

SCOMM

#6: 24

control case—i.e., a country which is *not* "developing"—the Philippines turns out not only to have evaluations of jobs and occupations that correlate highly with the U.S. evaluations (and, indeed, also with the Pakistani evaluations) but also to exhibit strong economic growth as measured by index numbers of industrial production. Coefficients of rank correlation in the ratings of 15 occupations as between the Philippines and the U.S., Pakistan and the U.S., and the Philippines and Pakistan are +.965, +.875, and +.918 respectively—and all are significant at the one percent level.

CONCLUSIONS

For reasons which have been discussed throughout the paper, the conclusions which can be drawn from the data reported here (and from the analysis of them) are necessarily limited. We have found that in both Pakistan

and, for a smaller number of occupations, in the Philippines—both of which show clear evidence of vigorous economic development—there is strong similarity in the ways university students evaluate jobs and occupations and also that similarities exist between job and occupation ratings in each of them and the ratings of jobs and occupations made by a broader cross-section of the population of the United States, which we have taken as standard for an economically "developed" country. In the case of the rank ordering of 15 selected occupations, correlations were high and significant. This seems to support the proposition, though, again, it does not demonstrate it conclusively, that evaluations of jobs and occupations, at least by university students in developing countries, may be a useful measure of capacity for rapid modernization in terms of economic growth or development.

HOW BAFFIN ISLAND ESKIMO HAVE LEARNED TO USE ALCOHOL

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ABSTRACT

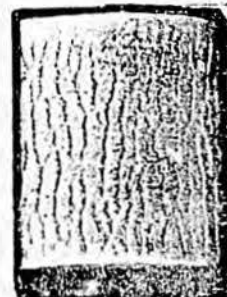
Eskimo in Frobisher Bay, a new Baffin Island town, became legally entitled to drink alcoholic beverages in 1960. They embraced the opportunity with alacrity, one result being many arrests for drunkenness. To curb drinking, a law in 1962 limited alcohol sales. Public drunkenness has since declined and older Eskimo have begun to learn a drinking pattern resembling that of their Eurocanadian neighbors. Eskimo drinking shows few signs of being deficiency motivated. Men drink for the pleasure it gives them and consumption correlates with economic and social status, being one of the marks of a full-fledged townsman. Regular drinkers furnish only a small part of the trouble with which police must cope.

INTRODUCTION

Only rarely do social scientists arrive on the scene of their study while a theoretically significant, or otherwise important, cultural experiment is in progress. We were thus fortunate in being able to learn about the end of one phase of alcoholic drinking and observe the start of another, while studying other aspects of the newly established white-Eskimo town of Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island, one of the largest urban centers in the Cana-

dian Arctic.¹ Here, where Eskimo culture is undergoing especially rapid and thoroughgoing

¹ Our six months field work in Frobisher Bay, from March through most of August, 1963, was supported contractually by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Canada. We owe much to many people for aiding us in our study of drinking, but here we acknowledge only the valuable cooperation extended by Mr. Harold Zuckerman, social worker, and Mrs. T. Allured, manager of the Territorial liquor store in Frobisher Bay.



evolution, we could reconstruct how a curious, intelligent, and adventurous people suddenly introduced to legal drinking at first eagerly embraced the new source of stimulation and then, aided by new laws and other forces of social control, partly recoiled. When we left them, they were in the process of devising another style of drinking, whose outlines we will describe, though without knowing how final it will be.

The Eskimo response to alcohol is theoretically significant for the student of human behavior because it helps to correct the undue emphasis consistently placed on stress and other deficiency motivations as explanations of drinking.² To reason that Eskimo rushed to use alcohol because it came to them simultaneously with stressful and wholesale, rapid culture change is to apply theory in a stereotyped fashion, quite without regard for facts. Contrary to what we heard before reaching Frobisher Bay, Eskimo culture change despite its rapid nature and far-reaching extent has not generally traumatized and disorganized the Eskimo who settled in that community. We began our research with the advice that drinking and offenses stemming from drinking represented two kinds of deviant responses to pervasive psychological stress but discovered drinking by Frobisher Bay Eskimo in general not to be primarily deficiency motivated.

Increasingly the anthropologist works in communities where the abundance of written records allows him to collect quantitative data. Of course, he can also build such precision into his field work by designing suitable methods to collect quantifiable data, though counting would be wasteful if his problem did not especially benefit from quantification. There is no virtue in counting for its own sake.

In Frobisher Bay, a town of about 2,000 persons where some 900 Eskimo have settled, administrative records are accumulating rapidly. They were ideal in allowing us to follow changes in response to an administrative order implicitly designed to control excessive drinking by Eskimo, who only two years previously had won the legal right to drink on the same

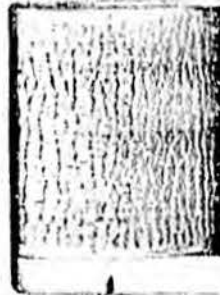
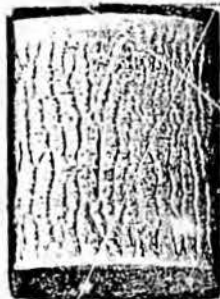
² Cf. George D. Spindler, "Alcohol Symposium," *American Anthropologist*, 66 (1964), pp. 341-384.

basis as their non-Eskimo peers in the Northwest Territories.

