

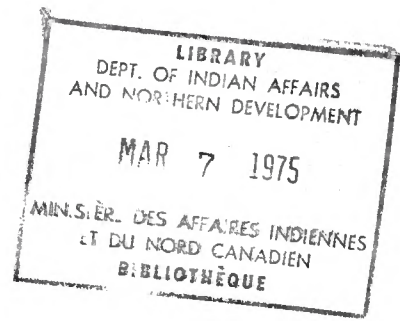
CHARACTERISTICS OF MACKENZIE DELTA NATIVES
AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO
EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

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Introduction

The Northern Development Policy 1971-81, approved by Cabinet 15 July, 1971, stressed the development of employment programs for Northern Indians, Inuit and Metis. Ten guidelines were issued, the first four of which centred specifically on employment, education and training:-

- " (i) Consciously create in government and industry employment opportunities for native peoples through attractive incentives, meaningful targets and where necessary imposed obligations.
- (ii) Re-orient employment practices of government and industry in order to provide intensive training, not only in preparation for foreseeable employment but including on-the-job training.
- (iii) Liberalize education and training techniques to produce more quickly qualified native practitioners in all professions and skills including teachers, nurses, mechanical engineers, communication technicians, management personnel, aircraft pilots and mechanics among others, with full provision for continuity and upgrading.
- (iv) Train and provide experience for native northerners in executive and administrative posts, especially at municipal levels and even at the risk of higher costs and some mistakes."

Since the major employment area of the North is the Mackenzie Delta, this paper will attempt to relate the background, life-style and interests of the native people of the Delta to the guidelines on employment, education and training of the Northern Development Policy 1971-81.

The material is drawn from a research study by Dr. D.G. Smith., carried out in the Mackenzie Delta during the period 1965-70. Since that period, economic activity has increased considerably but the changes in the situation portrayed are in degree only.

The Native People of the Mackenzie Delta

The population of the Mackenzie Delta today displays considerable racial heterogeneity. Most of the native people can be traced to Inuit, Indian or European ancestry although African Negro, Fijian and other racial elements have come into the population since the time of the later 19th century Whalers. A large part of the population is a mixture of various combinations of these racial elements. Thus, the names "Eskimo", "Indian", "Metis" so widely used in the Delta are ambiguous. The legal and folk usages of these terms do not coincide and neither usage agrees with a technical definition of race. There is difficulty in assigning any individual to one of these racial categories on the basis of physical characteristics or increasingly so, on the basis of cultural-linguistic characteristics now that the native languages and other traditional group indicators are disappearing, particularly among the younger people. Therefore, the terms "Eskimo", "Indian" and "Metis" should be understood in their present usage more as social than racial categories.

The Indian people of the Delta, although basically deriving from Tetlit and Vunta Kutchin, also contains people of other neighbouring groups. Inter-marriage with these groups and with Scots and French Canadian fur traders have developed a racially and culturally mixed population which is not nearly as homogeneous as most White people think or the Indians themselves generally imply. Similarly, the Metis are racially mixed although most follow an Indian way of life and speak one of the Loucheux dialects. The Metis of the Delta are the product of lower Mackenzie-middle Yukon women and European (mainly Scottish plus Scandinavian and English) men. People descended from unions between Eskimo women and Scots and American Whalers or their Negro and Fijian sailors should probably also be included in this category since most feel themselves different from the

majority of Eskimos. In addition, one must also consider the products of union between Eskimo and Indian. The Delta Metis therefore differ considerably from the Prairie Metis. With regard to the Eskimo, their culture seems to have been submerged by that of the Alaskan Eskimos who filled the vacuum left by the decimation of the Mackenzie Eskimo population about the turn of the century. Thus, Alaskan Eskimos predominate in the present Delta Eskimo population racially and culturally although a number of central Eskimos from as far away as the Coronation Gulf area are now resident in the Delta. A number of Eskimos show physical features of Polynesian and Negro ancestors and are referred to in a derogatory manner by other Eskimos. Thus, the Delta people are a thorough racial and cultural mixture with no simple Eskimo and Indian ancestry. Therefore in the Delta, five main groups can be identified, Indian, Eskimo, Metis, Settled Whites and Transient Whites. The Settled Whites are a relatively small group of male trappers and traders, now of middle age or older nearly all of whom are married to women primarily of Indian and Eskimo origin.

Of the five groups, the first four are referred to in local speech as "Native". Between these people and the "Transient White", there is an obvious and pervasive social cleavage. The "Native" people live in what is identified as a Northern life-style which includes economic dependence on traditional Northern activities such as trapping; marriage to a person identified as native; maintaining a style of behaviour, dress, food preferences, type of house etc., that are more readily identifiable as Native than White. Thus the term "Native" more readily denotes a way of life than an ethnic affiliation. "Transient Whites" on the other hand, maintain a style of dress, demeanour, residence and food preferences and a set of social and political ideas not too different from any small southern Canadian urban setting. Rarely does a Transient White identify with the Native way of life.

Among the Delta Native people, difference of ethnic origin (Inuit, Indian, Metis) does not appear as strong as implied by the White people, although this is reported for other Northern communities. The White people in the Delta are inclined to interpret much of the conflict they observe within the native sector as a continuation of aboriginal hostility between Indians and Eskimos. Although Indians and Eskimos may occasionally be heard to express conflict in ethnic terms, a closer examination shows this is relatively superficial. In daily life, the Native people associate freely in their homes and community activities. Young people play together, older people hunt and trap together and inter-marriage is quite common. Thus a new socio-cultural group is now emerging whose institutional arrangements and way of life are not aboriginal but stem from a period of intensive contact with Euro-Canadian society and culture with the disappearance of older forms of differentiation (such as inter-ethnic conflict) and the introduction of new ones; this, against the development of a standard Canadian society and culture by the Whites.

The fur trade, with its orientation to a single resource base, its introduction of technology and cash economy together with its accompanying missions and police has probably been the most important historical event promoting the emergence of a common native culture in the Delta. Its importance cannot be under-estimated if only for the fact that when Native people today nostalgically refer to the old way of life they mean the fur trade and not the pre-contact aboriginal cultures for few, if any, have any recollection of them. The fur trade represented a golden age in which there was relative affluence, a measure of personal economic and social independence and a measure of security with one's personal skills more consistently valued than today.

