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**NOTES ON THE DRINKING BEHAVIOUR OF THE ESKIMOS
AND INDIANS IN THE AKLAVIK AREA**

DONALD H. CLAIRMONT

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A Preliminary Report

by

Donald H. Clairmont

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The material for this report was collected by Mr. Donald H. Clairmont of McMaster University in the summer of 1961 when he was employed by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. It is reproduced here as a contribution to our knowledge of the North. The opinions expressed, however, are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

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September, 1962.

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INTRODUCTION

The material for this report was collected at Aklavik during the summer of 1961, when I was employed under contract by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to make a sociological study of the use of alcoholic beverages by Indians and Eskimos in that area. The final report of the study will be completed in 1962. What follows is a summary of several chapters of the final report, which was prepared at the request of Mr. V. F. Valentine of the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre for presentation by Professor F. Vallee at the February 7th meeting of the special Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources committee investigating social adjustment problems in the north.

No attempt is made in this report to draw firm conclusions or to give much more than a descriptive account of the events as I observed them while living and travelling in the Aklavik area. Obviously in a report as short as this, individual differences cannot be dealt with, and generalizations should be made with caution.

I am indebted to Professor Frank Vallee of McMaster University, the director of my research work, and Mr. V. F. Valentine of the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre for their helpful suggestions in the preparation of this report.

THE PATTERN OF DRINKING

According to the court register at Aklavik, there were 134 drinking violations in the period January 1960 to June 1961, of which 106 were for intoxication. The court register reveals that at least 65 of these persons were definitely drinking with others at the time of arrest. Such figures reinforce the impression gained from personal observation and reports from the R.C.M.P. and other sources that lone drinking is most likely to be undertaken in the bush, with homebrew as the beverage. Ordinarily, natives who "hoard" alcoholic beverages for themselves are ridiculed and avoided. The usual procedure is for a native with alcoholic beverages to seek out friends or relatives and entice them to drink with him.

Two prevailing patterns of drinking will be described: the Splurge Pattern, and the One-Night Bout.

The Splurge Pattern

Since there is no liquor store or beer parlour in Aklavik, we should expect the splurge pattern to be a prominent pattern of drinking because of the great initial difficulty in getting spirits or beer. Obtaining it takes on the character of an expedition. Drinking becomes an adventure undertaken every so often and concluded only when the money runs out. This is related to the fact that a return trip calls for a large financial outlay, since it generally involves chartering a private airplane costing \$40. Moreover, most natives in Aklavik have relatives in Inuvik. This, coupled with the fact that Inuvik is a meeting place for natives from different communities in the area, exerts a strong "pull" on all. Thus, if persons make the trip to Inuvik to "celebrate" they are likely to prolong the binge beyond a day or so. Indeed, the attitude of natives in Aklavik with regard to drinking in Inuvik strikes me as somewhat similar to the attitude of people in Ottawa towards Hull, in so far as Hull is regarded as the place to go for a "good time".

The practice of going to Inuvik for an exhaustive binge is generally a male monopoly, with age and ethnicity being somewhat irrelevant, although it is more common for young men between the ages of 21 and 30. This practice is also most common among natives engaged in trapping, fishing and part-time employment. The circumstance under which this usually takes place is when a person has quit his job or has received his pay -- in short, when he has collected a fairly large sum of money. For "detached" men the pattern is to drink at Inuvik until they have no money left and then to loiter there looking for work. To illustrate this splurge or binge pattern, we cite the cases of five men known to us who took part in the Works Relief Logging Program. These men were given lump sums in return for bringing in cut logs. Upon receiving the money, they chartered a plane to Inuvik and went on a binge.

The possibility occurred to us that having or not having relatives and friends in Inuvik might determine the tendency for Aklavik people to go and remain in Inuvik for their binges, but it was found that just about everyone in Aklavik has friends and relatives in Inuvik and that, therefore, this factor is not likely to be of much import in distinguishing between those who do and those who do not go on drinking "expeditions".

