

Social Impact

There is a tendency, in examining the impact of a large-scale industrial project, to accept the prospect of negative social impacts and to make recommendations for remedial measures that could or should be taken. There is also a tendency to minimize the importance of conclusions that are unsupported by "hard data." Usually those in favour of the project are able to say approximately how much it will cost, although experience with some other large-scale frontier projects, such as the James Bay hydro-electric project and the trans-Alaska pipeline, has indicated that the early estimates of costs have been completely unreliable. But at least there is a set of figures to work with, and they offer the comforting illusion that you are dealing with hard data.

In considering the social impact of large-scale developments, very few figures are available. All that can safely be said is that the social costs will be borne by the local population and that the financial costs will be borne by industry and the government. There is a strong tendency to underestimate and to understate social impact and social costs, and there is a tendency to believe that, whatever the problems may be, they can be overcome. The approach here is curative rather than preventive. No one asks for proof that the problems anticipated really can be ameliorated in a significant way — the assumption is that they can be. This assumption has been made with respect to problems of the proposed pipeline, and I think this assumption is demonstrably false.

Let me emphasize one thing at the outset: changes occur in the lives of everyone, changes that we have come to look upon as either necessary or inevitable. Everyone agrees that life is not static: each individual and every society has to accept change. A home owner may find that he has to give up

six feet of land because a street is being widened, or his home may even be expropriated to make way for a new road. The location of a new airport near an urban centre may mean that hundreds of people must give up their homes. A farmer may have to agree to an easement across his land for hydro-electric transmission lines — or for a pipeline.

But the proposal to build a pipeline and to establish an energy corridor from the Arctic to the mid-continent will bring changes to the native people far greater in magnitude than the examples just mentioned. The pipeline and the energy corridor would change the North, alter a way of life and inhibit — perhaps extinguish — the native people's choices for the future.

The social impact that I foresee in the Mackenzie Valley and the Western Arctic, if we build the pipeline now, will be devastating — I use the word advisedly — and quite beyond our capacity to ameliorate in any significant way.

The Northern Population

There are two populations in the North, a native population and a white population. Although the latter has increased dramatically since the early days of the fur trade, the native people are still in the majority in the Northwest Territories. Native people fear that the pipeline and the energy corridor will bring with them an influx of white people into their homeland, with consequences that will be irreversible. Richard Nerysoo made that point in Fort McPherson:

The pipeline means more [white people] who will be followed by even more white people. White people bring their language, their

political system, their economy, their schools, their culture. They push the Indian aside and take over everything. [C1190]

It is important to understand the composition of the northern population and how it has changed under the impact of industrial development and the proliferation of government. Only on the basis of such an understanding can we predict the social impact of the pipeline on the people of the North.

A Hudson's Bay Company trading post was established at Fort Resolution in 1786, three years before Mackenzie's journey to the Arctic Ocean. Other posts along the Mackenzie River followed in the early years of the 19th century. James Anderson, in his 1858 census of the Dene trading at Forts Liard, Rac, Simpson, Wrigley, Norman, Good Hope and McPherson, estimated their total number at 3,000.

In the Delta, in 1840, the Hudson's Bay Company erected a trading post on the fringes of Inuit territory at Fort McPherson. At that time, according to Diamond Jenness, there were 2,000 Inuit inhabiting the Arctic coast between Demarcation Point (at what is now the international boundary between Alaska and the Yukon) and Cape Bathurst.

During the 19th century, the Metis became established in the North. They trace their ancestry through two sources: as descendants of the Metis who moved into the Mackenzie Valley from Manitoba and Saskatchewan after the Northwest Rebellion; and as descendants of unions between the early fur traders and Dene women.

Until the middle of the 19th century, except for a few European explorers, the only whites in the Mackenzie Valley were Hudson's Bay Company traders and their clerks. In the 1860s the missionaries came. The native people adapted their traditional

life of subsistence hunting and fishing to a trapping and hunting economy, which included seasonal visits to a trading post and, later, to a mission near it. Although the fur trade introduced many technological innovations to native life and some dependence on manufactured goods, the people still lived on and from the land.