The Native segments are not completely identical in the way they have adjusted or adapted to the new social situation but the differences they perceive between themselves are minimal compared to the differences they acknowledge between themselves and the Whites. The position of the Natives is a marginal one, economically and socially. They are economically marginal because they have few goods or skills valued by the White society. They are socially marginal since the pursuit of their own institutional preferences makes participation in the White society impossible or undesirable from their point of view.

Exposure of Native people to North American industrial culture has been much more intense in the Western Arctic over the last century than for most of the Eastern Arctic: Social change has been rapid, traumatic and disjointed. Selective acculturation pressures have impinged on the Native people, apparently at great cost, so that aboriginal socio-cultural and personality systems seem to be completely disrupted and to have been replaced with forms that neither function smoothly nor supply adequate gratification to the people who are compelled to live out their daily lives in this region. Many Native people are dissatisfied and are becoming more outspoken as the pressures have increased over the last two decades.

Stratification among the Native People

Among the Native people of the Delta, three major categories may be distinguished which represent different styles of life and different adaptations to the social order. Boundaries between these categories, although flexible, are recognized by Native people. The fundamental distinction is that between people with a primary dependence on the land and people following a settlement or urban existence: two ways of life rather than an ethnic distinction.

The Bush People of the Delta live in more or less transient camps, depending to a considerable extent on wild food. Their way of life is not aboriginal but is a product of the fur trade. Hunting and gathering activities provide an important part of the subsistence although a considerable amount of store bought food is also used, clothing is almost entirely of store bought cloth and an increasing amount of ready to wear clothing is being purchased together with manufactured articles considered essential to Bush life. Thus, the Bush people are firmly wedded to the cash economy of the fur trade with hunting and fishing playing a major secondary role in subsistence. Although most Bush people have some knowledge of English, Native languages predominate in daily life except for the steadily increasing number of children. Only a few Bush people are left on the land; their numbers are dwindling rapidly as older Bush people die and an increasing number of younger people move into the settlements.

Settlement Residents may be distinguished by two major sub-groups with two basically different styles of life within the settlements. Both may be categorized in terms of the way they operate in the employment system. A relatively small group, "Permanent Employees" hold steady jobs and follow a lifestyle largely patterned on the White model. The "Casual Workers" have a more Native-identified approach to settlement living.

Casual Workers are the largest and most visible category of Native people in the Delta. They, while living in the settlements, typically hold a series of casual and short-term jobs interspersed with other activities. This group provides the most important White stereotype of Native life. By White standards, their houses often appear bare, depressing and rather dirty, their personal hygiene poor and their way of life depressing. Native languages are spoken by most of the older people with English as a common language but in a separate dialect which is an essential part of the new Native culture.

There are two sub-categories of Casual Workers representing different adjustments to settlement living and the cash economy. One category identifies itself as primarily trappers and hunters and only secondarily as workers in the employment system, combining a dependence on traditional land activities with seasonal casual labour. They live in settlements for the greater part of the year, making bush camps for relatively short periods only during times of intense utilization of land resources. Many land activities are carried out in short trips from their permanent homes in the settlements. Seasonal casual labour in slack periods in the land utilization cycle is nevertheless considered essential in order to maintain the style of land-dependence they consider desirable with the type of hunting and trapping equipment necessary to compete in modern utilization of land resources as well as to maintain the style of settlement life they equally desire. This style of life is well established in the Mackenzie Delta being established by the 1930's, becoming more prominent in the late 1940's with the essential collapse of the fur-trade and the increase in opportunity for casual unskilled employment related to the increase in the numbers of White men and their activities. Until the late 1950's when White related activities became even more intense and provided more opportunities and incentives for Native people to enter full-scale wage employment, combined seasonal labour and land dependence was a prominent feature of Delta society. It was a well established way of life still remembered by the Native people as rewarding and economically productive. Persons following this way of life today tend to be in the middle and older age groups. Although it is on the wane, it is likely to be represented in the Delta for some time to come. It represents a reference point in ideas of "the good life" to many Delta people, although younger Natives have learned to value other alternatives in their rapidly changing society.

The second sub-category of Casual Workers are those who have only minimal dependence on land activities. They think of themselves as primarily settlement residents depending on available jobs as their major source of income. Trapping, fishing and hunting are only carried out under necessity when other sources of cash income are closed to them. Most of this group are under 35, children of the fur-trade settlement period. They typically hold a series of casual unskilled jobs in the settlements interspersed with dependence on social assistance payments which many of them consider to be as legitimate a source of income as any other and exploit it accordingly. Among these younger settlement natives there are variations in their adjustment to casual employment opportunities. For some there is a prevalent idea that cash from gainful employment is theirs to spend as desired and that the government in particular is, or ought to be, responsible for basic maintenance in housing, food and the provision of periodic casual job opportunities in order that they might earn the cash they desire for other ends. The perceived failure of government to provide these causes frustration. For those who have aspirations to enter the permanent wage employment system and follow a style of life closely modelled on that of the White people frustration results from a failure of the system to provide opportunities for wage employment or from lack of formal qualifications to make use of existing opportunities. Most of the young casual wage earners (age 16-25) belong to this group.

Permanent Employees are a relatively small number of Delta Natives who have managed to make a successful adjustment to the permanent wage-employment system. They have rejected most Native-oriented or Native-identified social arrangements and have identified to a marked degree with the White. Both Natives and Whites consider these people and their counterparts in other settlements, as a local elite. However, since they tend to

reject many of the Native social arrangements and obligations (such as extensive sharing of resources) they are often villified by the other Native groups. A considerable number of Permanent Employees are Alaskan Eskimos of the last major migration of the 1940's. Many are Pentecostal Christians, intensely involved in Church activities. Their religious commitments involving proscription of liquor and "deviant" behaviour together with their high valuation of dependability and stability of life make them valued recruits for permanent employment opportunities. Most are concerned that their children have as full an education as possible, including university and post secondary technical. Emulation of White models of success and achievement is encouraged. Although the White way of life prevails for these people, a number feel an ethnic identity and are concerned that their children are ignorant of "Native ways" (language, hunting, trapping, etc.) while at the same time White models are held up as desirable and Native behaviour downgraded. Most spend weekends and annual leave in the bush in one way or another.

