooses to go to church, he or she will have to interact with a white priest or minister as all the clergy in Inuvik are white.

In this cultural environment native women are presented with opportunities for independent activity which traditionally were not available to them (Cruickshank, 1969). As men become engaged in wage employment, women assume greater responsibility in feeding, and clothing their families. In addition, they are in charge of the economics of running a household, and bear the responsibility of educating their children. Because modern institutions have been imposed upon them, these women experience pressures to become involved in the "white" institutions. This is probably best summarized in a statement made at a United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas,:

The burden of reconciling family life with new patterns of urban life rests on women, traditionally the upholders of custom and conservatism in codes of behaviour. More flexibility of mind is demanded of the wife than of the husband. The responsibility of bridging the gap between the old culture patterns and the new ones lies with

women. Little attention has been paid to the need to prepare women for family life change: indeed little is known about the new roles of women in general (United Nations, 1963: 143 as quoted in Cruickshank, 1969).

In summary each individual woman in Inuvik participates to some degree in a modern culture. But the degree to which women adopt a modern perspective, and assume new roles varies. Theories, and research suggest that education, language facility, length of residence, ethnicity, occupational involvement, and contact with school children have an effect on acculturation.

In the succeeding chapter acculturation is defined, and each of the independent variables are discussed in terms of their relationship to various aspects of cultural change. Specific hypotheses are formulated.

CHAPTER II

VARIATIONS IN ACCULTURATION

There have been a number of usages, and meanings of terms used to describe the outcome of the contact of peoples with different cultures--acculturation, amalgamation, integration, and assimilation. Milton Gordon (1964) has built on the usages, and nomenclature of others (Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, Melville, J. Herskovits, Robert E. Park, E.W. Burgess, Joseph Fitcher, Arnold Rose), and has isolated what he sees as the major variables in the contact situation and their relationships. Gordon defines acculturation or cultural assimilation as the "change of cultural patterns to those of host society".¹ (Gordon, 1964: 70-71)

¹Assimilation is seen by Gordon as a seven-step process, each of the stages or sub-processes constituting a particular stage of the assimilation process. Further, not only is the process a matter of degree, but each of the stages or sub-processes may take place in varying degrees. He suggests that there are two important stages of assimilation - cultural and structural. Cultural assimilation is defined as the "change of cultural patterns to those of host society" and structural assimilation as the "large scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of host society, on primary group level" (M. Gordon, 1964: 70-71).

Cultural or behavioural assimilation is the first assimilation sub-process outlined by Gordon and has been labeled "acculturation". According to Gordon cultural assimilation, or acculturation, is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur. Acculturation of the minority group may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later. The condition of "acculturation only" may continue indefinitely (M. Gordon, 1964).

This study therefore focuses on acculturation as described

During the process of acculturation individuals' attitudes change such that they become more like those of the dominant modern society. People adopt norms, values, in short, the modern perspective of the dominant group. Furthermore, individuals can take on new roles as they participate in the institutions of the modern society. The modern perspective has been defined by Inkeles and Smith as "A set of attitudes, values, and ways of feeling, and acting presumably of the sort either generated or required for effective participation in a modern society" (Smith and Inkeles, 1966: 353). They found that the same syndrome of attitudes, values, and ways of acting such as openness to new experiences, independence from authority of traditional figures, taking an active part in civic affairs, and a belief in the efficiency of science, and medicine defined the modern person in six developing countries. These personal qualities are assumed to be the end product of both early, and late socialization experiences such as education, urban life, and work in modern organizations (Smith and Inkeles, 1966: 353-372).

It is most significant that the qualities which serve empirically to define a modern person seem not to differ substantially from culture to culture. This means that what defines a person as modern in one country defines him as modern in another. Inkeles' Comparative Socio-Psychological Measure of Individual Modernity therefore has

by Gordon, but does not deny other forms of assimilation. Gordon further contends that if structural assimilation occurs, it will lead to other kinds of assimilation such as marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavioural receptional, and civic assimilation.

universalistic applicability. This suggests that although attitudes and behaviour are complex, certain common perspectives, and behaviour will be found among individuals who experience modern sociocultural environments. This seems to occur regardless of other personal or collective differences in perspectives and behaviour.

Inkeles claimed that modern attitudes are related to particular behaviour patterns. At any given education level, the man who was rated as modern on the attitudinal measure possessed personal qualities such that he was likely to have joined volunteer organizations, to have received news from newspapers everyday, to have talked to or written to an official about some public issue, and to have discussed politics with his wife (Inkeles, 1969: 218). These conclusions were based not only on self-reported behaviour but on objective tests of performance as well. (Inkeles, 1969: 223)

Lerner's definition of modernity suggests that the phenomenon includes participation in modern institutions. For example, one could not say that a settlement in the north was modern simply because it had a hospital with the best available up to date equipment. Modernity needs to be considered in terms of people availing themselves of the services. In other words, there must be reciprocity between the individuals, and the institutions.

"It is fairly well established that a systematic relationship between major forms of mobility - physical, social and psychic - is required for a modern participant society". (Lerner 1968: 135).

Acculturation in northern Canada therefore can be defined as

modernization. This involves acquiring the general perspective of a modern person as described by Inkeles (1969). But to become modern also means acquiring specific norms and values, adopting patterns of behaviour that are demanded by specific institutions. It means for example acquiring norms, and adopting patterns of behaviour deemed appropriate by a dominant educational system. It means purchasing goods provided by the dominant society.

Accounting for Variation in Acculturation

Education

In simple hunting and fishing societies such as those of the indigenous people of the Mackenzie Delta prior to contact with the white man, education was essentially "learning by doing", that is, through imitation and apprenticeship. When the dominant group provides schools, acculturation is usually facilitated. Furthermore, this process occurs more rapidly in situations where children are educated apart from their parents (Shibutani and Kwan, 1969).²

Several studies suggest that education is perhaps the most important of the influences moving people away from traditionalism toward modernity in developing countries. Inkeles (1969) found the amount of formal schooling a man has emerges as a powerful variable in

²Some researchers would disagree with Shibutani's statement. Hobart states for instance that the keynote of Sir Alexander Mackenzie School in Inuvik is "discontinuity". He sees it as leading not to acculturation but to a confused sense of self-identity. Chance discusses this point further. He points out that the fact the Indians are increasingly having to act in terms of the non-Indian world does not imply that they are easily able to think in Euro-Canadian terms. He notes the discontinuity in learning that Hobart discusses in his paper on Arctic education, and points out that it is understandable why the Cree youth have a confused sense of self-identity.

determining his score on measures of individual modernity. Zero order correlations between education, and modernity ranged from .034 to .65 dependent upon the educational "spread" in each sample. The highest correlation was in India where the cases were evenly distributed from zero to thirteen years of education. In other words, education is an important predictor of modernity. In fact, Inkeles' findings show, that for each additional year of formal education, subjects gained between two and three points on the modernity scale. A more recent study by Armer and Yoritz (1971) also found that the level of formal education among African youth was positively related to modernity.

In his discussion of the northern education in Canada, Ferguson (1961) states that the curriculum, and the method of teaching in Tuktoyaktuk were aimed at inculcating European patterns of behaviour. Little value was placed upon the Eskimo life except in establishing its relation to the highly prized European culture.