THE TOWN

The town itself, at the head of the Bay discovered in 1576, came into being in 1942 when the United States Air Force located a weather station nearby. In 1943 construction began on an air strip. After a temporary absence, United States Air Force personnel returned in 1951 and Frobisher Bay became an important site supporting shipment of military material to Thule, Greenland. In 1952 a renewed building program got underway, including construction of a radar station, and in 1955 the place became a center of activity for sending supplies and men to the eastern end of the D. E. W. line, then under construction. In that year Canada's Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (D. N. A.) began construction of housing for government-employed Eskimo and non-Eskimo personnel. Since then many more houses have been built for Eskimo, some on a cooperative basis, and other facilities have been added. The place increasingly attracted south Baffin Island Eskimo, but the years of heaviest immigration came with the intensified construction of 1957, a year when the Eskimo population totalled about 500 persons.

Eskimo draw livelihood from four main sources: wage labor; full-time hunting and trapping (by a variable number of men, including those who rarely seek wage work and others who have temporarily lost jobs); home industries, including sewing and carving with stone imported from southern Quebec; social assistance, a source of income that runs high in winter for the unemployed and for full-time hunters, and the government-operated Rehabilitation Centre, which in part accommodates disabled Eskimo who have come from various parts of the eastern Arctic to learn new skills that will enable them to survive in their home settlements. Unable to return to a strenuous life on the land, rehabilitants must be prepared for less active careers. Other rehabilitants are social problems, including promiscuous girls whom the court recommended to the Centre. Eskimo live in three dispersed neighborhoods connected by a bus. In Apex Hill rehabilitants live together with most of the Eskimo who are employed by D. N. A. Here the largest and



most modern houses are to be found, including privately owned co-op dwellings. In Ikhaluit, there are a number of full-time hunters live as well as Eskimo employed by other organizations, houses vary from self-made, multi-roomed shacks to prefabricated dwellings bought from the Government. At the air base—where eight Eskimo families live in an apartmentlike building next door to Eurocanadian neighbors—the government offices, airport, stores, and the main school are located. Non-Eskimo also live in Apex Hill.

Start of Legal Drinking

Prior to January, 1960, Frobisher Bay Eskimo saw or heard of their Eurocanadian military and civilian neighbors using alcohol, but only illegally could they themselves possess and consume it. Then, in 1960, in consequence of a far-reaching court decision that freed all Canadian Eskimo from discriminatory injunctions concerning drinking, they acquired precisely the same privileges as the white man. They can go to the counter of the Territorial liquor store on any of several afternoons and evenings, show their permit, and order wine, rum, whiskey, gin, or beer (including ale). Nothing can be sold by the liquor store except to a permit holder. Almost any evening they can sit down in the Rustic Room, a hotel tavern, and drink beer or hard liquor.

What happened when alcohol at not too steep prices³ became legally available to Eskimo in Frobisher Bay? Records as well as knowledgeable informants agree that a number of Eskimo, both men and women, embraced the new opportunity with the same alacrity and enthusiasm they showed for other promising, new experiences. They purchased mostly beer and, lacking a tested pattern of drinking that would have regulated the speed and amount consumed at any one time, drank it without full awareness of consequences. The results are described as disastrous. For example, between 1959 and 1960, total court convictions (Eskimo and non-Eskimo) jumped from 53 to 155, and in 1961 reached 190,⁴ the overwhelming proportion of

³ In 1963 a bottle of good scotch whiskey cost \$6.75; a bottle of sherry, \$1.85; a dozen cans of beer, \$3.25.

⁴ Harold Zuckerman, "Report of the Use of Liquor by the Eskimo People at Frobisher Bay," typescript, 1962.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF ESKIMO OFFENSES BY MONTH FROM DECEMBER, 1961 TO AUGUST 24, 1963 (21 MONTHS)*

| Months | Liquor Offenses | Criminal Offenses | Other | Total |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| 1961 | | | | |
| December | 27 | 7 | — | 34 |
| 1962 | | | | |
| January | 7 | — | — | 7 |
| February | 6 | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| March | 6 | 2 | — | 8 |
| April | 10 | 9 | 1 | 20 |
| May | 14 | 3 | — | 17 |
| June | 4 | 1 | — | 5 |
| July | 16 | 1 | — | 17 |
| August | 6 | 2 | — | 8 |
| September | 10 | 1 | — | 11 |
| October | 2 | 5 | — | 7 |
| November | 5 | 2 | — | 7 |
| December | 4 | — | — | 4 |
| 1963 | | | | |
| January | 2 | — | — | 2 |
| February | — | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| March | 4 | 3 | — | 7 |
| April | 1 | — | — | 1 |
| May | 14 | 1 | 2 | 17 |
| June | 11 | 1 | 3 | 15 |
| July | 5 | 1 | — | 6 |
| August | 1 | 4 | — | 5 |
| TOTAL | 155 | 45 | 4 | 204 |