Vertical Stratification is seldom spoken of by the Native people as applying to themselves. There is general opinion however that Native Permanent Employees are broadly comparable to their occupational counterparts among Whites. Among more Native-identified settlement residents and Bush people, many refuse to admit a vertical stratification system and cite their understanding of the classless aboriginal culture as evidence that no such system prevails among them. However, persons who were successful at whatever they set their mind to (referred to as "real hustlers") whether in bush or settlement, were accorded greater prestige than those who were unable to remain economically independent of social assistance or **charities**. People who were consistently kind, gentle and generous (referred to as "good people") were also considered superior. Those with

marked ability in living on the land, those able to cope with emergencies in Arctic travelling and those with demonstrated technical ingenuity were also considered superior as were skilled performers of traditional dances and tellers of traditional stories. Thus the following scheme of stratification of Native people is suggested:

Settlement Residents

1. Permanent Employees
2. Casual Workers "by default" - would prefer permanent employment and a version of White life-style
3. Casual Workers preferring a "casual job-social assistance-minimum land activity" style of life; not particularly White life-style oriented
4. Casual Workers combining seasonal land activities and casual jobs;

Bush People

1. Bush People "by default" - would prefer settlement life
2. Bush People by tradition - satisfied with life-style but not actively committed
3. Bush People actively committed to a Native-identification, Native life-ways and social arrangements.

Thus the significant criteria of differentiation is in the choice of employment and place of residence.

Adaptation of Native People

It is widely believed by Whites that acculturation, development and social change in the Native sector take place by providing individual Natives with the means of achieving a White way of life. Whites have supported and encouraged individuals who came within their sphere of influence with the result that a single nuclear family may be spread over the whole

range of the acculturative and stratification spectrum of the Native sector, from senior government officers to determined followers of Bush life. The effect of this differentiation is to set up antipathy, suspicion, envy and even hostility between kin who operate according to the different expectations and obligations implied by their social positions.

In White eyes, Native people are often considered exploitive and opportunistic, seeking to take advantage of a present alternative with little regard for how it will affect the future. However, the history of northern development is marked by "boom and bust" periods of affluence and privation. Each individual Native thus was more or less compelled to take what he could get, when he could get it. Therefore, from the Native point of view long range planning would be disastrous in a situation which fluctuated unpredictably and in which the committment of resources and effort to an anticipated future goal could so easily become displaced by rapidly changing circumstances.

Delta Native people think of themselves as deprived in comparison to Whites, not only economically, but in terms of access to social mobility and the opportunities of Canadian society. They lack the skills, capabilities, information and cognitive structures which prevents them from making effective assessments of the alternatives of action open to them and strategies for making use of them. The daily experiences of most Native people are remarkably similar and there is a tendency to encourage homogeneity through such things as restriction of prestige distinctions. In other words, Native people learn positive skills and abilities for operating within a social system much different from that of the Whites. When faced with the necessity of operating within the highly differentiated, competitive system of the Whites, they are correspondingly poorly equipped in terms of appropriate skills. Life in the Delta sees more squalor, suffering and

violence than in the urban middle-class, but for those who are in it, it is a way of life - indeed it is all they have and is what makes the people as they are - and there is pleasure and satisfaction in it. Yet, feelings of inferiority are conspicuously present among the Native people.

Relations with Whites

The Mackenzie Delta social system does not consist of a single system of stratification with Whites at the top and Natives at the bottom. Rather, it consists of two systems of stratification, one White and one Native. Both systems derive from historical sources and depend upon different cultural ideas of worth, esteem, prestige and power and are marked by two different sets of criteria of identity. For the Whites, previous class position "Outside" has no major significance, as some of the most prestigious positions among Delta Whites are occupied by persons of relatively lower class origin in Southern Canada. Thus, the White stratification follows the familiar pattern of a) Professionals and Managers b) White Collar Workers and Technicians, c) Skilled Workers, d) Semi-skilled Worked, e) Highly Transient Unskilled Workers.

The opportunities for contact between Whites and Native people varies considerably with the diversity of positions held by the Whites. Teachers, nurses, doctors, welfare officers, store clerks, works supervisors, police, clergymen and other similar people have the greatest opportunity for contact and their particular approach to Native people is influenced in part by the nature of their jobs, some of which possess considerable authority. A large measure of the contact between White and Native segments occurs through these positions and as a consequence is highly structured and primarily under the control of the Whites. Whites, since they tend to see Native behaviour only in rather formalized contexts, are unable to see its consistency (or lack of it) with the whole of the Native way of life.

Whites often have wide discretionary powers in the local implementation of directives, which tend to be interpreted in terms of the individual Whites' particular values and social commitments. The high transience of Whites means that the same official position may be occupied by a succession of personnel whose particular ways of interpreting policy and dealing with Native people are so variable that to the Native people the rules of operation appear arbitrary and idiosyncratic. There is little realization by the Native people that an official acts by nature of a defined office. The evidence available to the Native person makes it appear otherwise. Whites interpret the inability of Native people to comprehend bureaucratic structure as evidence of backwardness, but in fact a reasonably consistent model is not presented to them.

Whites have a tendency to think of themselves as socializers of the Native people. Implicit in this conception is their dominance by virtue of superior knowledge, skills and abilities over Native people who are considered to lack these attributes and need a guiding hand. In the Mackenzie Delta, pressures for the Native people to change and adopt behaviour ways consistent with White values and expectations (rather than vice versa) is the prevailing pattern. The Native people have progressively interlocked with Whites and their way of life. New alternatives of action, aspirations and expectations have developed which can only be filled by functions provided by Whites. Many of the cultural ways the Natives now follow are directly derived from White forms or represent accommodations to them. The Native people have learned to depend upon Whites for skills and social resources with which their own culture of marginality cannot supply them. The relationship then is one of dependency in several spheres but this relationship of dependence is a hostile one; or at least one marked by ambivalence. For example, they ask Whites to perform in roles of leadership or authority which they feel inappropriate for

Native people and then extend to the Whites the distaste, anger and indignation they would typically extend to a Native person who presumed to fill such roles. It is as if the Native people use their dependence upon Whites as a weapon with which to flail the Whites at every available opportunity, and extends to Welfare Programs and Social Assistance. However, there is strong negative correlation between the relative size of the White population and Native participation in associations: where White population is greatest, Native participation is least and vice versa but there is little evidence that Whites seek intentionally to exclude Native people from Public associations. Rather, most associations are initiated, formulated and directed by Whites toward goals, interests and conceptions of social problems which are White-identified and thereby irrelevant to the majority of Native people.