Honigmann and Honigmann (1972) in their discussion of northern education stated some positive outcomes of boarding school living. It helped to make English a language shared by all ethnic groups, and spread literacy in English throughout the population. Schooling taught women modern ways of homemaking which they applied even when they lived in log cabins. It gave rise to new forms of emotional expression on occasions like Christmas, and Easter which helped to replace the loss due to disappearance of traditional ceremonies. It reinforced the meaning of Christianity, gave practice in accepting

routine and criticism, and generally taught skills, and norms necessary to adapt to a modern culture. The schools brought together Indian, Metis, and Eskimo children who continue to live together, meeting frequently in settlements such as Inuvik, and in the absence of formal institutions contribute to the social integration of native Inuvik (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1970: 30).

In the case where an individual does not leave his settlement to attend school, the degree to which the community in which he lives is acculturated, will have an affect on his education. In a study made in the early 1940's of Navaho children who lived in two different communities which provided different degrees of contact with the white culture, it was found that children living in the more acculturated community where there was opportunity for contact with many white people, scored closer to the average white American child on a number of tests of attitudes, and abilities. Those children who lived in an area seldom visited by white men, and whose only contact with white culture was through the school teacher scored lower on the same tests. But, still, the children from the more acculturated community showed significant differences from the white children, indicating the persistence of Indian culture in their lives (Havighurst, 1972: 92).

Holden (1968), as part of a northern project studied the growing modernity among the Cree in northern Quebec. He developed an eight item modernity scale including attitudes towards wage employment, education, and reference groups. The sample included all Indians over the age of fifteen who resided in three mining towns, and five settlements in northern Quebec. His findings indicate that the

younger most highly educated individuals were the most modern.

In a study entitled "Education and Values in an Indian Community", Freisen found that significant differences in values can be identified when the integrated school is considered as a factor in Indian education. The Indian children took on values associated with modernity. He found that integrated schooling broadens their concepts of human nature, lessens their dependence on the family, and helps them to develop a more realistic concept of the social work-a-day world. (Freisen, 1974) It is predicted therefore that the level of education will be positively related to acculturation.

Employment

According to Inkeles (1969), occupational experience emerges as one of the strongest variables, accounting for modernity. This factor along with educational achievement largely explained variations in modernization. Findings suggest that late socialization through one's occupational experience does take place. The factory as an organization serves as a general socialization agency where individuals adopt attitudes, values, and behaviour more congruent with life in a modern society.

"Work in a factory should increase a man's sense of efficiency, make him less fearful of innovation, and impress on him the value of education as a general qualification for competence and advancement." (Inkeles, 1969: 213)

Findings from the Inkeles study indicates that correlation between time spent in factories, and individual modernization scores was generally about .20. When the effects of education were controlled,

the factory workers scored 8 to 10 points higher on the modernization score than did the cultivators. An even more stringent test made by comparing only people within the industrial labour force who had few years experience with those who had many, indicated that factory experience continued to show an impact on modernization. With each year of experience, there was a gain of one point on the overall measure of modernization. (Inkeles, 1969: 214)

In the Canadian north, whites hold all the important positions and have the bulk of the material wealth. In contrast, native people are at the bottom of the stratification system. Men are largely concentrated in unskilled categories, and women are concentrated in the service industries in such positions as chambermaids, cleaning women, and laundry workers. Still others work with their ethnic cohorts in the craft industries, usually under the supervision of a white person.

With advent of the money economy, consumer patterns tend to change (Wolforth, 1969). The ability to consume things other than those traditional goods obtained through barter will be dependent upon the amount of income, which in turn is determined by the individual's participation in wage employment. New consumer patterns cannot be adopted without the money to purchase. Consumers adjust their purchases upward in response to an increase in their income but resist an adjustment downward when their income falls. (Mau Lin Lee, 1964)

Yatsushiro (1962) explored Frobisher Bay Eskimo attitudes toward wage employment. He found the Eskimo had made a reasonable attitudinal adjustment to the situation in which they experienced conflict

between the desire to maintain traditional attitudes, and sources of food versus the desire to have money for western goods. Despite the fact they expressed concern about having enough time to hunt, overall they agreed the Eskimo in Frobisher Bay were leading a better life than they had twenty years previous (Yatsushiro, 1962: 19-25).

In his study of the Cree in northern Quebec, Holden (1968) found that the most modern natives were those working in non-traditional occupations. In comparison to hunters, and trappers, men working within the modern society held predominantly modern attitudes.

Erwin (1968) states that social stratification among northerners is difficult to assess. At the time he noted the desire for material acquisitions and high status seemed low, however, some natives had gained esteem for their occupational success and their roles as spokesmen for native interests in formal organizations. Healthy men who relied consistently on welfare were held in low esteem. (Erwin: 1968) Although social stratification was not of operational importance at that time, it would appear that employment promotes changes in attitudes towards education, success, and status. It is predicted therefore that native women who are employed will be more acculturated than those who are not.

Language

Berry (1965) states that language is an important factor promoting assimilation. This point is illustrated by the rapidity with which the Irish, who had a command of English upon their arrival, were assimilated into American society. Language is so important as a carrier

of culture and as a tool for acquiring a culture, that many sociologists regard statistics on the mother tongue as the best index of assimilation (Berry, 1965).

Cultures differ in the way they view social reality. Human beings are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society.

"...not only will forms of socio-spatial organization specific to one culture not invariably be found in other cultures but also, the range of a set of categories in one culture will not necessarily match a set in another culture." (King, 1974: 83)

In short, the language of one culture is geared to the perspectives of that culture. Concepts found in the language of one culture may not necessarily be found in that of another culture. Language is not only an important part of culture, but it is the instrument through which other aspects of the culture are organized. People of different ethnic groups who speak different languages develop different perspectives.

Communication is usually a prerequisite for human interaction of any variety, and therefore native language poses almost insurmountable barriers to interactions between people of different linguistic origins (McCall and Simons, 1966). Chance (1968) reiterates this point in his study, stating that language is an almost insurmountable barrier to intercultural communication for those Indians who can speak little English or French. He states "Under these conditions, it is not surprising that Indians living temporarily or permanently in white villages and towns must find that security gained from return visits to their reservations

serve as an important focal point in their social adaptation". (Chance, 1968: 22) In regard to this problem, an individual's subjective evaluation of his language ability relates to his willingness to interact in the community. His self-confidence and perception of self is important to performance. If an individual lacks the ability to communicate with those who share a modern perspective it is unlikely that she will experience the attitude change that will enable her to adapt her behaviour such that she will be able to participate in the modern society.

Joseph H. Greenberg (1956) proposed eight measures of linguistic diversity designed to determine the possibilities of communication among the population in some delimited areas such as nations, states, and cities. He states that areas of high linguistic diversity will be those in which communication is poor and further that:

"...the increase of communications that goes with greater economic productivity and more extensive political organization will lead typically to the spread of lingua franca, whether indigenous or imported, resulting in widespread bilingualism and the ultimate disappearance of all except a single dominant language. Measures of language diversity may therefore be expected to show significant correlations with economic levels and with degrees of acculturation (Greenberg, 1946: 110)."

Stanley Lieberman (1964) extended Greenberg's measures of linguistic diversity or communication between two or more spatially delineated populations or between socially defined subpopulations of a larger aggregate. He found in a study of European immigrant groups in the United States that they were mostly very distinct from one

another in their mother tongue. Differences between first, and second generations in mother tongue composition were in the direction of breaking down the initially high linguistic barriers between nationality groups accompanied by a drop in mother tongue unity within the nationality groups. He also found that the mother tongue diversity between generations of the same foreign group was fairly substantial, and far greater than the diversity within this first generation. This suggests that the process of acculturation involves a rise in the use of the dominant group language within the minority group, and a drop in linguistic diversity between the different ethnic groups (Lieberson, 1964: 526-531).