*Brackets cover comparable periods of time, from December to August.

persons convicted being Eskimo. Most of the arrests reportedly stemmed from offenses against the Territorial Liquor Ordinance, as they still do today. (Table 1) The increase in convictions far outran the increase in population, which rose from 624 Eskimo in 1958 to 761 in 1961. The social worker's report compares the first half of 1961 with 48 legal convictions, 40 of them Eskimo and six percent falling under the Liquor Ordinance, with the second half of that year when 68 persons were convicted, 65 of them Eskimo and 70 percent coming under the Ordinance. He estimates that over 90 percent of all offenses brought to court during the five years prior to March, 1962, stemmed wholly or partly from the "excessive use of alcohol." Violence is given as a specific "concomitant" of heavy drinking, including violence between spouses. Drinking also led adults to miss work, perform inadequately on the job, and eventually to lose their jobs and so miss payments on houses purchased from the government. Drinking promoted sexual promiscuity, sexual assault, and damage to houses,

cars, and garage floors. Due to guilt over drinking, he writes, people remained away from church, non-drinkers looking down on drinkers and making them feel unwelcome. Intoxication stimulated public disturbances and noise, frequently kept up till the early hours of the morning.⁵ The town took various measures to curb excessive drinking. Police vigilance, fines, and jail sentences constituted pressure to control alcoholic indulgence. The social worker complained that the Eskimo fails to learn from such punitive measures. When he tried case work with people who drank heavily, he found it to be effective for only short periods of time. Also, each Saturday afternoon a small number of men who drank heavily attended group meetings at which, sometimes, a doctor spoke on drinking or the men played cards and checkers. However, the welfare officer questioned the effectiveness of those meetings. Town people also received literature written in Eskimo, describing difficulties that could arise from excessive use of alcohol and explaining the relationship between drinking and offenses committed against the law. Sometime before March, 1962 the superintendent of the Rehabilitation Centre (a man fluent in Eskimo) helped write and produce six radio plays, most of which dealt with drinking and its connection with violence and other social problems. The local station aired the tape-recorded plays, which presented drinking with an unequivocally moral tone, giving drinkers and the tavern a disreputable air.

We did not manage to secure figures of actual alcoholic consumption going back to 1960, but we know that 71 licensed purchasers in a population of approximately 380 adults took, 6,588, 5,520, 3,516, and 4,200 twelve-ounce cans of beer from the liquor store in May, June, July, and August, 1962, respectively, not counting

⁵To-hio Yatsushiro's manuscript notes obtained at Frobisher Bay and his paper, "The Changing Eskimo Economy," presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 1960 report drinking, theft, marital discord, deviant sexual behavior, gambling, and other signs of psychological strain and social disorganization to have been provoking concern as far back as 1958, that is, before even the legalization of drinking. He blames these behaviors on tension engulging the Eskimo in their situation of extensive culture change.

what they drank or took home from the tavern. In addition they purchased 65 ounces of wines and spirits in May and 25 ounces both in July and August, 1962, from the liquor store, the only outlet from which wines and spirits could legally be ordered and paid for, to be picked up by the purchaser 3 weeks later.

Salute An Administrative Order

Where educational and punitive measures to combat the Eskimo's enthusiastic response to alcohol reportedly proved discouraging, two measures administratively introduced in September, 1962, impress Eskimo and non-Eskimo observers as having been considerably more effective. Under the first regulation, the tavern could no longer sell beer to be taken off the premises. Under the second, customers at the liquor store had to wait three weeks before they could pick up their paid-for beer or any other alcoholic commodity. Although unpopular with some local Eurocanadians, who have circulated a petition to repeal the waiting period on beer, these measures have greatly pleased officials and police with the way they have apparently slowed down Eskimo drinking. Beer taken from the liquor store fell from 4,200 cans sold in August to 540 in September. In October, November, and December respectively, 71 licensed Eskimo purchasers took home from that outlet only 864, 1,188, and 1,140 cans of beer, but wines and spirits rose to 245, 750, and 565 ounces in those three months respectively. By May, June, and July, 1963, licensed purchasers had dropped to 32 and they carried home only 864, 1,032, and 660 cans of beer respectively and 190, 425, and 80 ounces of wines and spirits.

Public drunkenness also declined after September, 1962. Offenses against the Liquor Ordinance brought before the justice of the peace by the R. C. M. Police, which totaled 96 from December, 1961, to August, 1962, dropped to 42 between December, 1962 and August, 1963. (Table 1) Criminal offenses also fell, from 26 in the first period to 11 in the second period. Police and others connect these drops to the decline in excessive drinking. We rarely saw drunks abroad, so that the few intoxicated men who came late to the Saturday night dance (after an evening at the tavern) proved noteworthy.