Several stages or phases can be distinguished in the splurge or binge drinking pattern. The first stage has to do with the acquisition of the drink; the second occurs after the spirits and beer have run out and additional supplies are sought for the party; the third stage occurs when the supply of money or beer and spirits in the whole area have run out and the persons on the binge prowls around seeking homebrew and the material with which to spike it. The last stage is regarded by the natives as the most dangerous, especially at Inuvik where in the "Tent Village" care is taken to lock the door against unsatiated prowlers.

One-Night Bout

Often, if a person announces his intention of going to Inuvik to procure spirits for consumption in Aklavik, others who learn of his intention ask him to bring back spirits for them. Sometimes several persons pool their resources to cover the cost of the trip and send one of their members to Inuvik for spirits. These methods of securing alcohol, in addition to ordering it by plane or boat (at almost double the cost of the product in Inuvik), are generally associated with less spectacular but more common types of drinking which we have grouped under the label "One-Night Bouts".

In such cases, the drinking is usually limited to a particular evening, since only small quantities are likely to be obtained. People securing spirits in the above ways are more likely than not to be in steady employment and to have more familial responsibilities binding them to their homes in Aklavik. These people tend to pre-arrange their parties, although the party dates may be quite vague and depend upon the securing of the alcohol.

Needless to say, there is no hard and fast line between the patterns of the binge and the one-night bout. We are dealing here with tendencies, but we are forced to describe them according to types or patterns, and in this way obscure the many variants and complications of these patterns.

Type of Alcoholic Beverages Preferred:

The order of preference is as follows: spirits, beer, homebrew, commodities containing alcohol (such as shaving lotion, perfume, wood alcohol). Homebrew is used by those who cannot obtain spirits or beer from Inuvik, where the nearest beer parlour and liquor store are located. In Aklavik homebrew is used after the liquor or beer supply has been depleted. Shaving lotion, perfume, and so on, are used as a last resort, usually to "spike" the dwindling homebrew supply during the "dying" stages of a binge. R.C.M.P. vigilance over the sale of these products in excess quantity by trading establishments in Aklavik has cut down on their use.

Because the preferred beverages are more likely to be in short supply on traplines or at summer fishing spots, such as Shingle Point and Kendall Island, a higher rate of homebrew drinking, "spiked" and "unspiked", occurs away from Aklavik. Another important factor in this regard is that the making of homebrew requires a certain amount of time and planning. This requirement is more easily met away from Aklavik where it becomes easier to escape the vigilance of the R.C.M.P. Although the natives agree that homebrew, if it is to be palatable, requires at least from two to four days to stand before drinking, it frequently happens that desperate people drink it on the day it is made, tolerating its unpleasant taste. This six-to-eight-hour homebrew is most common in Aklavik.

Most drinkers make their own homebrew; there are no "moon-shiners" who manufacture homebrew for sale to others. However, the making of homebrew is a recognized skill. This skill is usually possessed by those engaged in trapping and fishing; in Aklavik two Indians are considered to be the top experts in this craft and their recipes are sought by others, particularly those who are learning. As far as we could ascertain, it is customary for youths to attempt their first brewing at about seventeen or eighteen. The general recipe for brewing is as follows: to warm water is added fruit, yeast cake, sugar and beans. If possible, the mixture is allowed to stand for fifty hours; by this time, all the raisins and beans are dissolved. Substitute ingredients include potatoes, boiled rice and malt (actually many prefer malt but it is difficult to obtain). In the six-to-eight-hour homebrew, most of the ingredients have not yet dissolved and thus it is often difficult to drink.

Age and Sex Groups and Ethnic Origin

In order to ascertain the importance of age and sex in drinking behavioral patterns we will first consider objective data and then use qualitative material to shed further light on some of the more interesting patterns.