Similar studies in Canada, indicate that the loss of ethnic languages increases with generations. Reitz (1974) found for instance that ethnic groups in urban Canada are increasingly relying on English as a means of communication. The process of developing bilingualism, followed by the loss of ethnic languages leads to increasing degrees of assimilation.

Observational studies in the MacKenzie Delta suggest that native people are increasingly relying on the English language as a means of communication. According to Smith (1960), native workers who are fluent in English develop better relationships with the white community than do natives who are less fluent. It would appear that those with the best command of the English language have also accepted the norms, and values of the dominant culture to a greater degree than those with less language facility, and this has facilitated

structural assimilation. It is predicted therefore that the higher the self-estimated English language proficiency, the greater the degree of acculturation.

Length of Residence

Studies in the length of residence show that the longer the residence, the greater the degree of acculturation. Urban life plays a prominent role in the modification of thought, and behaviour in subjecting people with traditional, and rural backgrounds to the conditions of urban living (Hauser and Schnore ed: 1965). The native people living in Inuvik are faced with accommodation to an urban milieu in the same manner as immigrant groups to a new country. The process of acculturation will be similar in many respects to the process by which immigrants settled in North American cities. Hauser and Schnore describe the pattern in terms of length of residence with respect to location in space, the economy, and society.

"Each of the immigrant strains found its port of entry or areas of first settlement in the inner, older blighted zones of the city. The longer the period of settlement, the farther out was the median location point of the newcomer group, and the more dispersed was its residential pattern. The shorter the period of settlement, the closer to the center of the city was its median location, and the more concentrated or segregated was its residential pattern. Similarly, the shorter the period of settlement, the higher the educational and occupational level and income...With the passage of time each of the newcomer groups climbed the social as well as economic ladder to achieve access to the broader social and cultural life of the community, and increased general acceptability." (Hauser, "Urbanization: An Overview" in The Study of Urbanization, ed. by Hauser and Schnore: 1965), p. 21.

A study of Inuvik (Mailhot: 1965) points out that members of a Housing Association have worked their way up from being new

arrivals with the trapper's background to a state of economic self-support. They have achieved a rather good adaptation to the urban way of life, and to the white man's system of values. The pattern of social advancement includes going from a tent to government northern house to one's own house (in most cases a co-op house). It involves moving from partial dependence or welfare to the complete self-support made possible by steady employment. It is predicted therefore that the longer the residence, the greater will be the degree of acculturation.

Influence of Children

Little research has been done on the aspect of the influence of children on the resocialization or assimilation of parents into the new culture. Brim and Wheeler suggest that older children in families frequently socialize their younger siblings. When children are close in age and act as a group, their solidarity may enable them to influence the course of parental practices (Brim and Wheeler: 1967).

In a northern community such as this one, where children live at home while attending school, one would expect day to day influences. Since native parents are generally anxious to maintain family cohesion, parents would have some degree of receptivity. School and peer group norms are likely to be introduced into the family setting. Many parents in fact are pressured by their children to migrate to Inuvik so the family can participate in the activities of a growing town. Children are frequently unhappy in smaller settlements; Inuvik is viewed as much

more exciting and much more "progressive". In these situations, we would expect parents to be somewhat flexible; the greater the contact with school children, therefore, the greater will be the degree of acculturation.

Native Cultural Identification

Ethnicity is defined as the respondent's enthusiasm for her native culture or lack of enthusiasm for it (Borhek, 1965: 335). The ethnic group has three functional characteristics. First, it serves psychologically as a source of group identification; second, it provides a patterned network of groups, and institutions which allows an individual to confine his primary group relationship to his own ethnic group throughout his life; and third, it provides a filter through which the ethnic group can interpret the cultural patterns of behaviour, and values of the dominant group through its own cultural heritage (Gordon, 1964: 34). It is possible, therefore, for an individual to live within the boundaries of her ethnic group in regard to all activities and relationships "which are close to the core of personality and selfhood" (Gordon, 1964: 34).

When cohesion is defined as the maintenance of group boundaries, and assimilation as the process by which the boundaries of ethnic groups are broken down, it can be said that an individual who lacks enthusiasm for her native culture possess attitudes favourable to assimilation, and hence, attitudes harmful to cohesion (Borhek: 1965). Restated it could be said that if an individual possesses a high degree of ethnicity she will not hold attitudes or engage in behaviour which could contribute to the breakdown of the boundaries of her ethnic group.

Those individuals who possess a low degree of ethnic identity

will be more likely to adopt the perspectives, and behaviour of a modern culture. In so doing they undergo the process of assimilation which Milton Gordon describes as identificational assimilation, the stage of assimilation where the development of sense of peoplehood (ethnicity) is based exclusively on the dominant society. (Gordon, 1974: 71) It is predicted therefore that native cultural identification is negatively related to acculturation.

Summary

In summary, six factors, namely; education, occupational involvement, English language facility, length of residence, contact with school children, and ethnic identity are important factors influencing the degree of acculturation. These specific relationships are stipulated in the following hypotheses.

1. The greater the degree of educational achievement, the greater the degree of acculturation.
2. The greater the occupational involvement, the greater the degree of acculturation.
3. The higher the degree of English language proficiency, the greater the degree of acculturation.
4. The longer the length of residence in Inuvik, the greater the degree of acculturation.
5. The greater the contact with children who have or are participating in the school system, the greater the degree of acculturation.
6. The higher the degree of native culture identification, the lower the degree of acculturation.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Population Studied

The study aimed to interview all married indigenous women, eighteen years of age or over who had at least one child. There was no official way to estimate the total native population residing in the town, but according to the 1972 voter's list, and according to four informed persons in the area, we estimated there were approximately 180 women over the age of eighteen. Of these, approximately 156 were married and had one child or more. Twenty-seven of these women could not be reached after three attempts, and fifteen others refused to be interviewed. One hundred and fourteen (114) women were interviewed. In terms of completed questionnaires, the sample consists of 106 indigenous women. This represents 68 per cent of the married women over eighteen years of age who had one child or more.

Data Collection

A standardized interview was used to collect data. There are several advantages to interviewing as opposed to self-administered questionnaires. In this situation where respondents have a relatively low level of educational attainment, interviews ensured a higher rate of response. Further, face to face contact with the researchers tends to reduce misunderstanding and suspicion. Secondly,

the problem of non-response encountered with mail questionnaires is substantially reduced, since interviewers can explain the research, can trace individuals who have moved, and can call back if necessary. Thirdly, the interview is a more appropriate technique for obtaining information about complex, emotionally laden topics since sentiments underlying an expressive opinion can be probed (Selltitz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook, 1959). The nature of this research is such that it is necessary to learn the attitudes of individuals who may have very strong feelings and opinions about the topics being queried. The interview situation provides the opportunity for individuals to respond without actually committing their opinions in an act which can be prohibitive in research situations. In addition the interviewer can repeat questions, and probe when necessary to ensure valid responses (Selltitz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook, 1959).

It is recognized that there can be a problem of communication in a survey of this nature. There are two components of this process: the first involves the manner in which the interviewer interacts with the respondent when he or she is soliciting cooperation in administering the questionnaire. In this study communication was facilitated since interviewers were native women familiar with the culture and accustomed to interacting with local people. The second problem relates to the actual question, and response categories the social scientist has incorporated into the questionnaire (Doby, 1967). This problem was reduced by seeking the advice of indigenous women during the construction of the instruments. This ensured that

the respondents had the information or experiences necessary to answer the questions and that the questions asked were meaningful. A pretest was held with ten women who were being considered as possible interviewers. One question was eliminated as a result of the pretest.