(4)

Undoubtedly Eskimo have altered their use of alcohol, partly as a result of an administrative act and partly because they have decided not to make much use of the waiting period on beer and spirits. The decline in arrests, however, can't be confidently linked to the influence of the administrative order. There are other variables to be considered, about which it is difficult to secure any, much less precise, information. For example, did the police consciously or unconsciously relax their vigilance after the waiting period ensued for beer and the tavern ceased to make take-home sales? Another possibility, for which partial evidence will be presented later, is that Eskimo learned to modify their use of alcohol, drinking more cautiously. Some even ceased to drink, voluntarily and involuntarily. They learned not to make public appearances when they were intoxicated, the town's taxi system helping them get home from the tavern. The drinking pattern which we observed during our six months in Frobisher Bay differs considerably from the alarming pattern reported earlier. Even allowing for some degree of exaggeration in the earlier materials, evidence indicates that a change has occurred. To be safe, the dynamics of that change may be partly ascribed to more effective external regulations and advice and partly to personal learning.

Extending the waiting period to beer unquestionably reduced Eskimo patronage of the town's Territorial liquor store. We have comparable data on the number of Eskimo permit holders (all male) in the four months from April (when new annual permits become mandatory) to July 31, 1962—before the waiting period had been extended—and from April to July 25, 1963, after the waiting period. In the former four months, 78 Eskimo received permits from the liquor store; in the second, only 32. Apparently most permits are applied for close to the beginning of the permit year, that is, soon after April 1. We conclude this from the fact that between August 1, 1962, and March 31, 1963, only nine new permit holders joined the 78 who had received theirs between April and July, 1962. Presumably an equally small proportion of permit holders will be added to the 32 who got theirs prior to July 25, 1963, indicating a drop in store patronage by Eskimo.

Why have Eskimo failed to patronize the Territorial liquor store to the same extent after the waiting period began for beer as they did before? A western Arctic Eskimo could not explain why drinkers didn't order beverages three weeks in advance of delivery. He simply treated the idea as preposterous when he said people want to drink when they want to drink. In other words, for many Eskimo drinking is

TABLE 2. VALUE OF PURCHASES BY ESKIMO AT THE TERRITORIAL LIQUOR STORE BY MONTH, FROM JULY, 1962 TO JULY, 1963

| Month | Remarks | Wine and Spirits | Beer | Total |
|----------------|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1962 | | | | |
| July..... | | \$ 6.00 | \$ 952.25 | \$ 958.25 |
| August..... | | 6.00 | 1,137.50 | 1,143.50 |
| September..... | Waiting period extended. | 6.00 | 146.25 | 152.25 |
| October..... | | 59.05* | 234.00* | 293.05 |
| November..... | Purchases for Christmas season? | 169.35 | 321.75 | 491.10 |
| December..... | Purchases for Christmas season? | 138.40 | 308.75 | 447.15 |
| 1963 | | | | |
| January..... | | 93.00 | 208.00 | 301.00 |
| February..... | A murder occurred. | 84.20 | 263.25 | 347.45 |
| March..... | Effect of murder? | 33.70 | 159.25 | 192.95 |
| April..... | | 74.95 | 165.75 | 240.70 |
| May..... | | 36.30 | 231.00 | 270.30 |
| June..... | | 98.60 | 279.50 | 378.10 |
| July..... | Summer vacations in coastal camps. | 19.35 | 178.75 | 198.10 |
| | TOTAL | \$824.90 | \$4,589.00 | \$5,413.90 |

*Note how beer sales dropped after the extension of the waiting period while wine and spirits sales rose.

(5)

highly spontaneous. When it comes to alcoholic beverages, they do not anticipate wanting to drink three weeks hence. Unlike some whites, they do not keep liquor on hand to entertain guests. In fact they do little ceremonial drinking. Such behavior with respect to alcohol cannot be ascribed to an inability to plan or to a reluctance to project wants into the future, for Eskimo who leave town to spend vacations on the land do shop for the future. Even in town, families buy enough groceries at a time to last for several days. Also, some Eskimo have bought alcohol for delivery three weeks hence and continue to do so; undoubtedly more will learn to shop in this fashion, if they wish to drink at home or give a private party.

Table 2 (to which we will refer again) shows that extending the waiting period to beer sales brought a big drop in the amount of money Eskimo spent at the liquor store, especially for beer. The sale of wine and spirits rose somewhat after September, 1962 and for the next eight months continued to remain up, suggesting that the waiting period helped to alter drinking habits slightly. But we need more data to verify this hypothesis.

The Eskimo's Mode of Drinking

Eurocanadian power and responsibility dominate Eskimo life in Frobisher Bay. Therefore, Eurocanadians ultimately control the flow of alcohol to Eskimo townsmen. Eurocanadians sell beverages; a federal government administrative officer acts as liquor inspector, and police enforce a Eurocanadian system of legal norms that specify where, how, and to whom alcohol may or may not be sold or given. In fact, those Eskimo who are concerned about drinking hold the Eurocanadian responsible for what they deem to be troubles promoted by alcohol.