Using R.C.M.P. statistics and case records for the Aklavik area I was able to construct an index of group drinking in order to get some picture of "who drinks with whom" according to the variables of age, sex and ethnicity. The data deal specifically with groups or individuals arrested together for intoxication. The inference drawn from this fact is that these individuals were drinking together at the time. Two periods will be considered:

- a) June 1959 to June 1960
- b) June 1960 to June 1961

The break-off point of June, 1960, is logical, for at this time the liquor store was moved to Inuvik.

- a) During the period from June, 1959 to June, 1960 there were 52 cases where people were jointly arrested; of these there were:

28	cases	where	each	group	contained	only	Eskimos.
9	"	"	"	"	"	"	Indians.
5	"	"	"	"	"	"	Eskimos and Indians.
8	"	"	"	"	"	"	Eskimos and Whites.
2	"	"	"	"	"	"	Indians and Whites.

- b) Of the 52 cases there is the following breakdown according to sexual homogeneity.

25	cases	containing	only	men.
25	"	"		men and women.
2	"	"		only women.

Putting (a) and (b) together we get the following table:

TABLE I: ARRESTS FOR INTOXICATION BY ETHNIC ORIGIN AND SEX
JUNE 1959 TO JUNE 1960

	Indian	Eskimo	Esk-Indian	Esk-White	Ind-White	
Male	6	12	2	3	2	<u>25</u>
Female	0	1	1	0	0	<u>2</u>
Male and Female	3	15	2	5	0	<u>25</u>
TOTAL	9	28	5	8	2	52

For the period, June 1960 to June 1961, there are only 7 cases, which, when arranged in a corresponding table, present the following picture:

TABLE II: ARRESTS FOR INTOXICATION BY ETHNIC ORIGIN AND SEX
JUNE 1960 TO JUNE 1961

	Indian	Eskimo	Esk-Indian	Esk-White	Ind-White	
Male	0	0	2	1	0	<u>3</u>
Female	1	0	0	0	0	<u>1</u>
Male and Female	2	0	1		0	<u>3</u>
TOTAL	3	0	3	1	0	7

It is not advisable to generalize widely from these tables because the numbers are small and supplementary data are not yet analyzed. However, certain trends may be noted:

- 1) It is rare for women to drink together without men in attendance. One obvious factor to take into account here is the women's general dependence on males to provide the funds for alcohol.
- 2) Males drink with other males as often as they do with women.
- 3) It seems from Table I that groups arrested were most often exclusively Eskimo groups. However, this cannot be explained on the basis of any marked tendency for Eskimos to drink in groups more than Indians. Two factors may be advanced to account for the comparatively high number of Eskimos charged with drinking when in the company of their fellows:
 - a) under the legislation existing at the time (June 1959 to June 1960) Eskimos, in practice, appeared to have easier access to alcohol than did Indians.
 - b) the difference in population composition of each ethnic group, especially in the most relevant age category, 20-41, there being a larger number of Eskimos than of Indians in this category.

- 4) There appears to be a tendency for more Eskimo-White than Indian-White intermingling in drinking situations. Personal observations support this tendency which conforms to the general pattern of ethnic relations in the Aklavik area.
- 5) It is our impression that there is more drinking across ethnic lines since the liquor store was moved to Inuvik. At least three major factors underlie this:
 - a) the trip to Inuvik for alcohol involves a relatively large capital outlay and this results in more interdependence of ethnic groups in Aklavik. For instance, one Eskimo said that he does not particularly like drinking with Indians but he often needs to co-operate with them to get to Inuvik and back.
 - b) increasing marriage across ethnic lines.
 - c) increasing acceptance of a common label, "native", which is applied to both Eskimos and Indians by Whites.