In certain contexts, there may be open rejection of White structures which are explicitly powerful or authoritarian. This is relevant to the Native peoples denial of the legitimacy of White laws to control the behaviour of Native people. Flagrant public intoxication, somewhat more cautious infringement of game laws forbidding traditional access to wild resources and conscious manipulation of laws regarding trading credit are among other ways of expressing rejection of White norms. These laws are felt to be binding principally on Whites and occasions for infringement where it appears that repercussions will not immediately follow are readily exploited. Getting away with something or scoring off powerful Whites can be a source of esteem in the Native community. This may extend to school authorities with truancy laws, clergymen on moral behaviour, work supervisors on lax working habits and traders with long standing debts. In short, Native rejection of White concepts of power, accountability, authority and demeanour

in inter-personal relations is a measure of the cultural difference between them which almost consistently results in a perpetuation of White power roles. Native people neither consistently effectively challenge them or adopt strategies to ensure participation on White terms which they consider inappropriate to Native values.

Life-style of the Native People

Compared to the White way of life, that of the Delta Native people is considerably less organised in a formal sense. Values of personal autonomy and individualism prevail but are countered by sentiments of dependency and sensitivity to others. These conditions implicate Native-White interaction.

Self-reliance of the individual has a very high value placed upon it by the Native people. Ability to cope with harsh or unexpected circumstances through one's own ingenuity and resourcefulness is a much admired quality. There is a pragmatic approach to problem situations which leads to experimenting with resources at hand in an attempt to improve ways of doing things. This leads to individual solutions without any particular reference to the solutions of others. Each person believes his particular solution to be adapted to his own needs and considerable thought goes into the particular strategy used. The test of effectiveness is a pragmatic one: if it is successful, then the strategy is effective.

Along with the emphasis on self-reliance on pragmatism and experimentation, there is high value placed upon patience. This emphasis on patience extends to difficult physical tasks, **endurance** on the trail in bad weather, necessary tasks which one dislikes and social situations in which the outcome is not clear. In a sense, the concept of self-reliance contains two potentially conflicting themes of value and action: on the one hand the emphasis on striving and experimentation; on

the other an emphasis on patience, endurance and acceptance of situations one is incapable of changing. The latter has often been described as "fatalism", especially with reference to the Eskimo. One theme expresses the valued ability of individuals to cope by positive action with difficult situations; the other advocates resignation. One represents man as master of situations; the other represents him as a passive victim - yet both are aspects of self-reliance, for both place the onus on a person to cope whether by action or by resigned acceptance. It is not always possible for the White to know in what situations a Native person will react with positive action or resignation. For instance, persons who at times actively seek casual employment would at other times simply sit around claiming that if jobs were available one would almost certainly become available for them, that there was no use worrying and that one simply had to be patient. The person who is resigned is considered to be using his reason and this also applies to other uncontrollable circumstances including the wishes or actions of others which interfere with one's own desires or plans or one's own lack of ability or knowledge of how to deal with a situation. Some problems are solved by application of effort and reason, others by patiently and resignedly awaiting circumstances to change. This is not necessarily "fatalism", for the fatalist attitude would be that circumstances may never change; the attitude of Delta Native people is that circumstances may be bad, but they may readily change for the better if one is sufficiently patient.

Just as self-reliance through individual positive action is countered by patience and resignation, so self-reliance conceived as total dependence on one's own resourceful acts is tempered by a prominent sharing ethic. No Native person need lack access to a basic minimum of food and shelter. He may be much more poverty stricken than others, but his basic

needs are met at least at a minimum level through a complex network of sharing relationships. There is considerably more reluctance and ambivalence about borrowing or lending money than about other basic necessities. The contrast between sharing food and sharing cash is clearly maintained even in individual households. Trapping and hunting equipment is considered a person's own although a gun or traps may be loaned to a member of the household for a short time so that he can earn some cash or bring in wild food. The borrower shares any food he acquired on the land or buys with trapping proceeds but any cash he chooses to keep is for his own use. In trapping, fishing or whaling camps, a similar situation prevails. If any person converts all or part of his share into cash, then the money is his alone.

Sharing, then, follows a distinctive pattern. Sharing copes primarily with a temporary need as a risk-spreading mechanism. It is not an alternative to self-reliance but is a support for those times when conditions are simply unfavourable. The resentment expressed against more wealthy Permanent Employees does not necessarily stem from an abstract egalitarian ethic as many Whites suggest. Native people assume that if a person is more wealthy than others, he must have refused to help those in need. His capacity to produce more cash by skill and hard work is admired; his tendency not to help those in need is abhorred.

Self-determination also has a strong emphasis and is closely linked to self-reliance. Native people are reluctant to exercise authority over others and just as reluctant to accept it. Each Native person has considerable autonomy and control over his own actions from an early age. By the time a child is in his teens he is largely independent of parental authority. He does as he wishes without any assumption that he is accountable to other household members unless his behaviour implicates them seriously in some way, for example,

running afoul of the law. Parents may make their dissatisfaction known by what the Native children call "barking" - grumbling in the background, but almost never by direct confrontation or nagging. It is up to the child whether or not he allows these attitudes to influence his future behaviour. There is really no "household head" in the sense of a person who yields direct authority over members but in households with husband/fathers who are White trappers or in highly acculturated households (Permanent Employees), the male assumes much more of the authoritarian and decision making role characteristic of Whites.

Younger Native people tend to imitate the strategies and techniques of others, but gradually adopt techniques of their own design. People are not specifically "taught" how to do things (at least in the sense of a subordinate teacher-student relationship). Usually a person of the same sex with a little more experience (usually an older brother or cousin) takes it upon himself to show the younger person his own techniques. The emphasis is on self-reliant learning, rather than upon teaching. Esteem and approval is extended to the person who takes the onus upon himself to learn, for it is unlikely that he will be taught or coerced if he appears to have no interest or inclination. As he learns he is constantly encouraged to develop his own solutions to problems.

Direct orders and demands other than to one's own younger children are considered aggressive and even insulting. Where possible, even a direct request is avoided and the request made indirectly through hints. A direct request would place the petitioner in the role of beggar and the person petitioned in the awkward position of having to make a direct refusal if for some reason he is unable to comply and direct refusals like direct requests are considered to be aggressive acts. Both are considered to erode individual autonomy. People are

sometimes reluctant to lend others their equipment for it is recognized that equipment used by several people is likely to become battered very quickly. Since people often find it hard to refuse loans, they may adopt the strategy of simply not acquiring certain items. This strategy is openly acknowledged. To place ones self in a position where direct refusal seems likely is to surrender a measure of control to others.