The Gold Rush

Toward the end of the 19th century, large numbers of whites poured into the North in search of gold: in 1898 alone, some 30,000 prospectors and others joined the Klondike gold rush and headed for Dawson City. Two anthropologists, Dr. Catherine McClellan and Julie Cruikshank, described to the Inquiry the effect of this influx on the Indians of the Southern Yukon:

Indians along the route to the gold fields became temporarily involved in packing, guiding and providing food for the white prospectors. Some became deck hands on the river boats. A few Indian women married white prospectors and left the country. The Tagish, who were themselves involved in the discovery of gold, and the Han, who lived at the mouth of the Klondike River, were the natives most affected. The latter were virtually destroyed. [F23094]

When the excitement died away, at the turn of the century, most whites left the area. In 1900 the population of the Yukon had climbed to 27,000 (of whom about 3,000 were Indians), but by 1912 it had shrunk to 6,000, and by 1921 to 4,000.

The gold rush of 1898 also affected the native people of the Northwest Territories. One of the routes to the Klondike was down the Athabasca and Mackenzie Rivers to the Mackenzie Delta and then overland via the Rat River to the Porcupine River, or via the Peel River to the Wind River and thence

across to the Yukon. By the end of 1898, some 860 prospectors had reached Fort Smith, and an estimated 600 of them camped that winter in or near Fort McPherson. Some turned aside from their rush to the Klondike when news spread of rich gold deposits at the eastern end of Great Slave Lake. The influx of prospectors into the Mackenzie Valley played a significant part in the government's decision to make a treaty with the Indians in 1899. Charles Mair, a member of the Halfbreed Commission, which was established to deal with those Metis who chose not to sign the treaty, described what happened:

The gold-seekers plunged into the wilderness of Athabasca without hesitation and without as much as "by your leave" to the native. Some of these marauders, as was to be expected, exhibited on the way a congenial contempt for the Indian's rights. At various places his horses were killed, his dogs shot, his bear-traps broken. An outcry arose in consequence, which inevitably would have led to reprisals and bloodshed had not the Government stepped in and forestalled further trouble by a prompt recognition of the native's title. . . . The gold seeker was viewed with great distrust by the Indians, the outrages referred to showing, like straws in the wind, the inevitable drift of things had the treaties been delayed. For, as a matter of fact, those now peaceable tribes, soured by lawless aggression, and sheltered by their vast forests, might easily have taken an Indian revenge, and hampered, if not hindered, the safe settlement of the country for years to come. [cited in R. Fumoleau, *As Long As This Land Shall Last*, p. 48ff.]

Anglican missionaries were appalled by the corruption that accompanied the invasion of prospectors. One wrote:

The influence of the class of people now rushing into the country in search of gold is worse than I can describe.

And another added:

I have always dreaded the incoming of the mining population, on account of the effect it would have upon the morals of our people, but did not think it would touch us so closely. [cited in Fumoleau, *op. cit.*, p. 49]

The prospectors who reached the Klondike by the Rat River left their imprint on the minds of the native people of Fort McPherson. They still remember the location of Destruction City, the miners' winter camp on the Rat. Some of the native people from Fort McPherson, who guided miners over the mountains to the Klondike, stayed there for a few years, earning their living by supplying Dawson City with meat.

Whalers, Traders and Trappers

In the 1890s, the American whaling fleet from San Francisco entered the Beaufort Sea, and Herschel Island and Baillie Islands, off Cape Bathurst, became the focal points for the whaling industry in the Western Arctic. Native people were attracted to these harbours where the whaling ships wintered, and they were hired to gather driftwood to conserve the ships' stocks of coal, and to hunt caribou and muskox to supply the whalers with fresh meat. Some winters there were as many as 600 white people at Herschel Island. Whaling took a heavy toll not only of the bowhead whales but also of muskoxen and caribou. But it was not just the animals that were affected. Diamond Jenness, in *Eskimo Administration: Canada*, provides us with a graphic description of the effect of the whalers on the Inuit of the Delta:

Whaling ships churned the waters of the Beaufort Sea until about 1906. . . . By that date not only had the number of whales and caribou gravely diminished, but the number of Eskimos also. A little earlier influenza and other diseases introduced by the whalers had produced a similar diminution in the population of the Eastern Arctic; but there, for some