The age group to which a person belongs is important in considering drinking patterns. Due to the fluctuating population of the area and the lack of statistical material, it is impossible at the present time to ascertain with precision the age distribution. Our census for the Aklavik area did not elicit the ages and occupations of all those arrested for intoxication in Aklavik during the last two years. However, we should have the necessary information in a few weeks. For present purposes, the analysis of data on group drinking will be restricted to the cases in which the ages of those charged could be ascertained. Thus there are 28 cases, involving 93 people, about which we have data on age. Table III gives the age distribution of these people:

TABLE III: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUALS CHARGED WITH INTOXICATION

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
20-24	24	10	34
25-29	15	6	21
30-34	5	3	8
35-39	8	1	9
40-44	14	2	16
45 plus	3	2	5
TOTAL	69	24	93

As significant as the absolute age is the relative age of those drinking together. Table IV shows the distribution, by ethnic group and sex, of what we might call 'cohort' drinking:

TABLE IV: DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUP AND SEX OF 'COHORT' DRINKING

	Eskimo			Indian			Esk-Indian			Eskimo-White			
	M	F	Mixed	M	F	Mixed	M	F	Mixed	M	F	Mixed	
Range of ages in each group under 5 years	0	0	3	2	0	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	11
Range greater than 5 years	7	1	3	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	17
TOTAL	7	1	6	6	0	1	1	1	3	1	-	1	28

- 1) Of the 11 cases where the range of ages in each case is not greater than five years, ten cases contain people all in their twenties.
- 2) The 17 cases where range is greater than five years chiefly involve inter-generational drinking.
- 3) Since June 1960, there have been only seven cases of group drinking; of these seven, three involve those of homogeneous age-category (within range of five years) and four do not.

Again it is not advisable to generalize from these tables, for the numbers are small and supplementary data are not yet analyzed. However, certain trends may be noted:

- (i) There is a tendency for drinking across ethnic lines to occur much more among the younger than among the older natives. It is only to be expected that age will become increasingly more important than ethnicity as Eskimos and Indians become more acculturated, as their problems and experiences become more similar and their ethnic heritage less significant. Along with this we must consider the increasing amount of involuntary interaction in school, in work teams, etc.
- (ii) However, there still is a large amount of inter-generational drinking. One possible explanation of this is the family drinking pattern, common among "primitive" groups in some parts of the world. We have not yet analyzed the data from arrests, convictions and the ineligible list in terms of family relationships, but it is our impression that family drinking appears to be more common among the Eskimos than among the Indians. Because the traditional Indian family had a stronger authority structure than did the Eskimo, we expect that drinking across generational lines would be less common among Indians.

It appears also that drinking in family settings is more common among those over thirty years of age than among the 20-30 age group. Probably the decline of the band, the kin and the family implies a tendency for people to mix more with those of the same general age, with the younger people feeling less bound by close ties of kinship.

Drinking and Females

There is no homogeneous female attitude towards drinking. The variables of ethnic origin, religion, age, etc., are all important to a complete description of female attitudes. However, for the purposes of this general discussion a description will be presented of one of the more interesting aspects of the relationship between drinking and females. The analysis will be highly impressionistic.

In general both males and females in the age category 20-30 show the same attitude towards splurges and binges. We often heard members of both sexes boasting of how much liquor they consumed and the length of some of their binges. We found this to be especially common in the "Tent Village" in Inuvik where natives from the area come for their splurges. However, there is one major difference between female and male attitudes toward drinking: females are more likely to express strong guilt feelings. This fact was quite common among younger women.

When interviewed, several of these young women said that they seldom go to church; when they do they feel terribly guilty and often leave the services crying. One young woman said she felt so guilty that she broke down whenever she began to sing hymns or to pray. Several religious leaders have also commented on this tendency among the young single women.

This behaviour can be partly explained by the fact that natives generally are of the opinion that female drinking not only involves consumption of alcohol but also entails some sexual deviance. When women drink it is generally in mixed company and the common "definition of the situation" is that the male is the initiator, obtaining the spirits and inviting the female, while the female provides the sexual gratification.