The questionnaire was translated into Eskimo for those respondents who were not proficient in English. The women were given a choice of the language in which they preferred to be interviewed. This facilitated easier communication between the interviewer and respondent, and ensured that everyone was asked the same questions. Of the women interviewed, nine women were interviewed in Eskimo, the remainder in English.

Interviewers

Native women, both Indian and Eskimo, were trained to conduct the interviews. The interviewers selected were bilingual, respected women in the community. Some of them were the women who helped in the construction and translation of the questionnaire. All of them participated in the pretest. It was felt the population would be more willing to communicate with them than with a "white outsider". Good data depends upon the ability of the interviewer to achieve rapport with the individual being interviewed. In the light of the present turmoil over the land rights issue, it was decided it would be difficult for a non-native to achieve this. It was felt that if these procedures were followed they would minimize the biases of poor communication and maximize the validity, and reliability of the data.

The interviewers reported they were well received and encountered little difficulty in conducting the interviews.

Instruments

Acculturation

The modernity scale was used to measure the degree to which native women living in Inuvik accept the modern norms and values at the general level as defined by Inkeles, but since it deals with general norms and values three other scales were constructed. These were meant to measure specific institutional norms associated with educational acculturation, political acculturation, and consumer acculturation.

Modernity Scale

The scale used was the Minimum Scale of Individual Modernity: Short Forms 5 and 6 developed by Inkeles, which is composed of attitudinal information and behavioural measures which make up a fourteen item scale for individual modernity. Because it is highly selective, Short Forms 5 and 6 have lower correlations with the Long Form OM, than do the other forms of the scale. In his study of six countries Inkeles found that the correlations varied between .619 and .790, thus a reasonable representation of the larger scale. The scale shows high average item to item correlations although this is facilitated by the limited number of questions used. The scale has reliabilities close to .7, falling to .622 only in Pakistan (Smith and Inkeles, 1966: 353-377).

In constructing the standard scales of modernity for his study Inkeles utilized a pool of 119 attitude items. These items were ranked in each country according to the size of the item-to-scale correlation, and the subset of items having the highest correlations was then selected as defining the modern man for the given country.

The outcome of the analysis was that ten items were in the top fifty items in all the six countries, sixteen more in the top fifty in five countries, thirteen more which were in the set in four of the six countries. There were actually the same thirty-nine items in the top fifty in four of the six countries (Inkeles, 1969: 208-225).

The items in this short form refer to several key aspects of modernity. These include openness to new ideas, trust, educational values, the efficacy of science, and civic mindness. All items were examined in terms of their relevance to the Canadian north. As a result one item pertaining to work in the corn fields was changed to refer to "ratting". "Ratting" is a slang expression used in the north which refers to the activity of trapping muskrat.

Traditional answers were scored 1, and modern answers 2. The minimum score possible was 1 and the maximum 30. The actual scores in this study ranged from 16 to 29, the range being 13. The mean was 23.54. The standard deviation was 2.61.

Educational Acculturation

The respondents were asked to state by means of a five item Likert scale whether they agreed or disagreed with modern norms of education. The norms chosen were based on the author's knowledge of native norms, and attitudes towards education in Inuvik, as revealed at meetings, in local newspapers, and in first hand experiences. The items the individuals were asked to respond to were:-

1. Is it important that someone sees that children get to school in the morning.

2. Children should be encouraged to read and do school work at home.
3. Parents should be aware of how their children are doing at school.
4. Parents should not talk to teachers about how their children do at school.
5. Schools should allow parents to give their ideas about what children should learn.

The individual's final score was the sum of the responses to the five questions. Scores could range from 5 to 25, a score of 25 reflecting the highest score in the direction of the acceptance of modern norms, and a score of 5 the lowest score towards rejection of the modern norms (refer to Appendix A, questionnaire, questions 15-19, page 5). The actual scores ranged from 12 to 25, the mean was 20.55. The standard deviation was 2.72.

The scale was subjected to "the criterion for internal consistency" method suggested by Likert (1967) to measure validity (i.e. that the test actually measures what it is designed to measure). When the criterion for internal consistency was applied, the results indicated that in all instances with exception of item one, the differences in the means between the upper and lower deciles were greater than 1. While the difference in item one was slightly less than 1, it was included in the scale because it was felt the effect would be minimal on the validity of the scale. The upper and lower deciles were used for the purpose of comparison as suggested by Likert (1967). In instances where decile distribution contained several tied scores, all cases on the particular cut off point were included. (Appendix B, Section A, may be consulted for the analysis of the items).

The reliability (i.e. that the same test applied to the same population would consistently get the same results) if the scale was tested by the split-half method, which consists of correlating the sums of the scores of the odd numbered statements with the sums of the scores of the even numbered statements (Sellitz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook, 1959: 175, Likert, 1967: 91). A high correlation indicates that the individual's position "is not affected by the particular sampling of items in either half of the test but would be substantially the same on any test made up of items from the same universe" (Sellitz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook, 1959: 175). The correlation was .238. It is recognized that this is a relatively low correlation, but in view of the validity of the instrument it is felt the fault may not lie in the measure itself but could be attributed to extraneous factors. A measuring instrument that repeatedly provides a valid index for a given concept would have to be quite reliable as well (Philips, 1966: 163).

Political Acculturation

The respondents were asked to respond to questions which tapped their knowledge of political figures as well as their actual voting behaviour. Knowledge questions involved an identification of contemporary political figures such as the Prime Minister of Canada as well as an identification of local political leaders. On knowledge questions, a correct answer was assigned a score of 1, and an incorrect answer a score of 0. The answers were summed to indicate the total score. The scores may range from 0, indicating incorrect answers to all knowledge questions, and that the respondent did not vote, to 6, which would indicate correct answers to all questions plus the fact that she had voted.

An important limitation of the summated rating procedure is that it does not in itself provide evidence that the property under investigation is a unitary one. (Philips, 1958: 134) The use of this scale can be justified in this case in that the concept being measured is not abstract but based on factual knowledge, and actual behaviour determined by the acceptance or rejection of the modern norms of the political institution. The reliability of the instrument was tested by the split-half method. The correlation was 0.6758.

Consumer Acculturation

The respondents were asked to respond to questions pertaining to the purchase of modern goods. A total of 16 items were included such as;- Do you have a transistor radio? (Refer to Appendix A, questionnaire, question 33, page 7). An answer of yes was scored 1, and an answer of no was scored 0. The scores were summed to indicate the total score. The scores could range from 0 to 16. The actual scores ranged from 0 to 16. The mean was 8.094, the median 8.083. The standard deviation was 3.684 and the variance 13.572. Again this type of scale can be justified in that an abstract concept is not being measured, and the items are all related in that they are good which were not available to the respondents in their traditional culture. The reliability of the instrument was tested by the split-half method. The correlation was .7156.