HMS Discovery wintering in arctic waters, 1895.
(Public Archives)

Mrs. Gerhart, first white woman at Great Bear
Lake, 1932. (Public Archives)

Oil strike, Norman Wells, 1921. (Public Archives)

White man with Slavey Indians, 1922.
(Public Archives)



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reason which is not yet clear, the whaling captains had carried only limited stocks of intoxicating liquor, and had restricted its consumption very largely to their own crews. In the Western Arctic, on the other hand, they not only distributed liquor to the Eskimos with full hands, but taught them how to make it by distilling molasses or potatoes from one five gallon coal-oil can to another. . . . Syphilis took root among them, increasing the death-rate, especially of infants, and causing apparently widespread sterility. Then in 1902 some Indians who had contracted measles in Dawson City conveyed it to Fort McPherson, whence it reached the Eskimos of the Delta, carrying off nearly 100 persons, about one-fifth, Stefansson estimated, of the surviving population. This population continued to decline after the whalers departed, though the decline was masked by a stream of immigration from Arctic Alaska, set in motion by the depletion of the caribou in that region. [p. 14]

Dr. John Stager of the University of British Columbia told the Inquiry that, when the whaling industry collapsed in 1908, out of an original population of 2,500, there were only about 250 Mackenzie Eskimos left in the region between Barter Island and Bathurst Peninsula.

Yet in 1901 the resident white population of what is now the Northwest Territories was still only 137. It included Hudson's Bay Company factors, free traders, white trappers, missionaries and some church and residential school personnel. The first Northwest Mounted Police detachment was established in 1903; then came Indian Agents, nursing sisters and game officers.

By 1919-1920, fur prices had achieved a very high level, and white trappers and traders entered the Mackenzie Valley and Western Arctic in large numbers. There were 110 trading stores in 1920 in the Northwest Territories; the number doubled by 1927. In Fort Rae alone, 41 trading

licences were issued in 1926. Statistics compiled by the RCMP in 1923 show that there were 118 white trappers in the area around Fort Smith and Fort Resolution.

During this period of intense competition, the Hudson's Bay Company's trade monopoly was broken, and the nature of the fur trade was altered. In particular, the old practice of outfitting the native hunters on credit was replaced by the cash system.

The Rise of Industry

The discovery of oil at Norman Wells in 1920 brought another surge of white people into the Mackenzie Valley. In the winter of 1921, some 24 parties travelled by dog team from Edmonton to Fort Norman to stake claims, and other parties came overland from Dawson City and Whitehorse. Before the first steamer reached Fort Providence that summer, boats of every description had passed the village on their way north. Most of these white people left as quickly as they had come. In 1921, after the signing of Treaty 11, the census for the Northwest Territories indicated there were nearly 4,000 Indians living in the Northwest Territories, but only 853 "others" — a category including Metis, non-status Indians and whites.

In the years after the signing of Treaty 11, the native population was increasingly ravaged by the diseases the white people had brought. Father René Fumoleau told the Inquiry:

A discouraged Doctor Bourget, Indian Agent at Fort Resolution, wrote in 1927, "We seem to be in a period of readjustment which will show seriously on the Indians." Deaths from tuberculosis alone outnumbered births in most places. Many infants died a few months after birth. Most families lost parents and children alike. Periodic outbreaks of smallpox, measles and flu took a heavy toll over the years. In 1928, the influenza epidemic struck

the Mackenzie District. While all the whites recovered, the sickness killed 600 Indians, one-sixth of the Indian population. At Goulet's camp near Yellowknife, 26 Indians died and the seven survivors fled in panic. [F21835]

Prospecting and mining brought a significant increase in the white population. The richest uranium mine in the world opened at Port Radium in 1932. When gold was discovered at Yellowknife in 1933, prospectors and miners rushed to stake claims there. In 1937, there were 400 prospectors searching for minerals in the Mackenzie District. Census figures for the Northwest Territories have always been unreliable, but we know that during the 1930s the number of people classified as "other" stood at 1,007 in 1931, and swelled to 4,000 by 1941. In the same decade, the population classified as Indian and Eskimo rose by only 700.