Quarrels and fights between adults are rare unless intoxication is involved. Noisy and querulous behaviour is believed to infringe the rights of others to peace and quiet; pushy behaviour threatens the autonomy of others. There is little opportunity for physical privacy in crowded tents or one-room cabins - quiet, unobtrusive behaviour in this context is a means of tension-management. Questions by others about a person's reasons for doing a certain act are considered an invasion of privacy. A person does not expect to have to give an account of his actions to others. He may volunteer his reasons, but direct questions about them usually imply a disapproving questioning of motives. Although there is considerable knowledge about the affairs of others, questions concerning another's behaviour usually meet with the same blank reaction. This does not deny the potency of gossip in which speculation about others' motives plays a large part. People may be polite and pleasant to each other yet accuse each other in other circumstances. To state open criticism of another to his face is an aggressive act that threatens his highly valued self-direction and non-accountability for his actions to others.

Self-sufficiency is widely observed among northern Indians and Eskimos. Reserve, restraint, caution and indeed "frozen effect" are very commonly observed among the Delta Native people. They are most obvious to Whites for they strongly

mark behaviour toward strangers. Initial contacts with strangers are polite but somewhat formal and cautious. One of the most common labels for strangers whether White or Native persons from distant settlements, is "spy". "Spies" are strangers who seem unfriendly, or likely to be so; who seem to be inquisitive (and thereby somewhat aggressive); and who seem likely to gossip unfavourably about local people and conditions, especially to White authorities.

However, extreme individualism or self-isolation is a product of a certain kind of anxiety. To be alone or to express a preference for living and working alone is to be in a state of "ritual danger" and also to be a source of ritual danger to others. One who is alone is exposed to danger from unseen, ambiguous, malevolent forces. People seek the comforting presence of others since the cure for "loneliness" (broadly defined "anxiety") is found in the presence and solicitous behaviour of others.

Internal Tension

The three dimensions of self-reliance, self-determination and self-sufficiency seem to be three of the chief foci of internal tension or conflict in the Native sub-culture. The characteristics have a complex origin from at least these closely related but analytically separable sources:

- persistent aboriginal characteristics
- distinctive patterns of child rearing
- physiological structure

and result in distinctive ways of thinking, feeling and acting in the Native sector which pervade many areas of social and cultural life. Certain modes of interaction with Whites are consistent with these Native ways, many of which are normally invisible to Whites. Whereas in an unfamiliar situation, a White man is taught to react by experimentation - to keep trying until a satisfactory pattern is found, the Native puts his faith in observation and watches and waits until others

show the correct pattern. This difference in behavioural style is further compounded by Native persons feelings that Whites are usually aggressively inquisitive, somewhat domineering and rather free with their advice. Whites often attempt to admonish or correct by example and Native people are sensitive to this. Most of the time the Whites are dealing with Natives, they rarely do or say anything that does not sound rude or even hostile to the latter. The Whites do not realize the nature of their conduct and the Native cannot tell them because this, in itself, would be interference with the Whites' freedom to act as they see fit. To the Native people, the Whites placing of considerable value on being able to handle people (usually done in a persuasive or direct, agreeable but no-nonsense manner), is simply aggressive and "pushy". From earliest childhood, the Native person is trained to regard absolute non-interference in interpersonal relations as decent or normal and to react to even the mildest coercion in these areas with bewilderment, disgust and fear. In other words, even in simple day to day contact, Native values of self-determination may be offended unwillingly. Given the choice, many Native people would probably avoid anything more than transitory contact with Whites, particularly those unknown to them or who are boisterous and back-slapping in their approach.

These reactions are intensified in public meetings where large numbers of Whites are involved. The brisk manner of many Whites in running meetings appears somewhat aggressive to Native people, as does the manner of conducting business in public offices. Vigorous public discussion on the part of Whites looks far more disruptive and angry to the Native person than it really is. On such occasions, Native people tend to withdraw and fall silent and certainly prefer to avoid appearing to take sides publicly. They may indeed have strong opinions, but these are normally only aired in small

private gatherings afterwards. Native people who do on occasion speak out strongly at meetings are upbraided afterwards. The implication seems to be that open confrontation can only make the situation worse by bringing on strong but unpredictable reactions from the Whites.

Some Native people have learned very well how to deal with such situations with Whites; some have not but even among those who have, a "cumulative strain" develops after extensive exposure. To compensate, Native people take the necessary steps to get away and relax from feeling constantly on guard. Seasonal bush life provides a valued opportunity for this. Students returning home for vacations from residential schools show visible signs of relief, not only from the routines of school work and institutional living, but from the feeling of having to be constantly accountable for their behaviour even in what they consider to be their private lives. Pressure - cumulative strain - is firmly associated with Whites. The effect of Native people's tendency to withdraw, to avoid or even to reject various kinds of contact with Whites on the basis of their negative cultural evaluation of the White's way of doing things is an important source of the disengagement from many White activities which nevertheless influence their way of life.

Behaviour

Drinking is intentionally and explicitly used to allay anxiety, despondency, boredom and fear. There is practically no such thing as a peaceful drinking session or a drinking session that does not entail aggressiveness at some point in its development or aftermath. People often drink quickly and in volume with the single purpose of becoming unconscious. In addition, aggressive, hostile and other drunken behaviour is spoken of almost as a catharsis. It is a time to 'get things off the chest'. People report feelings of tranquility and

peacefulness after hard drinking sessions. People who can drink themselves into unconsciousness with ease are almost envied, and it is considered the sign of manly skillful drinking.

The Metis experience fewer difficulties with the law over drinking than do other Native people. It has been suggested that the presence of White fathers in many Metis households has tended to inject norms for behaviour into these households which make them more similar to Whites than those of the Native people. Perhaps more important is that those with more to lose by problem drinking, such as loss of steady or preferred jobs, are less likely to have legal problems over drinking. Eskimos and Metis who are more highly represented in the Permanent Employee category, fare better with the law over drinking than Indians who are more frequently irregularly employed and unemployed.

Perhaps as often as drunkenness, Whites refer to the "promiscuity" of Native people. Drinking and sex are two foci for Native behaviour which powerfully shapes relationships between them and Whites. Not all Native people participate with equal vigour in these behaviour patterns. Some reject them completely. Those who demonstrate such rejection receive a considerable measure of approval and encouragement from Whites which assists them to be successful and, to a great extent, upwardly mobile in the Delta social system. Commitment to Pentacostalism has been one of the most effective ways for Native people to opt out of Native modes of behaviour and simultaneously to receive approval from Whites. It seems fair to say that Pentacostalism provides a comprehensive alternative way of life to that followed by most Native people. Its fundamentalist approach is explicit, tolerates no ambiguity and extends into all spheres of human behaviour. It clearly defines change from the "Native Way" in moral terms, and

prescribes strategies for change. It provides a cohesive group identity with built-in encouragement and supports for those tempted to backslide. It equips its members with doctrinal, social and emotional defenses against antagonists. The leaders and preachers are often Native people and prestigious Whites have been ordinary congregation members with no leadership or executive functions. In this respect, the Pentecostal Church is quite unlike any other voluntary organisation in the Delta. Its highly personal doctrines of individual salvation and personal endeavour are consistent with some of the more traditional Native values of self-reliance but adherence to the Pentecostal variant provides conspicuous rewards in the current social system.