Unlike Kwakiutl Indians, Frobisher Bay Eskimo do not drink to assert equality with whites nor do they flaunt scoff-law drinking at them.⁶ As a group these Eskimo do not have a seriously antagonistic or competitive relationship with Eurocanadians that would give such drinking point, nor are they hostile toward the police, as natives and Métis in the Mackenzie

⁶ Helen Codere, "The Amiable Side of Kwakiutl Life: The Potlatch and the Play Potlatch," *American Anthropologist*, 58 (1956), pp. 334-351; p. 497.

IGORÉO TOURISM?
Valley,⁷ though such attitudes may be forming in young men just quitting their teenage years. Alcohol compares with other sources of happiness that Eskimo can tap in Frobisher Bay. Their attitude toward it partakes of the same appreciation for town life that the people reserve for warm houses, movies, bingo games, the security of the Rehabilitation Centre, and the white man's food, especially candy and soda. Eskimo informants put the matter similarly. They say that people drink because it makes them feel good, or to become happy. We conclude that Eskimo drink to realize the effect of alcohol, to promote an optimal degree of intoxication, which instigates good feeling, relaxation, and a sense of gaiety. Some drinkers, though, are spoken of as "never happy when drunk" since they grow angry and violent.

Two views frequently reiterated in Frobisher Bay by administrators ascribe Eskimo drinking to boredom ("the people have little to occupy their free time") and to pressures imposed by town life and culture change, with which people cannot cope adequately and from which they seek escape. We see the Eskimo as far from bored in town and, as we have already said, Eskimo have successfully adjusted to their new life, welcoming rather than deploring many town conditions. Officials also view Eskimo drinking as "impulsive," but that word describes rather than explains; though it well explains why store purchases of beer declined following the three-week rule.

While Eskimo drink to realize happiness, ambivalently they also conceive of alcohol as bad and drunkenness as dangerous. They share the North American's traumatized, puritanical attitudes toward alcohol, attitudes that picture drinking as a special category of behavior because it is fraught with menace or connotes depravity. Extremists, of course, hold that any amount of drinking is sinful—and we met such people in Frobisher Bay—Eurocanadians and

⁷ Ronald Cohen, *An Anthropological Survey of Communities in the Mackenzie-Slave Lake Region of Canada*, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Publication NCRC-62-3 (1962), p. 84; Donald H. J. Clairmont, *Deviance Among Indians and Eskimos in Aklavik, N. W. T.*, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Publication NCRC-63-9 (1963), p. 54.

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AN ALL-TIME HIGH

Eskimo. More moderate people warn about the danger of alcohol to children, to drivers, and for addiction; they fear lest it unloose latent sexual and aggressive impulses. In some degree, every Eskimo, moderate, social drinker probably carries these attitudes. Presumably, they enable a moderate drinker to regulate the amount he takes at any one time. In the tavern one night a man reported that a friend, a professional hunter, had warned him that after ten years or so of heavy drinking his hands would become too shaky to hold a gun steadily and so he would have to cease hunting. One night in the tavern, an Eskimo relaxed by considerable beer described somebody else as "a very good man," one reason being that he never drank. A stereotype in Eskimo ideology connects drinking with violent aggression. People blame it for a murder that took place in 1963. At a meeting of the Community Council in June, 1962, the Eskimo chairman described liquor and excessive Eskimo drinking as the worst problem confronting Frobisher Bay. (Incidentally, the Council chairman drinks socially. At his 1962 Christmas party, to which he invited many kinsmen and of which we saw movies, he served champagne.)

Unfavorable attitudes toward alcohol, reinforced by fear of arrest and by the undisguised reproaches with which some Eurocanadians greet Eskimo who drink too much, help Eskimo to regulate their own drinking. A frequent drinker, who is also an elected member of the Community Council, told us that he drinks only until he is a little happy, but doesn't go beyond that. He added that drinking beyond a safe point results in violence. A western Arctic Eskimo said he directly encourages more men to adopt such self-regulation. People in Frobisher Bay, he explained, have not had a chance to observe the style of drinking that goes on "at the Lord Elgin" (a popular hotel in Ottawa) but only the kind that construction workers do.

As part of Eskimo's more general readiness to allocate responsibility to Eurocanadians, most Eskimo quite willingly allow Eurocanadians to regulate their drinking. They accept the waiter's refusal to serve them with more beer once they are already intoxicated. No Eskimo openly disapproved of the three-week waiting period for beer, and some drinkers approved it. A few persons have even asked

the welfare officer to inform the tavern owner not to serve them when they go there. One Eskimo employee allows his white supervisor to give him a note to the innkeeper on nights when he need not go on duty. There are a few Eskimo who voluntarily appealed to the court for interdiction.