The main factor explaining the deep guilt is the obvious acceptance by the younger natives of the "double-standard" ethic so prevalent in our own society. Thus we found that native youngsters are more concerned about their mothers' drinking than their fathers'. Moreover, the very young men who supply the females with alcohol and engage with them in sexual activities, often speak in a derogatory tone about these females while showing no similar reaction to their own behaviour. One interesting sidelight is that these young men do not look upon these females as suitable marriage partners: thus we would expect that the number of young unmarried mothers will increase. Indeed our population analysis lends strong support to this view.

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TO DRINKING

Both native and white groups in the community seem to assume that the native cannot control himself once he starts drinking. Whether or not there is any "objective" truth in this belief, it apparently has the power of a self-fulfilling prophecy in the sense that the natives come to believe it and conduct themselves accordingly. Most of the natives we encountered returning to Aklavik from Inuvik gave as their reason for leaving Inuvik the belief that they could not control themselves when drinking, the pressures and temptations to drink being too great for them to resist.

Among the native group attitudes towards drinking vary according to status and religious affiliation. By status we mean the social and economic position of the person and his family. Generally speaking, the highest status goes to those in steady employment, especially those in supervisory positions, and to those few economically successful entrepreneurs, such as trappers; lowest status goes to chronically unemployed or under-employed and to consistently unsuccessful trappers. Among the high-status natives, roughly half of whom belong to the Pentecostal Church, there is a division of opinion about drinking; the Pentecostal element supports the belief about alcohol noted in the previous paragraph, while the non-Pentecostals tend to assume that self-control in drinking is possible for natives. The Pentecostals link alcohol with evil, while the non-Pentecostals emphasize the positive values of drinking in moderation, very much as the so-called middle classes do in our society.

For the bulk of native men, readiness to drink "hard" is a criterion of acceptance as a man. There is much boasting, especially among those in their twenties, about how much is spent on alcohol, men outdoing each other in their claims of how much they spent on a splurge or binge. Such men ridicule those who drink in moderation, those who plan and calculate how much they spend. This attitude was illustrated in an incident we witnessed. A group of natives sitting outside Inuvik's hotel watched a solitary going to the liquor store. One of them remarked that this man had probably been planning his purchase of one case of beer for a month, and had all the details "on a blueprint". The remark was greeted by his companions with hearty laughter. This attitude of contempt for planned, moderate drinking is most common among those of low status who are not affiliated with the Pentecostal group. Among people in this lower stratum, there does not seem to be much shame associated with admitting to having taken shaving lotion, perfume or wood tar as a last resort when the usual varieties of alcohol were not available.

A view which is common in all but the Pentecostal segment of the population is that alcohol is conducive to "fun". Thus alcohol is particularly appropriate at Christmas time and at dances. Young men get intoxicated deliberately at dances. We attended several dances and observed that there was much less dancing and mixing at those events where spirits were unavailable than at those where it was available. Where alcohol is not available the young men are likely to remain aloof and shy. One of the functions of alcohol then, is to overcome shyness and permit easy interaction among people at events where large numbers are present.

Alcohol is also used as a symbol of friendship. For instance, people in Inuvik often enclose a few bottles of beer in packages they send to friends and relatives in Aklavik.

Whites in the community are ambivalent about native drinking. Most religious leaders and government officials seem torn between an implicit acceptance of the assumption that natives cannot "handle" alcohol and the ideal that they have a democratic right to it if they so desire. One religious leader interviewed exemplifies this dilemma. He represents a church which does not regard drinking itself as evil; yet he feels that the natives are unable to control themselves when drinking and thus wishes he could say, like the Pentecostals whose members are in steady employment, that drinking itself is a sin. Because of this ambivalence on the part of the Whites, we are not surprised to find that many seek unusual solutions to

the dilemma. For instance, it has been suggested that impotent homebrews and "near" beers should be supplied to the natives, for this would satisfy their drive to drink without excessive intoxication.