Independent Variables

Education

The respondents were asked to report the highest grade of formal education completed. In terms of an ordinal scale 17.0 percent had no

formal education, 20.8 percent had between one and four years education, 45.2 percent had between five and eight years formal education, 16 percent some high school, and 0.1 percent or one respondent had completed high school. The mode was 5 to 8 years, and 91.1 percent of the respondents had less than grade 9 education. (Table 1)

TABLE 1 - Frequency Distribution: Level of Education

EDUCATION	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
None	18	17.0
Grade 1-4	22	20.8
Grade 5-8	26	24.4
Adult Education	22	20.8
Apprenticeship	3	2.8
Some high school	14	13.2
Complete high school	<u>1</u>	<u>0.9</u>
	106	100.0

Contact with School Children

Contact with school children was measured according to the number of their children who had completed their schooling or were presently enrolled. The responses ranged from 0 to 14. In terms of categories, 1.9 percent of the respondents had had no contact, 34.9 percent had had contact with between one and three children, 31 percent had contact with between four and six children, 22.7 percent had contact with between seven and nine children, and 7.6 percent had had contact with between ten and fourteen children. The mode was those who had contact with four

children. Seventeen respondents or 16 percent were within this category. (Table 2)

TABLE 2 - Frequency Distribution: Contact with School Children

NUMBER OF CONTACTS	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
None	2	1.9
One	16	15.1
Two	11	10.4
Three	10	9.4
Four	17	16.0
Five	11	10.4
Six	7	6.6
Seven	11	10.4
Eight	9	8.5
Nine	4	3.8
Ten	4	3.8
Eleven	2	1.9
Fourteen	2	1.9
	<u>106</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Length of Residence

The respondents were asked to report the length of time they had lived in Inuvik. This ranged from 1 to 15 years or more with 9.3 percent having lived in Inuvik one year or less, 11.3 percent had been residents from two to five years, 26.4 percent for six to ten years,

39.6 percent from eleven to fifteen years, and 13.2 percent had lived in Inuvik for fifteen years or more. (Table 3)

TABLE 3 - Frequency Distribution: Length of Residence in Inuvik

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
1 year or less	10	9.4
2-5 years	12	11.3
6-10 years	28	26.4
11-15 years	42	39.6
15 or more years	<u>14</u>	<u>13.2</u>
	106	100.0

Native Culture Identity

The respondent's enthusiasm or lack of enthusiasm for her native culture was measured by a five item Likert scale (Appendix A, questions 25-30). This measure originally constructed by Borhek (1970) includes attitudes toward the maintenance of customs, language, religion and identity. Scores could range from 5 to 25. The mean in this sample was 11.028 and the standard deviation 3.078. A low score in this study represents a low identification with native culture, and a high score represents a positive ethnic identity.

When the criterion for internal consistency was applied, the results indicated that differences in the means between the upper and lower deciles was more than 1 in each item of the scale, and therefore we inferred the scale was valid as each item measured what

the battery measured (Appendix B, Section B may be referred to for the analysis of items).

The reliability of the scale was tested by the split-half method. The correlation was 0.2701. Again recognizing the fact that validity is generally more valuable than reliability, it was felt more knowledge could be gained by using this instrument than by discarding it for a single item measure. The relatively low measurement of reliability could be attributed to fact that it is a five item scale.

English Language Facility

The respondents were asked to rate themselves according to a four point Likert scale measuring each of four skills; speaking, understanding, writing, and reading English. All the ratings are combined here to form a single over-all score of English language proficiency. In a study done by John Macnamara (1969) self-ratings were found to be powerful indicators of the criterion measured, in fact more powerful than Language Background Questionnaire. In other words, self-ratings were found to be a more accurate measure than a written questionnaire. In this present study, scores could range from 4 to 16. The actual scores ranged from 5 to 16. The mean was 12.962. The standard deviation was 3.020.

Employment

Employment was measured according to an ordinal scale ranging from unemployment to full time employment. Sixty-two point three percent of the women were unemployed; 8.5 percent employed part time; 4.7 percent

were seasonally employed, and 24.5 percent were employed full time. (Table 4)

TABLE 4 - Frequency Distribution: Occupational Involvement

EMPLOYMENT	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Unemployed	66	62.3
Part time	9	8.5
Seasonally	5	4.7
Full time	<u>26</u>	<u>24.5</u>
	106	100.0

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Pearson's product moment correlation was used to measure the degree of association between the dependent variables and the independent variables. A one-tailed test of significance was applied to each correlation.

The correlation coefficient is denoted by r . It can take on any value from -1 to $+1$ where -1 means a perfect negative relationship, 0 means no relationship, and $+1$ means a perfect positive relationship. The correlation coefficient is a measure of linear relationship so that if $r = 0$ there can still be a curvilinear relationship (Blalock, 1960: 378). Scattergrams were plotted to test for linearity. The scattergrams gave no indication of curvilinear relationships.

Step-wise multiple regression analysis was used to estimate the relative importance of each independent variable. Multiple regression is a general statistical tool which controls for other confounding factors in order to evaluate the contribution of a specific variable. In step-wise regression analysis, the variable that explains the greatest amount of variance in the dependent variable is entered first in the equation. The variable that explains the greatest amount of variance in conjunction with the first is entered second and so forth.

Analysis

The four measures of acculturation were intercorrelated to identify the possible relationships between them.

TABLE 5 - Intercorrelations Between Measures of Acculturation
Modernity, Political, Education, Consumer

	MODERNITY	POLITICAL	EDUCATION	CONSUMER
Modernity	1.00	.41*	.16*	.25*
Political	----	1.00	-.03	.25*
Education	----	-----	1.00	.18*
Consumer	----	-----	----	1.00

* Significant beyond the .05 level.

As Table 5 indicates, three of the four measures are intercorrelated, but the coefficients are relatively low. The relationship between Inkeles's measure of modernity and my own measure of political knowledge is the highest, .41. All other relationships are low; modernity and education for instance yields an r of .16, while the correlation between modernity and consumer patterns is .25. Similarly the relationships between the three institutional measures of acculturation range from .03 to .25. Since the correlation coefficients are weak, all four measures of acculturation are used separately in the analysis of the data. In other words, acculturation would appear to take place at different institutional levels.

Modernity

The zero order correlations between the independent variables and modernity, and the zero order correlations between the independent variables are illustrated in Table 6. The level of significance is determined at .05.

TABLE 6 - Intercorrelations Between Modernity and the Independent Variables

	Modernity	Cultural Identi- fication	English Language	Years Residence	Education	School Contact	Employ- ment
Modernity	1.00	.17*	.30*	.005	.26*	.05	.08
Cultural Identity	----	1.00	-.18*	.06	-.13	.22*	.09
English Language	----	----	1.00	-.07	.62*	-.41*	.11
Years Residence	----	----	----	1.00	-.05	.17*	-.04
Education	----	----	----	----	1.00	-.34*	.10
School Contact	----	----	----	----	----	1.00	.02
Employment	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.00

* Significant beyond the .05 level.

The zero order correlations indicate that except for cultural identity, all relationships are in the predicted direction. (Table 6) The degree of English language facility for instance is positively and significantly related to modernity (.30). Similarly, the higher the educational achievement, the greater the degree of modernity (.26).

The relationship between occupational involvement and modernity are in the predicted direction, but the correlation coefficients are extremely low, .05 and .08 respectively. Similarly, the relationship between length of residence and modernity is positive, but very weak (.005). Although we predicted that native cultural identity would be negatively related to degrees of modernity, findings here indicate that strong native identities are positively and significantly related to modernization (.17).

The intercorrelations between the independent variables range from .02 to .62. The strongest relationships involve education, and English language facility (.62), English language and school contact (-.41) and education, and school contact (-.34). All other inter-relationships are below .22.

This correlation matrix was used to compute a step-wise multiple regression analysis. As Table 7 indicates, the independent variables account for 15 percent of the variance. English language proficiency, and cultural identity account for most of this variance (14 percent) followed by education, school contact, employment, and years of residence. In other words, language facility (Beta, .277), and ethnic identities (Beta, .228) emerge as the significant variables. The remaining four variables have minimal, if any, impact on modernity.