Sources of Alcohol

Eskimo drinkers secure practically all their alcoholic beverages from two local outlets, the government-owned liquor store—from which no beverage moves except to a permit holder—and the government-licensed tavern.

Despite organized opposition by a pressure group, in which a few Eskimo aligned themselves with a few Eurocanadians, the Territorial liquor store began business in September, 1961, serving only permit holders.⁸ Most Eskimo permit holders during the period under survey have been mature men. (Table 3) Mature men and heads of families are in the best position to afford alcoholic beverages, for they hold the steady jobs. Such data support the interpretation that alcoholic drinking in Frobisher Bay is not primarily motivated by deficiency needs, like stress induced through drastic culture change.

Most permit holders actively use them. Seventy-two out of 87 used their 1962-1963 permits, and all 32 who received 1963-1964 permits by July 25, 1963, had used theirs by that date. Mostly they use their permits to buy beer. The strategic significance of extending the three-week waiting period to beer may once more be gauged from the fact that only 30, or 42 percent, of the 72 Eskimo who used their permits in

⁸ Volume of sales by the liquor store favors non-Eskimo. Out of 2,218 dozen cans of beer sold from January to July, 1963, 1,760 dozen cans (or 79 percent of the total) went to non-Eskimo and 458 to Eskimo, although non-Eskimo adults don't exceed Eskimo adults in the town population by any such proportion. Undoubtedly non-Eskimo bought far more wines and especially spirits than Eskimo, who rarely buy such alcoholic beverages. Total beverage sales in Frobisher Bay amounted to \$180,735.85 in 1962-63, according to the *Annual Report, Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, 1962-63*, p. 19. Between July, 1962, and July, 1963, 74 Eskimo permit holders spent a total of \$5,413.90 at the liquor store, an average of \$73.16 each. Of course, many drinkers undoubtedly frequented the tavern and spent additional money, of which we have no record.

TABLE 3. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF ESKIMO WHO BOUGHT ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES FROM GOVERNMENT LIQUOR STORE (APRIL 1, 1962 TO JULY, 1963)

| Age Category | Number |
|--------------|--------|
| 20-24 | 11 |
| 25-29 | 15 |
| 30-34 | 17 |
| 35-39 | 8 |
| 40-44 | 11 |
| 45-49 | 4 |
| 50-54 | 3 |
| 55-59 | 1 |
| Unknown | 4 |
| TOTAL | 74 |

*Twenty-one is the minimum age for securing a permit.

1962-63 bought any wine and spirits (and hence waited three weeks to pick up their paid-for orders); 71 out of the 72 permit users bought some beer. Up to July 25, 1963, only 13 of 32 Eskimo with permits (about the same proportion) bought wine and spirits and 30 bought some beer. However, the volume of wine and spirits sold is over what it was before the waiting period began for beer, amounting to 405, 460, 140, 425, 190, 425, and 80 ounces in the first seven months of 1963 respectively.

NOTE?

Table 2 indicates how Eskimo liquor buying fluctuates from month to month and, apparently, from season to season. We are not sure why, but one reason may be that Eskimo lack a firm pattern of social drinking, which would keep fairly steady the amount and type of alcoholic beverages consumed from month to month. We list other possible reasons under the column headed "Remarks" but cannot at this time test those hunches with concrete data. One hypothesis we did manage partly to test. We reasoned that November buying was a consequence of the approaching holiday season. If this were true, then heavy sales would cluster toward the end of that month. Available data for wines and spirits bear this out. Mainly, though, it turns out that a few sophisticated individuals (who undoubtedly had Christmas in mind) did much of the late November wine and spirit buying. The Community Council chairman, for example, spent \$20.00 on 4 bottles of champagne and another \$16.00 for assorted wine, whiskey, rum, and liqueur. We lack precise enough data to test the hypothesis with beer buying. HI SES → HI COWS. (8)

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TABLE 4. AMOUNTS SPENT AT THE TERRITORY LIQUOR STORE BY ESKIMO PURCHASERS, FROM JULY, 1962 TO JULY, 1963

| Number of Purchasers | Total Amount Spent |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | \$275-\$299 |
| 1 | 250-274 |
| 1 | 225-249 |
| 4 | 200-224 |
| 2 | 175-199 |
| 4 | 150-174 |
| 5 | 125-149 |
| 11 | 100-124 |
| 7 | 75-99 |
| 19 | 50-74 |
| 19 | 25-49 |
| 74 | 0-24 |

Table 4 shows considerable variation among the liquor purchasers. Some men spent as little as \$6.50 in the 13-month period; one went as high as \$299.60 in his purchases. Over half the purchasers spent less than \$50.00.