POLICE AND ENFORCEMENT

According to my census of the Aklavik area in August in 1961, the total population, including Whites, was 642, of which the native population constituted 589. In Aklavik, there are four R.C.M.P. officers and one special constable. Excluding the special constable, the proportion of police to native population is one for every 147 natives. However, over 46% of Aklavik's native population consists of children under the age of fourteen. The proportion of police to the population in the 14-41 age bracket is one for every 55 natives.

There is little factual material on which to base a definite statement with regard to differential enforcement. Certainly there does not appear to be any differential enforcement between the various native groups such as Indians, Eskimos and Metis. The R.C.M.P. classify all as natives and this tends to result in a homogeneous enforcement policy towards the ethnic groups. Moreover, I doubt that status position among the natives is a basis for discrimination, primarily because of the tendency of the R.C.M.P. to occupy a formal law-agency position rather than to integrate themselves on an informal level as well with the community. Because of this, they seem less likely in Aklavik to treat any segment of the native population differently from any other. In Aklavik we heard many complaints against the R.C.M.P. but we heard no complaints about differential enforcement among different segments of the native population. The R.C.M.P. at Aklavik reported that they detected no difference within the native groups in regard to overt hostility against the R.C.M.P. or resistance when being arrested.

More commonly mentioned in complaints is differential enforcement according to the native-white distinction. Such complaints are most often heard in Inuvik where the large White population is relatively segregated from the native community. Aklavik has a small White population and it is more integrated with the native one than is the White population of Inuvik. There are very few complaints about differential enforcement in Aklavik.

At the same time, there is much hostility directed against the R.C.M.P. both in Aklavik and Inuvik. A little of this hostility is based on the natives' perception (true or false) of differential enforcement between natives and Whites, and more than a slight amount of hostility is directed against the allegedly rough manner in which the R.C.M.P. handle the natives. Yet it seems that neither reason accounts sufficiently for the great intensity of native hostility.

When we examine the content of hostile statements against the R.C.M.P., we discover that much of it is vague and unspecific. The R.C.M.P. appear to act as scapegoats upon whom is placed diffuse blame for the frustrations caused by general conditions in the community. The natives perceive that relations between the R.C.M.P. and other government officials are not always cordial and are frequently quite strained. They perceive, too, that the R.C.M.P. only "take" while the government and welfare officers are generally "giving". Finally, we may mention the voluntary isolation of the R.C.M.P. officers from the rest of the community's friendship network as a factor directing hostility towards them.

The hostility of the natives towards the R.C.M.P. is shared by both men and women. At one party an elderly Indian woman came in drunk and gleefully reported how she had run through the R.C.M.P. barracks several times. She was rewarded by the praise of others at the party and by their hostile statements against the R.C.M.P. A young Eskimo girl got drunk one night and went to the R.C.M.P. post to insult the officers. It is not unusual for natives to get drunk and proceed to make a dramatic ruckus in front of the R.C.M.P. barracks. Such examples persuade us to think that the source of this hostility is more basic than that of a little differential enforcement or rough handling.

It is not surprising that the legal process is not impressively effective in Aklavik. The natives, for the most part, do not strongly identify themselves with the legal order and thus it is quite common for parents to buy alcohol for their under-age youngsters, paying little or no heed to the legal implications. Then, when one of their offspring is arrested for violations, they cry, "why do they take my boy to jail?" This is not simply a question of ignorance of the law, for the great majority know what the law states. It is simply a lack of identity with the moral basis of the law and a lack of comprehension of the "logic" underlying the law, a logic which is to a large extent based on the conventions of White society.

As is the case with many minority groups in a disadvantage position, the natives rarely turn to the R.C.M.P. to secure justice. During our stay in the Tent Village in Inuvik vicious assaults occurred regularly, yet no one would report such matters to the police. We found the same reluctance to seek police justice at Aklavik. Given that the R.C.M.P. is hampered by this general lack of co-operation, it is not surprising that official criminal and drinking statistics do not reflect even closely the true incidence of offences committed by natives among themselves.