Economic Status

Marginality

Most Delta Native people belong to families dependent upon unskilled casual labour and trapping, hunting and fishing. These fall at the very bottom of the prestige scale of Canadian occupations. Income and educational achievement levels are among the very lowest in the country. White prejudice against them is strong. These add up to an extremely low class position. The Native sector is marginal to wider Canadian society.

Economically, socially, culturally and emotionally, Native people must cope with the realities of Canadian society for they are under increasing pressure to share its values and modes of action. They are not accepted as members belonging to a distinct and variable culture with values in its own right, nor are they yet accepted as part of the larger society. Marginality is a situational context in which the Native people are compelled to come to terms with the larger Canadian society with which they are now inextricably intertwined. The social patterns which make Native life

viable and bearable in the daily circumstances in which they are bound to live are not in harmony with those of most Canadian society.

Economics

National patterns of socio-economic stratification consistently find Native people at the bottom end of the scale; of differential access by Whites and Native populations to major sources of wealth and means of investment; and cultural differentiation with respect to the ways in which Whites and Natives are organised for economic production and consumption. This economic situation simultaneously constitutes an important basis for perpetuation of differentiation.

The White sector operates according to the principles of modern capitalism which it shares with the rest of the nation. Its members are bureaucratically and commercially sophisticated, linked with national bureaucratic and commercial interests and share with other Canadians a general set of motives of maximization. The Delta condensation of activities typical of North American organisation are, in a sense, much more prominent and visible than in many other Arctic regions. There is a primacy of concentration on economic ends expressed both publicly in bureaucratic and mercantile conceptions of Northern development and in personal profit motives by Whites. In contrast, the Native sector is oriented around traditional subsistence and fur-trade activities and the supply of relatively unskilled labour on demand to the White sector. Mercantile or entrepreneurial interests are minimal or non-existent, production is carried on at an individual or kin/friendship basis and links with the national economy are indirectly mediated through local White structures. In the cash economy, they assume a dependent and particularistic relationship to Whites; dependent because White organisations are the only source of cash and provide the only means by which

it can be spent. In such a situation, conditions and events in the White economic structure are often acutely reflected in the Native sector, which is very vulnerable economically. The economic privation and distress precipitated by relatively dramatic fluctuations in fur prices, the seasonal availability of casual jobs and the "boom or bust" trend in Northern development or building projects over the past two decades provide clear examples.

In the Delta, a long period of relative quiescence on the part of the Native people throughout the peak period of the fur-trade and its gratifications of relative affluence with its respectable identity for Native people is now being followed by a period of increasing dissatisfaction. There is greater and increasing awareness of their relative deprivation in contrast to Whites. This has been precipitated by the influx of large numbers of affluent Whites and the trappings of their southern life-style. This rapid increase in the scale of White operations has occurred in the last phases of the fur-trade and the decline of the economically viable and socially rewarding way of life it had to offer Native people. Class dimensions of Native and White statuses are increasing - ethnic differentiation between Natives and Whites is strong. It appears that Native people are responding to this situation through mobilization of their sectional identity in Native organisations designed to force settlement of land claims and to demand massive financial compensation which, they hope, will serve to narrow the gap between their perceived deprivation and the recognized affluence of Whites.

Given the realities of the world in which Delta Native people now find themselves, the importance of money as an adaptive mechanism cannot be underestimated. Income in cash and kind comes to Delta Native people from a variety of sources but not all of these sources provide the freedom and flexibility of cash in hand for allocation to ends of Native peoples' own

choosing. Cash income from employment in permanent and casual jobs is an important source of income for many Native people. Although Native people are not always as fully employed in the occupational sub-system as they would wish to be, they value jobs as an important source of cash both for immediate necessities and wants and for the acquisition of equipment for land based subsistence activities in which they may be involved.

However, although a number of Permanent Employees were recruited directly from life on the land, without passing through a transitional stage of increasing dependence on casual employment and progressively decreasing dependence on land activities, other persons now following a regime of seasonal casual labour will not necessarily proceed to a commitment of permanent employment. This strongly suggests situational adaptations rather than an orderly linear progression of motivation or preferred style of life from a Native to a White variant.

The fact that almost all Permanent Employees are employed in relatively lower level service jobs is reflected in their lower income per earner compared to Whites. Among Native casual workers there is considerable variation in length of time spent in employment. Among Bush people, only a few younger men and women are employed in short term casual jobs. This low and unstable source of income is nevertheless the major component in the actual income of most Native people. However, instability is as important a feature as low income, for it deprives a large portion of Native people from the means of applying what money they have to ends of their own choosing in the same ways available to the permanently employed.

Fur trapping has historically played a chief role in the economy of the Native sector. Although its importance has declined considerably in the past 20 years, it remains an

important source of cash income second only to employment, but it too is unstable. Women and children can readily participate, if sometimes only marginally, in fur-harvesting and increase the yield. In the pattern of trading much of the income may be applied directly to outstanding accounts with traders for supplies necessary to fur-harvesting enterprises. Households which depend upon fur-harvesting as an important feature of their economy require a substantial amount of capital investment in expendable supplies in addition to capital investment in equipment, although much of the latter does dual duty for other purposes. If the total direct cash income from land activities were compared to operating expenses, one would find land activities entail net cash loss. However, most Native people look at profit and loss in trapping and land activities in another light. Most Native people would argue that a basic hunting outfit is required for harvesting subsistence land products. With a somewhat higher outlay in operating expenses one can also harvest furs effectively and cash income from fur sales then appears essentially as profit which provides immediate cash in hand. Its hazard is the seasonal and cyclical fluctuations which are so marked in the trapping enterprise. Historically, for Native people in the North, there have been moderately effective mechanisms for coping with seasonally and cyclically variable income from gainful employment either in traditional fur-trade land activities or in wage employment in settlement jobs. The fur-trade "grub-stake" credit system is one of these but government social assistance programs have become important in this field.