Since the Second World War, the white population in the Northwest Territories has increased rapidly. Hay River, for example, which is now an important transportation centre, has changed from a small Indian community into a predominantly white town of 3,500, with the Indian village on its periphery. The Mayor of Hay River, Don Stewart, described the changes since the Second World War:

I came to the Territories in 1946, as a young married man and have remained, with the exception of two years since that date, in Hay River. Through this period of time we have noted many changes. . . . When I first came to Hay River there was only the Indian village on the east bank of the river, one small Imperial Oil tank, a dirt runway with an American Quonset hut, a leftover of the Northwest Staging Route, an emergency landing field for aircraft going to Alaska during the last war. . . . The Americans had come and gone. . . . There were five white people in Hay River. We found a village that was self-sufficient, we found people with



pride ... we found people living in the same type of housing ... everything was similar. ... Everybody had the 45-gallon barrel in the corner that sufficed for [a] water supply, and this was, for the most part, ice that was cut during the winter time and used in the summer time. There were no vehicles to speak of. I think we had one truck in Hay River at that time. [C409ff.]

Mining, development of transportation facilities and oil and gas exploration have all contributed to the growth of the white population in the Mackenzie Valley and the Western Arctic.

The Government Era

The proliferation of government in the North has been the chief cause of the growth of the white population since the Second World War. An increasing number of white people administer the health, education and welfare services now provided to the native people in various regional centres. In 1953, there were between 250 and 300 federal employees in the Northwest Territories. In 1966, there were about 2,600. With the establishment of the territorial government in Yellowknife in 1967 came a further increase. By 1976, there were something like 3,000 employees on the payroll of the Government of the Northwest Territories alone, and in addition there were approximately 2,000 employees of the Government of Canada and of federal crown corporations in the Northwest Territories. Of these 5,000 government employees, 80 percent or more are white; they and their families account for the majority of the white population of the Mackenzie Valley and the Western Arctic, if not the Northwest Territories as a whole. And, unlike earlier waves of white immigration into the North, this one has not receded.

Although the white population in the North has increased dramatically in the last 20 years, the majority of whites who go North still think of home as somewhere in the South. They soon leave, to be replaced by others. This is characteristic of the employees of the Government of Canada, the Government of the Northwest Territories, and of the mining and the oil and gas industries. Indeed, in the three years since the Inquiry was appointed, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has had three Regional Directors of Northern Operations and three Regional Representatives, Indian Affairs Program, in the Northwest Territories. Members of the RCMP and the Canadian Forces perform a tour of duty, then they too return south. At Fort Resolution, in a graveyard 85 years old, only two white adults and two white children are buried.

A large percentage of the white population in the North is on rotation: the numbers increase, but the faces constantly change. Some individuals do remain who have decided to make the North their permanent home. Their numbers are increasing slowly, but not in the dramatic way that the white population as a whole has increased.

Northern Population Today

What is the composition of the population of the Northwest Territories today? In 1974, the latest year for which figures from the Government of the Northwest Territories are available, there were 7,533 people classified as Indian, almost all of whom lived in the Mackenzie Valley and the Mackenzie Delta; 13,932 classified as Inuit, of whom some 2,300 resided in the Mackenzie Delta and Beaufort Sea communities; and 16,384 "others."

This ethnic breakdown into Indian, Inuit and "others" is not, however, as helpful as it

may appear. The people classified as Indian are only those whose names are on the band lists. The number of Indians does not, therefore, include non-status Indians — persons of Indian ancestry who have become enfranchised under the Indian Act. An Indian might, in the past, have sought enfranchisement for a number of reasons: to vote, to buy liquor — things that treaty Indians then had no legal right to do. The most common example of enfranchisement has been by the operation of law when a treaty Indian woman married a non-status Indian, a Metis or a white man. Such marriages are not uncommon, and when they occur, the woman ceases to be an Indian under the law; she and her children are henceforth enumerated as "others." Virtually all of non-status Indians still regard themselves as Dene, just like their treaty relatives, and at the community hearings their views were indistinguishable from those of Dene who are still treaty Indians. The distinction, therefore, between treaty and non-status Indians, for my purposes, is not significant. Virtually all of these people regard themselves as Dene. Nor does the category described as Indian in the census include people of combined white-and-Indian ancestry who regard themselves as Metis and distinct in their heritage from the Dene and the white populations. These people, too, are included in the census as "others."