TABLE 7 - Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis, Independent Variables and Modernity

VARIABLE	SIMPLE r	MULTIPLE R	R ²	B	BETA	F
English language facility	.30	.297	.088	.240	.277	5.06*
Cultural identity	.17	.377	.142	.193	.228	5.68*
Education	.26	.389	.152	.3502	.131	1.21
School contact	.05	.393	.154	.0447	.051	.25
Employment	.08	.393	.154	.0364	.021	.05
Years residence	.01	.393	.155	.0272	.012	.02

* Significant beyond the .05 level.

Educational Acculturation

The correlations between the six independent variables, and the measure for educational acculturation are generally low. (Table 8) English language proficiency is positively related to acculturation yielding an r of .17. Although education is positively related as predicted, the degree of association is minimal .11. Cultural identity is positively related with a r of .13. Other correlations, those relating employment (.04), residence (.03), and school contact (-.09) are very low.

TABLE 8 - Intercorrelations Between Educational Acculturation and the Independent Variables

	Educational Accultur- ation	Cultural Identity	English Language	Years Residence	Education	Contact	Employment
Educational Accultur- ation	1.00	.13	.17*	.03	.11	-.09	.04
Cultural Identity	----	1.00	-.18	.06	-.13	.22*	.09
English Language	----	----	1.00	-.07	.62*	-.41*	.11
Years Residence	----	----	----	1.00	.05	.17*	-.04
Education	----	----	----	----	1.00	-.34*	.10
School Contact	----	----	----	----	----	1.00	.02
Employment	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.00

* Significant beyond the .05 level.

According to the step-wise multiple regression analysis, all six factors account for but 6 percent of the variance. English language facility and cultural identity emerge as the most meaningful. The betas for these two relationships are .189 and .182. (Table 8) All other variables contribute little to the analysis of variance. Employment, (Beta, .076), school contact, (Beta, -.055), and years of residence (Beta, .058) are insignificantly related to educational acculturation. Level of education did not enter the equation.

TABLE 9 - Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis, Independent Variables, and Educational Acculturation

VARIABLE	SIMPLE r	MULTIPLE R	R ²	B	BETA	F
English language facility	.17	.167	.027	.170	.189	3.08
Cultural identity	.13	.235	.055	.161	.182	3.32
Employment	.04	.247	.061	.136	.076	.58
School contact	-.09	.251	.063	-.049	-.055	.26
Years residence	.03	.255	.065	.058	.044	.20

TABLE 10 - Intercorrelations Between Consumer Acculturation and the Independent Variables

	Consumer Accul- turation	Cultural Identity	English Language	Years Residence	Education	Contact	Employ- ment
Consumer Accul- turation	1.00	.10	.12	.04	.06	.16	.35*
Cultural Identity	-----	1.00	-.18*	.06	-.13	.22*	-.09
English Language	-----	-----	1.00	-.07	.62*	-.41*	.11
Years Residence	-----	-----	-----	1.00	-.05	.17*	-.04
Education	-----	-----	-----	-----	1.00	-.34*	.10
School Contact	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1.00	.02
Employment	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1.00

* Significant beyond the .05 level.

Consumer Acculturation

When the zero order correlations are computed for all the independent variables with consumer acculturation, the correlation coefficients indicate that employment is the most highly correlated yielding an r of .35***. The level of school contact, (.15) is also significantly related. All other relationships are low and non-significant. The relationship to language facility yields an r of .12, cultural identity, .10 and education, .06.

According to the step-wise multiple regression analysis, the independent variables account for 17 percent of the variance. (Table 11) Almost all this explained variance is attributed to employment, degree of school contact and English language. In other words, the relationship between employment, and consumer acculturation is the strongest (Beta, .320), followed by degree of school contact (Beta, .213), and English language (Beta, .189). The remaining variables, cultural identity (Beta, .061), and years of residence (.022) are minimally associated, while level of education did not enter the equation.

TABLE 11 - Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis, Independent Variables, and Consumer Acculturation

VARIABLE	SIMPLE r	MULTIPLE R	R^2	B	BETA	F
Employment	.35	.350	.122	.778	.320	12.08*
School contact	.16	.381	.145	.258	.213	4.34*
English language facility	.12	.415	.172	.231	.189	3.52*
Cultural identity	.10	.419	.176	.073	.061	.42
Years residence	.03	.420	.176	.071	.022	.06

* Significant beyond the .05 level

Political Acculturation

When zero order correlations are computed for all independent variables, and political acculturation, the correlation coefficients indicate that English language fluency is the most highly correlated yielding an r of .30. Levels of employment (.21), and degrees of cultural identity (.19) are also positively related. All other relationships, that is, those involving years of residence, (r , .02), education (r , .14), and school contact (r , .02) are very weak. (Table 12)

TABLE 12 - Intercorrelations Between Political Acculturation and the Independent Variables

	Political Accul- turation	Cultural Identity	English Language	Years Residence	Education	School Contact	Employ- ment
Political Accul- turation	1.00	.19*	.30*	.02	.14	.02	.21*
Cultural Identity	----	1.00	-.18*	.06	-.13	.22*	-.09
English Language	----	----	1.00	-.07	.62*	-.41*	.11
Years Residence	----	----	----	1.00	-.05	.17*	-.04
Education	----	----	----	----	1.00	-.34*	.10
School Contact	----	----	----	----	----	1.00	.02
Employment	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.00

* Significant beyond the .05 level.

In terms of the multiple regression analysis, 18 percent of the variance is explained. (Table 13) English language facility, cultural identity, and employment are the most relevant predictors. The relationship between language facility, and political acculturation is the strongest (Beta, .406), followed by cultural identity (Beta, .221), and degree of employment (Beta, .146). The remaining variables, school contact, education and length of residence, contribute little to explaining variations in this type of acculturation. (Table 13)

TABLE 13 - Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis, Independent Variables, and Political Acculturation

VARIABLES	SIMPLE r	MULTIPLE R	R ²	B	BETA	F
English language facility	.30	.295	.087	.265	.406	11.28*
Cultural identity	.19	.388	.150	.142	.221	5.58*
Employment	.21	.415	.172	.190	.146	2.54
School contact	.02	.428	.184	.069	.107	1.09
Education	.14	.413	.186	-.129	-.064	.31
Years residence	.02	.432	.186	.039	.023	.07

* Significant beyond the .05 level.

Summary

Findings indicate that the six independent variables have a differing impact on the four measures of acculturation. English language facility, positive cultural identities, and education are the most

relevant in explaining variations in modernity. Similarly, language facility and cultural identity are the most important as it relates to educational acculturation. Variations in terms of political acculturation are best explained by language facility, cultural identity, and employment. On the other hand, variations in consumer acculturation are largely explained in terms of employment, school contact and language facility. In short, proficiency in the English language, and a positive cultural identity are important factors as it relates to the non-material aspects of modernization, that is to modernity, educational and political acculturations. Employment, and number of school age children have the most meaning in terms of explaining variations in accepting the material aspects of a modern culture.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study focused on acculturation, and examined degrees of change in regard to taking on the values of the dominant "white" society. More specifically, the study aimed to measure the degree to which native women accepted modern values and norms, in the general sense as described by Inkeles, and the degree to which they accepted modern educational, political, and consumer norms and values in particular. Acculturation or "change of cultural patterns to those of dominant society," (M. Gordon, 1964: 70-71) was measured by four dependent variables: modernity, political acculturation, educational acculturation, and consumer acculturation. The independent variables included were English language proficiency, length of residence, employment, contact with school children, and native cultural identity. The available population of married native women in Inuvik who were eighteen years and over, with one child or more, were surveyed. A standardized interview was used to collect data. The analysis of the data included Pearson's Product-Moment correlations and a step-wise multiple regression analysis.