If we categorize the Eskimo permit users as either high or low purchasers, and define a high purchaser as someone who spent above the average (\$73.16), then we count 29 high purchasers. We can match these with 29 individuals selected simply because they fall at the opposite end of the scale, having spent the smallest amounts at the liquor store. The two categories diverge in certain social characteristics as Table 5 demonstrates. High purchasers, who may live in Apex Hill, Ikhaluit, or at the airbase, are most often steadily employed, wage-earning heads of families in their 30's and early 40's. The Eskimo community's leaders are well represented among high purchasers. Generalizing, we can say that the high purchasers are men who have closely assimilated town life. Tutelage has made them familiar with the liquor store and even with deferred buying of alcohol, for note that in this category only eight permit holders failed to renew their permits in 1963, after the waiting period had begun for beer, while low purchasers failed to renew their permits. High purchasers show somewhat better ability to drink and yet stay out of trouble. Between late 1961 and 1963 they appeared in court less frequently than low purchasers. Although drinking undoubtedly encourages offenses against the law (specifically against the Liquor Ordinance), the 14 high

TABLE 5. COMPARISON BETWEEN 29 "HIGH" AND 29 "LOW" ESKIMO PURCHASERS AT THE TERRITORIAL LIQUOR STORE FROM JULY, 1962 TO JULY, 1963*

| | High Purchasers | Low Purchasers |
|--|-----------------|----------------|
| Status | | |
| Heads of families (male)..... | 27 | 19 |
| Unmarried men..... | 1 | 8 |
| Women..... | — | — |
| Other..... | 1 | 2 |
| Average age | 36 | 29 |
| Employment | | |
| Steadily employed..... | 20 | 8 |
| Fairly steadily employed..... | 1 | 2 |
| Barly employed..... | 5 | 10 |
| No employment record..... | 3 | 5 |
| Rehabilitants..... | — | 2 |
| Other..... | — | 2 |
| Social assistance | | |
| Received welfare during 7 sample months in 1962-1963..... | 3 | 7 |
| Purchased liquor during months they received welfare payments..... | 2 | — |
| Liquor permit holders | | |
| 1962-1963..... | 29 | 27 |
| 1963-1964..... | 21 | 7 |
| Law offenders (between Dec., 1961 and August, 1963) | | |
| Under Liquor Ordinance..... | 12** | 19*** |
| Under Criminal Code..... | 6** | 6*** |
| No Offenses..... | 14 | 9 |
| Neighborhood of residence | | |
| Apex Hill..... | 12 | 13 |
| Airbase..... | 3 | — |
| Ikhiluit..... | 13 | 15 |
| Other..... | 1 | 1 |

*High purchasers are men who spent more than the average of \$73.18 in the 13-month period; they spent from \$71 to \$300. Low purchasers are men who spent the smallest amounts, from \$9 to \$30.
 **Three people were charged under both the Liquor Ordinance and the Criminal Code.
 ***Five people were charged under both the Liquor Ordinance and the Criminal Code.

purchasers who have no offenses recorded against them demonstrate that Eskimo can drink, and even fairly regularly, without committing offenses that attract police attention.

Low purchasers manifest greater heterogeneity. Again heads of families predominate but the category includes more younger, unmarried men. Low purchasers have spottier employment records: enjoy steady employment less frequently; as a result they also earn less wages. Low purchasers include two rehabilitants and over twice as many men who received social assistance during seven sample months than appear among high spenders.

Only one low purchaser ranks as a leader, being an elected member of the Community Council from Ikhiluit.

Judging from these data (they refer only to purchases at the liquor store and don't take account of liquor consumed at the tavern), alcohol consumption correlates directly with economic and social status; it is one mark of a full-fledged Eskimo townsman. The data offer no basis for ascribing most drinking to deficiency motives. We would expect that as employment opportunities and standard of living increase, so will liquor consumption. After all, the same thing has happened in Europe and among other Americans in Canada and the United States.

Many high purchasers at the liquor store also frequent the Rustic Room tavern, with at least one notable exception: the most sophisticated men in the community (for example, those who bought Christmas liquor), who also happen to be high store purchasers, don't regularly frequent the tavern. Also, whereas no woman holds a permit to buy at the store, women of all ages visit the tavern, though always there are many fewer women present than men. We must also add that only one member of the Church Council, holds a liquor permit; he is one of the high purchasers, but drinks socially and in moderation. The Church Council is an elite group. We never saw a known Church Council member in the Rustic Room.

We counted 16 Eskimo men and two women as people whom we identified as steady taverngoers. All the men are family heads. The women in question regularly accompany their husbands. Most of the men in this category also hold or held liquor permits, only two failed to renew in 1963 after the waiting period had begun for beer. Men who frequently avail themselves of one liquor outlet also steadily utilize the other, 12 of the 16 steady taverngoers proving to be high purchasers at the liquor store. As we would expect, since a secure income alone can support steady patronage of both liquor outlets, steady tavern drinkers who are men mostly hold steady jobs. One steady male taverngoer has no regular source of income and another lives in the Rehabilitation Centre, where he earns auxiliary income through

* Ronald Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 100, predicts the same.

carving on his own account. Two of the steady male tavern visitors and one woman are elected members of the Community Council. Between December, 1961 and August, 1963, out of 18 steady taverngoers, nine have been charged under the Liquor Ordinance; four have been charged under the Criminal Code; eight have not been charged with any offense. All offenders and nonoffenders total over 18 because three persons have been charged both with offenses under the Liquor Ordinance and under the Criminal Code.