Because the Indian Act was never applied to the Eskimos, the distinction between status and non-status categories has never been legally relevant to them. The children of non-Eskimo fathers married to Eskimo women acquired "disc numbers" — the method of identifying the Eskimos until the 1960s — and they were counted as Eskimos.

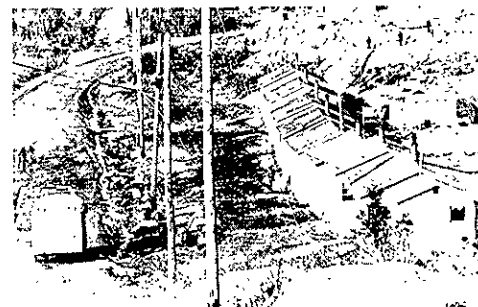
To arrive at an accurate count of the native peoples, we must add to the figures

Yellowknife then and now:
Mining town, 1940. (Public Archives)

Modern housing. (NFB-Pearce)

Franklin Avenue. (GNWT)

"Rainbow Valley," native housing area.
(Native Press)



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for Indian and Inuit a portion of the number designated "others," because these "others" include non-status Indians and Metis. The number of non-status Indians and Metis is a matter of dispute. In attempting to determine actual figures I have considered the evidence of the Government of the Northwest Territories, the Indian Brotherhood, the Metis Association, and Dr. Charles Hobart. I have also examined the 1976 Preliminary Counts of the Census Divisions of the Government of Canada. I do not think there are more than 4,500 non-status Indians and Metis altogether.

The number of Metis is a matter of some confusion. Following the signing of Treaty 11 in 1921, 172 Metis took scrip. This would suggest that the number of native people who saw themselves as distinctively Metis was comparatively small at that time. That this is still the case is indicated by the federal government's study entitled *Regional Impact of a Northern Gas Pipeline*, published in 1973, which says, "The Metis formed only an estimated 10.5 percent of the total native population of 17 [Mackenzie] Valley communities in 1970." [Vol. 1, p. 35] This statement is based on the number of persons who said that they were Metis when questioned about their ethnic affiliation for the purposes of a manpower survey. Applying it to the present native population of the Mackenzie Valley and Western Arctic suggests that the population that regards itself as distinctly Metis would lie currently somewhere between 1,000 and 1,500 people. This analysis of the figures would correspond with the evidence at the community hearings, where the vast majority of people of Indian ancestry who spoke identified themselves as Dene.

Taking natural increase since 1974 into account, there must be about 12,500 people of Indian ancestry in the Northwest Territories

today, virtually all of whom live in the Mackenzie Valley and Mackenzie Delta. Again taking natural increase since 1974 into account, there must be about 2,500 people of Inuit ancestry living in the Mackenzie Delta and Beaufort Sea communities.

I estimate the number of white people living in the Mackenzie Valley and the Western Arctic today to be about 15,000. Thus the native population and the white population are more or less equal. But the figure for the white population is in a sense misleading because it includes so many people — undoubtedly the majority — who do not regard the North as their home and who have every intention of returning to the South. These are heavily concentrated in Yellowknife and the larger centres.

The native population in the Northwest Territories is a young one. Statistics show that live births per 1,000 population rose from a low of about 20 in 1931, to about 40 in 1947, and peaked at almost 50 between 1960 and 1964. This figure may have been among the highest in the world at that time. The birthrate has declined since then to 40 in 1970 and to 27.8 in 1974. This figure can be compared to a rate of about 10 per 1,000 for Canada as a whole. It seems safe to say that 50 percent of the native population of the Northwest Territories is under 15 years of age today.