These data indicate that the relationships between the six independent variables and the four types of acculturation vary in strength. When significant relationships were obtained, the correlation

coefficients and the beta weights were relatively low. This can be attributed in part, at least, to the restricted range of subjects studied. As Nunnally (1968: 128) explains, measures of association tend to be low, when the sample is relatively homogenous. The respondents here, for instance, are all women, all indigenous peoples, all married with children. Furthermore, certain frequency distributions were limited in range. In terms of educational achievement for instance, 82.2 percent of all women had less than nine years of formal education. Although these restrictions may have affected the statistical results, it should be noted that subjects, and their social characteristics do in fact reflect the actual situation in northern Canada. The results of this study therefore are considered to be sociologically meaningful.

Although the literature suggests that education is an important factor promoting increasing degrees of acculturation, findings here suggest that low levels of educational achievement have minimal impact on modernization. As Inkeles (1969) suggests a narrow spread in educational achievement produces a minimal effect on attitudinal changes. Secondly, as Chance (1968) and Hobart (1968) indicate, educational processes tend to have a negative impact on native children. In these situations, it would appear that other alternate factors are more relevant to the development of modernity. Although Inkeles (1969) finds that employment and urban residence are two important factors compensating for a low level of educational achievement, this study suggests that English language facility and positive ethnic identities are more significant. These two factors were not included in the Inkeles study, but findings here indicate that they need to be considered in a study of northern Canada.

More specifically, fluency in the English language emerges as the more important predictor for modernity, educational and political acculturation. In other words, the ability to communicate in the English language appears to promote the learning of a modern perspective. The observations made by Smith (1960) in his study of the north and the general findings of the functioning language are reinforced in this study.

Positive ethnic identities, contrary to our hypothesis, would appear to enhance acculturation. Rather, findings here suggest that women who are positive regarding their ethnicity are more modern than women who tend to disvalue their ethnic backgrounds. This suggests that positive attitudes towards one's ethnic group is congruent with the attitudinal components of a modern society. Secondly, positive ethnic identities may enhance a sense of self-respect, thus facilitating interaction with members of the dominant group. In the process, individuals are perhaps able to integrate aspects of indigenous cultures with that of a modern society. Low or negative ethnic identities on the other hand, may in fact reflect a situation of alienation, where individuals generally resist social change.

The suggestion that occupational involvement leads to greater degrees of acculturation is substantiated here in terms of consumer patterns. This may in part reflect the benefits of income; that is, women who are employed are likely to contribute to family funds, thus increasing the number of material acquisitions. There is no evidence, however, that participation in the work force has any major impact on other measures of acculturation except for political acculturation where the beta weight was .146, this variable added little to the explanation of variance. According to Inkeles (1969), work in factories or bureaucratic organizations

enhances the development of a more universalistic perspective. Given the fact that most women in this study were employed in low level occupations probably accounts for the relatively non-significant impact of this socialization agency. Secondly, the fact that employment was measured here in terms of part or full time work may account for the minimal impact of occupation. Inkeles (1969) for instance measured employment in terms of length of time employed. Given, the sporadic type of employment in the north, this type of measure would have been relatively meaningless. In terms of female employment at least, the estimation of full or part time work was considered to be applicable. A more diversified sample including a wider range of occupational levels would be needed in order to adequately assess the relationship between employment and non-material aspects of acculturation.

The hypothesis predicting a positive relationship between the degree of school contact, and acculturation has meaning in terms of consumer acculturation. Conceivably, children influence consumer patterns either through pressuring their parents to become more modern or the relationship here merely reflects the possibility that older established households have had more time to accumulate goods. Although these findings are meaningful in terms of accepting the material aspects of a modern culture, the number of school age children would seem to have little relevance in predicting degrees of modernity, educational and political acculturation.

The suggestion that length of residence in Inuvik would be positively related to acculturation was not supported. This measure is considered an adequate measure of urbanization since other aspects of our data indicate that none of these women had lived in an urban centre other than Inuvik. At the same time, however, it should be recognized that

Inuvik is not a large urban complex despite the fact that it does have all the modern institutions found in large metropolitan centres. In no instance did this variable account for any significant portion of the variance.

Perhaps as Mailhot (1965) suggests, interaction in terms of primary group relationships in Inuvik is largely confined to the ethnic group.

Residential patterns, in fact promote the development of two separate communities. Any resocialization that takes place therefore would be specific to these roles in which there is necessary contact with the larger society (Clausen, 1968).

Suggestions for Future Research

This research design originally included age as an independent variable. But the scattergrams indicated a curvilinear relationship. For that reason age was not included in the analysis. According to the frequency distribution, one third of the women were under thirty, one third between thirty and fifty, and one third ranged in age from fifty to eighty. Although a comparative analysis of acculturation between these various age categories might have proved useful, the relatively small sample size prohibited such an analysis.

This study included Indian, Eskimo, and Metis women. Given the small sample size, no effort was made to compare the three groups. Future research, however, could be designed to explore the rates of acculturation among the various indigenous groups in the north.

Research could be continued in regard to political acculturation. Recent changes in the Northwest Territories Council have increased the participation of native peoples. Individuals are no longer appointed to the Council; all members are elected. In March, 1974, six Eskimos,

three Indians and Metis, and six whites were elected. This is the first time the natives have outnumbered the whites on the Council. Not only would a study of this nature provide indicators of the political knowledge and behaviour of the native women, but it could also indicate the degree to which the native women are "bridging the gap between the old cultural patterns and the new ones", in regard to influencing opinions in the political sphere.

Finally, future research could be carried out to compare males and females. Unfortunately, the restrictions inherent in time, and budget allocations for this study did not allow for the inclusion of both sexes.

APPENDIX A

August, 1973

There are some things that happen over and over again to peoples all over the world. One of them is moving off the land to settle in modern towns. This has been studied in many countries by asking the people themselves how they feel about it.

We are very interested to see how the Eskimo women themselves feel about living in a modern town. In order to study this very interesting area, we chose Inuvik, and we are asking you to consent to an interview.

We are not asking for your name, so no one can tell who answered what. We think you will find the questions interesting.

You may like to know that this study is being paid for by the University of Manitoba.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Assistant Professor of
Sociology,
University of Manitoba

Research Assistant

1. Residential area
1. West end
 2. East end
 3. Coop Hill
 4. _____

2. How old were you on your last birthday? _____
 (IF SHE DOESN'T KNOW, GUESS HER AGE AND FILL IT IN HERE _____)

3. Are you
1. married _____
 2. common-law _____
 3. widow _____
 4. separated _____
 5. divorced _____
 6. single _____

4. (If she is married ask....)
 How old was your husband on his last birthday? _____

5. How far did you go in school? (If married, also ask how far her husband went in school)

WIFE

HUSBAND

- | | | |
|-------|--|-------|
| _____ | 0. None | _____ |
| _____ | 1. 1-4 years | _____ |
| _____ | 2. 5-8 years | _____ |
| _____ | 3. Adult Education Program (B.T.S.D.) | _____ |
| _____ | 4. Apprenticeship (specify _____) | _____ |
| _____ | 5. Some high school | _____ |
| _____ | 6. Finished high school | _____ |
| _____ | 7. Business or commercial college | _____ |
| _____ | 8. Post-secondary technical school
(or Nursing Assistant) | _____ |
| _____ | 9. Teachers' College | _____ |
| _____ | 10. Nursing School | _____ |
| _____ | 11. College or University | _____ |
| _____ | 12. Don't know. | _____ |

6. Where did you go to school? _____
 How many years did you have to live away from home when you were going to school? _____

7. What kind of training does your husband have for a job?

Does he have a job now?