Among 28 men and women whom we have seen drinking in the Rustic Room, but whom we would call occasional rather than steady taverngoers, we note six rehabilitants (including three girls over 21) and a large proportion of young men and women. About 15 women occasionally visited the tavern.

We have already noted that some but by no means all heavy spenders at the liquor store and steady taverngoers have committed offenses for which they were apprehended by police.

We counted 29 heavy purchasers and an additional six steady taverngoers, making 35 so-called regular Eskimo drinkers. Police arrested 17 of these at least once in the 21 months from December, 1961, to August 24, 1963. The other 18 show no arrest record in that period.

Regular drinkers in fact furnish only a small part of the trouble with which police cope. Police apprehended a total of 97 persons in those 21 months, 17 of them being persons categorized by us in 1963 as regular drinkers. By our criteria, 78 of the 97 persons arrested are occasional drinkers. It is interesting that practically no non-drinkers got into trouble, but since most arrests were for offenses coming under the Liquor Ordinance (Table 1), this discovery is not really very significant.

In Aklavik, Clairmont¹⁰ sees "excessive drinking" to be "largely a problem among the younger settlement natives," i.e., those between 16 and 20. This finding supports his hypothesis that excessive drinking in Aklavik forms one delinquent response to strain, that age category, in Clairmont's opinion, being especially highly stressed. We cannot readily use his largely unspecified criteria and identify "excessive" drinkers in Frobisher Bay, but if

¹⁰ Donald H. J. Clairmont, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

TABLE 6. AGE DISTRIBUTION AND ARREST RECORD OF REGULAR DRINKERS*

| Age Category | Number of Regular Drinkers | Number of Regular Drinkers Arrested Between December, 1961 and August 24, 1963 |
|--------------|----------------------------|--|
| 20-24 | 1 | 1 |
| 25-29 | 6 | 1 |
| 30-34 | 8 | 4 |
| 35-39 | 7 | 6 |
| 40-44 | 6 | 2 |
| 45-49 | 3 | 3 |
| 50-54 | 3 | — |
| Over 55 | 1 | — |
| TOTAL | 35 | 17 |

*Regular drinkers are defined as those who spent more than the average at the liquor store and/or visited the tavern frequently.

we take the regular drinkers of legal age, they do not mostly come from the younger age levels, as Clairmont also finds (Table 6). Unfortunately we also cannot say much about illicit drinking by young people under 20, though undoubtedly it occurs and often escapes police attention. Our records show only one Eskimo of both sexes under 20 to have been arrested for any cause in 21 months from December, 1961 to August 25, 1963. The eight account for about eight percent of all persons arrested for any cause in that interval. Seven of the eight persons were arrested for liquor offenses. If we take arrests rather than persons arrested, then 14 out of a total of 204 arrested persons under 20—that is, seven percent. In Aklavik, 22 percent of all men arrested for liquor offenses only in the 11 months from August, 1960 to June, 1961 were under 20. While the figures are not precisely comparable, it appears more than likely that police in Aklavik, for whatever reason, apprehend youthful drinking offenders more often than do police in Frobisher Bay. One plausible inference is that younger people in the longer settled western Arctic town experience more difficulty with respect to illicit drinking than do their age mates in the newer town of Frobisher Bay. They may also do more drinking, perhaps as a result of being more highly stressed, as Clairmont assumes.

In Frobisher Bay, as older people learned to drink in ways that render them less likely to be picked up by the police for liquor offenses, younger people have come to form a larger proportion of the people attracting police attention.

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liquor and other offenses. From constituting six percent of all offenders in the 13 months from December, 1961 to December, 1962, offenders under 20 have mounted to 12 percent in the eight months from January to August 25, 1963. However, in absolute numbers there has been no increase in the number of offenders in this age group.

CONCLUSIONS

Although our data fail to confirm allegations that Frobisher Bay is a highly disorganized community, a number of administrators locally based in Ottawa, as well as other commentators reported in the Canadian press, still view the community as manifesting serious alcohol and other problems. Apprehension concerning

drinking, we have shown, exists in Eskimo themselves and constitutes one factor that helps them to control their alcoholic intake. From exuberant and relatively unpatterned drinking following the legalization of alcoholic sales to Eskimo, the people have adopted a relatively rational use of alcohol, aided by administrative regulations. The regular Eskimo drinkers are among the most stable and sophisticated element of the town's native population, being regular jobholders and in other respects full-fledged townsmen. They have learned to drink and to stay out of trouble. We have indications that the rising generation of adults experiences somewhat greater trouble with respect to drinking. How the next generation of townsmen will adjust to alcohol remains to be seen.

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