Credit and social assistance both provide means of coping with temporary economic privation, but have different socio-economic implications for Native people. In the past, especially before 1940, long term credit was an important

feature of household economics in the Native sector. Traders would often extend a complete "winter-outfit" or "grub-stake". Large amounts of credit for large capital items such as whaling schooners were also extended. Now, for most Native people, credit with traders has been reduced to an average maximum of about \$100 and for large capital items a down-payment of at least 50% is required. The trend over the last thirty years has been for the northern credit system to fall much more in line with southern Canadian mercantile practices and away from the large "grub-stake" pattern. This works to the great disadvantage of Native people, most of whom at best have unstable incomes although a modified system of savings is used by some people who, in times of relative affluence will deposit money on their trading accounts to be drawn in cash or kind as needed. Thus, the dependence on social assistance payments becomes greater and greater with all its implications. When self-reliance fails, Native people feel that alternative sources of income, especially from those who appear to be more wealthy, should be almost automatically open. But White social assistance policies attach conditions to the disbursement of such funds which infringe the Native peoples' conceptions of privacy and self-determination. The situation is further accentuated for Native people since they know that northern Whites in the Public Service receive set monthly subsidies in northern postings. The Native people think of this as social assistance, but that Whites do not have to subject themselves to approval or disapproval of people who have the power to grant or withhold the funds involved.

A few Permanent Employees buy small government bonds through payroll deduction, but usually with a specific capital purchase in mind. When completely purchased, they are almost immediately cashed without waiting for interest to accrue and the total paid as full purchase price or large down-payment on a capital

item. The only stable cash income for most Delta Native families, small though it may be, is Statutory payments, mostly Old Age Pensions and Family allowances.

Leadership and Authority

In hunting parties or larger more permanent groupings, there is no official head-man or leader, although an older more experienced man may assume somewhat of a leadership role by taking the initiative in necessary tasks. His knowledge may be valued, but he does not formally delegate tasks. This situational leadership dissolves after a task is completed. Other members may assume the leadership for other tasks. A person who makes his views too readily known without being asked is considered aggressive. As a sign of protest people may go out of their way not to do what he says. In extreme cases, they will ignore him completely and speak only when spoken to, saying sufficient to answer a question and no more with an elaborate show of politeness and attentiveness. If the "bossy" person does not take the hint, people may pack up and leave. This is an effective sanction in cases where co-ordination is necessary. Behaviour which Native people consider "pushy" or "bossy" would hardly be noticed by Whites who feel that Native people are inclined to be too ready to take offence at imagined slights.

Native people are normally very reluctant to accept employment which implies use of authority. This applies for instance to such positions as Dog-Officer or Assistants to Game Officers. Native RCMP Special Constables dislike being involved in forceful arrests or other similar actions. There is evidence of considerable anxiety and ambivalence toward the use of authority in the occupational as well as the administrative system. A few have effectively adjusted to such offices, but most express concern and dislike for the authoritarian acts they may be compelled to perform. This becomes

especially apparent during drinking sessions where they often become the objects of hostility released by intoxication and in intoxication are often observed to verbalize anxieties about their positions.

Native people tend to personalize the actions of a person in authority. There is little recognition that a teacher, welfare officer, policemen, foreman etc. acts in a certain way by virtue of the definition of his office. His actions are believed to be an expression of his personal like or dislike for specific individuals, Eskimos, Native people, members of a certain clique and so on.

Lack of "leadership abilities" and organisational and public speaking skills among Native people is important. The negative evaluation of the manipulative features associated with these by Whites seems to constitute a more basic cultural difference between the two segments. Native people who are successful in White terms in these areas are considered with suspicion and even dislike by other Native people. The manipulative characteristics associated with White concepts of "leadership" offend Native concepts of self-determination and non-interference, but the White "leaders" may still be acknowledged as being necessary. The result is hostile dependency; dependency insofar as White leaders are seen as necessary, hostile insofar as White conceptions of leadership roles elicit negative responses from Native people.

The most palpable division within the Native sector is that separating the Permanent Employees and all other Native people. They are disliked and distrusted as being "stingy" and "mean", a reference to their thrift and tendency to opt out of Native sharing patterns; as "those great high Christians", a reference to their Pentecostal connections, also suggesting hypocrisy; as "those Black Alaskans", a reference to the fact that many are highly acculturated Alaskan Coastal Eskimos, recent

arrivals to the Delta; as "Uncle Toms", "White man's Eskimos", and so on. It is felt they curry favour with Whites, largely for personal gain. They are disliked too for adopting those characteristics of White leaders which are considered by most Native people to be intolerably aggressive. They are "leaders" largely without followers - "leaders" in the eyes of the Whites but not in the eyes of most Native people. In consequence, Delta Native Permanent Employees are situationally condemned to frustration, for while they may aspire to become leaders of collective Native action, their inevitable alignment with Whites effectively "de-fuses" or de-activates any potential action of this kind.

Agreements and Promises

The management of agreements and promises among Native people further illustrates concepts of self-determination. It is not uncommon for a man to appear for an arranged meeting to find the other has already been and left or doesn't come at all. It is not considered inappropriate for a person to make unilateral changes of plans for in making the original agreement it was based on the premise that a better alternative would not present itself in the meantime. The person left behind is not usually upset by such changes in plans, for he is at liberty to have done the same thing. People may agree to assist others for a particular purpose, but when the time comes, find themselves occupied with other things of greater interest. It is accepted that the present interest may take precedence over the original arrangement and that a person has the right to judge which should claim his attention. This may extend to formal agreements such as rental payments, loan repayments or credit instalments. To be rigidly bound by agreements and promises is, antithetical to maintenance of control over one's own actions and affairs. This does not say that Native people consistently avoid or abrogate commitments

to others; it simply means that one may change arrangements unilaterally if need arises. This lends a certain flexibility or even unpredictability to a Native person's actions which are consistent with the values placed on control of one's own affairs but which many Whites find bewildering and annoying.