No _____ *(skip to *)

Yes _____

(If he has a job ask)

What kind of job? _____

Full-time _____

Part-time _____

Seasonal _____

Who is his employer? _____

(If he doesn't have a job ask...)

*Did he ever have a job?

No _____

Yes _____ What? _____

8. What kind of training do you have for a job? _____

Do you have a job now?

No _____ ** (skip to **)

Yes (if yes ask...) _____

What kind of job? _____

Full-time _____

Part-time _____

Seasonal _____

Who is your employer? _____

(If she doesn't have a job ask...)

**Did you ever have a job?

No _____

Yes. What? _____

12. Where did you live before you lived in Inuvik? Name the place.

13. NOW, IN REGARD TO LANGUAGES, BOTH ENGLISH AND ESKIMO. THE IDEA IS YOU SAY HOW GOOD YOU THINK YOU ARE IN BOTH OF THEM.

We will talk about speaking them first. Would you say that you

Eskimo

English

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. can't speak it at all</p> <p>2. can speak it a little bit but not well enough to be understood most of the time</p> <p>3. can speak well enough to be understood most of the time</p> <p>4. have no problem speaking it</p> | <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> |
|---|---|

Next we will talk about how well you feel you understand English and Eskimo

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. not at all</p> <p>2. a little bit</p> <p>3. well enough that I can understand it most of the time</p> <p>4. I have no problem understanding</p> | <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> |
|---|---|

Now, reading. Can you read?

Eskimo

English

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. not at all</p> <p>2. very little</p> <p>3. well enough that I can understand most of what I read</p> <p>4. I have no problem reading</p> | <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> |
|--|---|

Now, I want you to think about how well you write

Eskimo

English

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. not at all</p> <p>2. very little</p> <p>3. good enough that people can understand it</p> <p>4. I have no problem writing</p> | <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> |
|--|---|

24. Have you ever taken part in the Northern Games? Yes No

NOW I AM GOING TO ASK SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT ESKIMO CULTURE

	S.A.	A.	U.	Dis.	S. Dis
25. The old Eskimo religion should be an important part of Eskimo life.					
26. Inter-marriage between Eskimos and others should be discouraged.					
27. Eskimos should keep their names and not change them.					
28. It's important for Eskimo children to receive instruction in Eskimo the first three years at school.					
29. The school should teach reading and writing in Eskimo.					
30. Some of our customs should no longer be practiced because they delay acceptance of Eskimos into Canadian society.					

31. People have many different friends in a town like Inuvik. Are your four best friends Eskimo?

Yes No (If no, ask who they are)

White How many?

Indian How many?

32. What are your favourite foods? (Probe)

.....

33. Do you have any of these things? Telephone Car Record player
 Television set Electric mixer Electric fry pan
 Electric can opener Washing machine Freezer Transistor
 radio Sheets Electric saw Electric sewing machine
 Skidoo Chesterfield Electric coffee pot

37. IN CANADA, THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENT KINDS OF PEOPLE: FOR EXAMPLE, ESKIMOS, INDIANS, GERMANS. I AM GOING TO ASK YOU HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT DIFFERENT GROUPS OF PEOPLE. YOU CAN ONLY GIVE ONE ANSWER FOR EACH GROUP. (Show the card and ask one group at a time)

	Marry	Have as a friend	Like as a neighbour	Work with	Would talk to	Would rather they visited only	Never came North
Eskimo							
American							
Indian							
French							
White Canadian							
German							

38. Ideally, I would like to: (CHECK ONE)

- 1. live off the land
- 2. live in a northern settlement
- 3. live in a northern town
- 4. live in a southern town
- 5. live in a southern city

Why? (Probe and write down the whole answer)

.....

NOW ANSWER THE FOLLOWING PLEASE:

39. Have you ever gotten so highly concerned regarding some public issue, such as land rights, that you really wanted to do something?

- 1. frequently 3. never
- 2. a few times

40. If schooling is freely available (if there were no kinds of obstacles) how much schooling do you think children of the north should have?

41. Two twelve year old boys took time out from ratting. They were trying to figure out a way to get the same amount done with fewer hours of work.

1. The father of one boy said, "That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we could change our ways of ratting."

2. The father of the other boy said, "The way to do it is the way we have always done it. Talk about change will waste time but not help."

Which father said the wisest words? \ \ \ \ 1. \ \ \ \ 2.

42. 1. Some people say that it is necessary for a man and his wife to limit the number of children to be born so they can take better care of those they do have.

2. Others say that it is wrong for a man and his wife to purposely limit the number of children to be born.

Which of these opinions do you agree with more? \ \ \ \ 1. \ \ \ \ 2.

43. Which of these kinds of news interests you most? Check one

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 1. World events (happenings in other countries) | \ \ \ \ \ |
| 2. News of events in all of Canada | _____ |
| 3. Your own town or settlement | _____ |
| 4. Sports | _____ |
| 5. Religion | _____ |

44. If you were to meet a person who lives in another country a long way off, could you understand his way of thinking?

\ \ \ \ \ 1. Yes \ \ \ \ \ 2. No

45. Do you think a man can be truly good without any religion at all?

\ \ \ \ \ 1. Yes \ \ \ \ \ 2. No

46. What should most qualify a man to hold high office? Check one

- 1. Coming from the right family background
- 2. Devotion to the old and time-honoured ways
- 3. Being the most popular among the people
- 4. High education and special knowledge

47. Which is the most important for the future of Canada?

- 1. The hard work of the people
- 2. Good planning on the part of the Government
- 3. God's help
- 4. Good luck

48. Learned scientists in the university are studying such things as what determines whether a baby is a boy or a girl, and how it is that a seed turns into a plant. Do you think that these investigations are:

- 1. all very good
- 2. all somewhat harmful
- 3. all somewhat good
- 4. all very harmful

49. Would you tell me what are the biggest problems today?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

USE OTHER SIDE IF NECESSARY

50. In what country is Washington? _____

In what country is Moscow? _____

51. Do you buy?

	never	sometimes	almost all the time	every day
Milk				
Beer				
Wine				
Soft drinks				
Hard liquor				

52. Can you tell me approximately how much money your family earns each month? Please add everything. For example, husband's job, son's job, money from crafts, welfare and money from anywhere else.

APPENDIX B

CRITERION FOR INTERNAL CONSISTENCY

A. ATTITUDES TOWARDS MODERN NORMS OF EDUCATION

<u>Item</u>	Mean of Upper decile	Mean of Lower decile	Difference
1. Important to get them to school	4.941	4.000	.941
2. Encourage to do school work at home	4.882	3.000	1.882
3. Aware how child does in school	4.941	3.400	1.541
4. Not talk to teachers about child	4.882	2.300	2.582
5. Allow parents to give their ideas	4.941	2.600	2.341

B. NATIVE CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION

1. Native religion	2.857	1.091	1.766
2. Discourage intermarriage	3.643	1.182	2.461
3. Instructions in native language	3.357	1.091	2.266
4. Teach read or write native language	2.857	1.000	1.857
5. Forget some customs	2.929	1.182	1.747

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