GENERAL DEVIANCE AND DRINKING

One finds in studying some communities a popular fixation on one kind of activity or one grouping which is used to explain almost everything that goes wrong in the community. In Aklavik most Whites in responsible positions see drinking as the "cause" of all varieties of deviant actions, such as assault, poor work performance, neglect of children and so on. This particular view is also common among the natives, many of whom use drinking as an "excuse" for their various offences. This, of course, lends support to the White conception of the native as a different kind of person, a childlike person unaccountable for his actions when drinking.

According to statistics based on the court register at Aklavik for the 18-month period from January, 1960, to June, 1961, there were 169 charges laid against natives which are classified as follows:

Intoxication	106
Supplying Alcohol	19
Consuming Alcohol	9
Assault and Disturbance	24
Theft	5
Breaking and Entering	2
Contributing	3
Neglect	1

An attempt has been made to sort out the cases involving an offence committed while intoxicated from the cases where intoxication was not present. The criteria used to distinguish cases in this way were:

- a) whether or not intoxication was specifically stated in the court register.
- b) whether the "significant" people interviewed (i.e. the R.C.M.P., relatives of the convicted person or the person himself, if available) could recall the exact circumstances of the offence.

This inquiry reveals that there are 23 cases where drinking was not involved. These cases are distributed as follows:

5 of the 5 thefts
14 of the 24 assaults
2 of the 2 breaking and entering
2 of the 3 contributing.

On the basis of the above data it is obvious that offences involving alcohol account for most of the charges laid against the natives. However, it is most interesting to analyse those offences where intoxication was not present, since this brings the whole problem of deviance in Aklavik into clearer focus.

Comparing the data presented above with data gathered from the R.C.M.P. fiscal report of 1958-59, we found that despite a drop of 35% in the total population of Aklavik, the rate for crimes not explicitly involving intoxication remained the same in the two different time-periods. This finding lends some support to our impression that crimes of theft, assault, and breaking and entering are rising. It should also be pointed out that the actual number of assaults and thefts occurring are greatly in excess of official figures, for most of them are not reported to the police.

Offences of theft, breaking and entering and contributing were evenly divided among Eskimos and Indians. However, assaults are more likely to be committed by Indians. In Aklavik and Inuvik there were gangs of young men, most of whom were Indian and had been outside to Yellowknife, who habitually looked for fights and assaulted others. Their hostility was directed not only against Whites and against the Navy personnel in Inuvik especially, but also against fellow natives. Their wild, aimless aggression was illustrated on one occasion when after robbing a native of his liquor, they needlessly tarried long enough to assault their victim thoroughly: then, "just for kicks", they returned an hour later and beat him again. One old native told me that the young men nowadays are not satisfied when offered a drink but rather are quite hostile and try to steal the whole bottle. While it is foolish to generalize widely on so little data, there does seem to be a tendency for younger men to be more hostile. Their behaviour seems to be somewhat similar to lower-class groups throughout Canada.

CONCLUSION

Our impression is that the native peoples of Aklavik are growing increasingly similar to Canadians of the same socio-economic status, age-category, religion, etc. Much of the value-system of our society is being internalized by the Eskimos and Indians. Anthropologists have coined the term "acculturation" to account for such a process. Another process which anthropologists refer to as "assimilation" (which includes the total (physical and cultural) merging of a cultural group into another) is also taking place, as indicated by the increasing number of marriages across ethnic lines.

This generally results in the native peoples acquiring the cultural goals of the majority group while not initially having the means to achieve these goals. Thus, deviant behaviour of some sort usually occurs. This theory may partially explain the behaviour of the gangs in Aklavik and Inuvik, most members of which have been out to Yellowknife for educational training.