Whites are almost universally critical of the apparent incapacity of Native people to keep appointments and to report to work on time. For the Native to allow anyone to specify when, where and how one will perform an act is to surrender a degree of one's valued autonomy to others. Appeals by Whites to a Native person's sense of duty often serves only to accentuate the situation for Native people since White conceptions of "duty" imply control by others over one's actions. Not all Native people miss appointments or fail to report for work on time but many express dissatisfaction with the White's emphasis on punctuality. Many accept the fact that sanctions may follow for repeated lack of punctuality and behave accordingly but, at the same time, resent the White demands. The Native people also express resentment at the insistence of Whites on rigid scheduling of work activities. They resent not being able to pack up and undertake some other appealing or pressing activity at a moment's notice. They feel that if they are prepared to give up the wages for the time involved, Whites should accept this. Apart from cases where a person's work is obviously essential for the completion of a task, Native people feel that Whites are inclined to overemphasize the rigidity of work schedules as a matter of principle. Some Whites, however, insist that Native people must learn a sense of time, of duty and the value of a dollar and accordingly insist on rather rigid work schedules. This White emphasis conflicts with the Native peoples' concept of self-determination. Typical Native protests to this include withdrawal, minimal or token

fulfilment of tasks or in extreme cases of quitting the job. The standard reactions to threats to self-determination are withdrawal behaviour or simply termination of the relationship at the first opportunity. On other occasions, the response may be violent.

Occupational Aspirations

It is commonly assumed that the Native people have what are often called "low aspirations". This means, it is believed, that they prefer outdoor, seasonal, unskilled jobs, in small traditional settlements in the bush and that they show a distaste for indoor, professional urban-type, steady paced occupations which demand prolonged training. It is believed that most Native people prefer self-employment to working for someone else (especially large scale impersonal situations), and in general have a fundamentally different scale of evaluation of occupational interests and reward. These characteristics, it is also generally believed, derive from distinctive aboriginal cultures. General failure of the Native people so far to penetrate the full range of occupations available, their tendency to cluster in unskilled, service jobs of low and sporadic monetary return and their apparent reluctance to undertake intensive or specialized training in order to improve their individual or collective lot are thereby explained as predictable responses of people who operate by different cultural rules, have different motivations and are subject to distinctive Native urges. Undoubtedly Native people do have characteristic ways of thinking and doing things. It is also true they generally occupy the very lowest occupational categories on the prestige scale, have a high drop-out rate from education and training programs and form a strong component of the Canadian poverty segment. To say they occupy this position by preference is to commit a basic fallacy of confusing statistical trends with cultural patterns.

The validity of some of these assumptions has been tested by a questionnaire administered to Native and White students to elicit their evaluations of occupational prestige, individual occupational aspirations and preferred working conditions. In the ranking of occupations, Native students tended to rank semi-professional and highly skilled occupations in a similar way to Whites but rank the classic professional occupations (lawyer, teacher, clergyman, etc.) much lower than Whites. Occupations most intimately associated with government training projects even if they involve skilled jobs were considerably down-graded by Native students in favour of other occupational alternatives open to any ethnic affiliation since the former involved only Native people. Certain stereotyped jobs were ranked high by Native students - typist, office worker, nurse's aide, radio operator, store clerk, airline stewardess, airplane pilot, settlement administrator. It was felt that these epitomize the sort of occupation identified with Whites with some not only White identified but successfully occupied by Native people. Many Native students, although not particularly well informed about urban centres outside the Delta or about southern cities nevertheless seemed to express a preference for what they believed to be a "citified" way of life. Although many expressed much pleasure in life on the land, it was a conditional thing and as a way of life seemed to be quite categorically rejected.

Analysis of responses show that Native and White students give most preference to working for a large business and least to self-employment, although it would seem that Native people (with the exception of Indians) while rejecting self-employment, do not do so as strongly as Whites. Native students also looked more favourably on working for small companies than Whites. Native students showed least preference to outdoor work (although Eskimo and Metis seemed to give slightly more

preference to it than either Indians or Whites); giving only moderate preference for indoor work; and greatest preference to work providing an opportunity for both outdoor and indoor activity.

However, these responses only constitute broad contours of evaluation which represent the central tendencies of preference characteristics of the ethnic groups in the study. They tell us nothing of what the preferences of individuals, their aspirations and expectations for themselves might be. Rather, they show us the terms of reference within which we may expect persons to make their individual choice. Of note is also that although many Native parents frequently express ambivalence about their children attending school, this is probably not related to a desire on their part for their children to take up traditional or unskilled jobs. Rather, they seem to express a desire for their children to be employed in semi-professional, clerical or skilled occupations.

Aspiration and Reality

In theory, all residents of the NWT are completely equal in their access to education and massive assistance is provided for Native people but there are many practical difficulties. Most Native people fail to complete secondary school education - the drop-out rate of Native students at legal school - leaving age (16 years) is extremely high. For the Native persons who drops out of school, there are three alternatives -

1. Leave school and drift, taking seasonal unskilled jobs, depending on social assistance and marginal land dependence in between.
2. Enter more or less immediately after school-leaving a Post-school training program. The drop-out rate from these programs is extremely high and very few proceed to continuous employment in the field in which they were trained.

3. After a period of drifting, enter an Adult Course. The net effect is that most of the persons in this category are still drifting.

For those few who complete secondary school, they appear to fit readily into the employment system of southern Canada. The social and cultural factors which lead to relative lack of success in the school and employment systems by Native people are complex and requires an examination of the basic structural principles of Canadian society and the assumptions on which it is based, particularly as they are revealed in the school and occupational system of the Mackenzie Delta. The school system has become institutionalized as perhaps the most important, socially approved and legitimate means of upward social mobility. For those among the Whites who do not "make it" in the system, a series of other alternatives are open which are also moderately efficient (if less valued) than accreditation by an education system. For the Native person who is unable to complete school - who drops out or is rejected without a mark of accreditation, his chances for a desired job are practically nil, as are his chances of social mobility, for the school is his only legitimate passage to them. Other than through the school, only a mere handful of Native people have been able to make a bid for mobility and achieve it. Most Native people seem incapable of talking about school without talking about jobs - or jobs without reference to formal educational requirements. They see the school as the means to a good job. The Native person's occupational choice is more than just a job aspiration - it is a bid for social mobility and he sees that the chief means of mobility is the school. In fact, his own aspirations and those of his parents are cast in the image of the school. Unfortunately, "adult education" and "up-grading courses" now being offered are seen principally as a means to give the "underprivileged" a second chance to achieve the school accreditation missed on the first round and is considered second rate.

The mobility between Native and White segments is theoretically possible for only a few Native people and practically possible for a mere handful. The confinement of channels of mobility largely to the school system serves to foster and then frustrate the chosen life-goals of probably the majority of the Delta Native students. Frustration of this kind occurs to a certain extent throughout Canada, but it seems to reach critical proportions among her marginal and poverty groups, of which the Mackenzie Delta are one.