Population and the Pipeline

Gemini North have attempted to project population increases in the Northwest Territories that would result from pipeline construction. They say that, by 1983, there would be 3,000 or so more whites in the Northwest Territories, even if a pipeline were not built. With the construction of a gas pipeline, they forecast that another 6,000 people would move north. Gemini North's figures do not take into account increases in the white population that might result from expanded exploration in the oil and gas industry, completion of the Mackenzie and Dempster Highways, looping of the gas pipeline and construction of an oil pipeline. Nor do their figures include the increases that would result from expansion of government activity, such as the establishment of a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Authority, that accelerated industrial development would bring. It is obvious that whites would soon easily outnumber native people in the Mackenzie Delta and in the Mackenzie Valley.

The transition from a native majority to a white majority — a transition that would be accelerated by construction of a pipeline and establishment of an energy corridor — clearly has implications for the future shape of political institutions in the North. The native people told the Inquiry that, although they have always been a majority, so far they have played only a secondary role in the political life of the North. It is important to understand what their experience has meant, because they fear a future in which their political strength will be even further diminished unless — as they repeatedly urged upon me — there is a settlement of native claims.



Social Impact and Industrial Development

The pipeline companies and the oil and gas industry maintain that a pipeline will have a beneficial social impact on the people and the communities of the North. In particular, they say a pipeline will reduce the unemployment, welfare dependence, crime, violence and alcoholism that are at present characteristic of many northern settlements.

Dr. Charles Hobart, analyzing social malaise in the North, attributed it to two main factors. First, massive government intervention in the people's lives over the past two decades has undermined their traditional independence and self-esteem, creating social and psychological dependence. Second is the frustration and anger that many young people, who have been brought up in the white man's educational system, experience on leaving school. They find that the promise of useful and dignified employment is an empty one. Hobart suggested that new employment opportunities associated with the pipeline and the oil and gas industry will offer a positive response to both causes of social malaise. He argued that stable employment will "facilitate native identification with new identities, which are prideful and relevant to the world in which native people must live today." Here is how he put it:

The lack of opportunities to experience employment demanding responsibility and commitment, to obtain the training that would lead directly to such employment, and to aspire towards such employment, tends to perpetuate anti-social patterns. Without more stable employment becoming available, there are no opportunities for the structural and motivational reasons for such anti-social

behaviours to change, nor are there generally effective mechanisms for reinforcing more socially constructive behaviour. However, increased stable employment opportunities, with opportunities for training, upgrading and advancement, would provide alternative motivations and reward alternative constructive behaviour. [F25109ff.]

I disagree with Hobart on this point. I have come to the conclusion that in this instance his analysis will not hold up. Our experience so far with industrial development in the North has been recited. That experience has revealed two things: first, that native people have not participated in the industrial economy on a permanent basis; and secondly, that the native people have paid a high price in terms of social impact wherever the industrial economy has penetrated into the North.

Stable employment and an ever-increasing disposable income are part and parcel of what we regard as progress and prosperity. We see wage employment as the answer to the problems of our urban poor. Why, then, do so many native people in the North view the pipeline in such negative terms, as something that will undermine their communities and destroy them as a people? For, as the following statements show, many native people do see the pipeline in this way.

Fred Rabiska at Fort Good Hope:

If the pipeline is built we will be very unhappy people. We will drift farther from each other as well as [from] our land. [C1787]

Mary Rose Drybones, a Dene social worker, at Fort Good Hope:

It will destroy their way of life, their soul and identity. We have enough to cope with without another big issue [such] as the pipeline. It will touch everybody at all levels. It will not leave [any] one alone. [C1947]

Edward Jumbo at Trout Lake:

Talking about the pipeline ... that is just like

somebody telling us they're going to destroy us. [C2398]

Bruno Apple at Rae Lakes:

If this pipeline should get through, there's going to be a lot of people here. When this pipeline gets through, it's going to be like the end of the world here. [C8255]

I think the basic reason for this gulf between our belief in the benefits of industrial employment and the native people's fear of it is that the native people of the North are not simply poor people who happen to be of Indian, Inuit or Metis descent. They are people whose values and patterns of social organization are in many ways quite different from those that underlie the modern industrial world. Solutions based on the industrial system may easily become problems when they are applied to native people.

The Fort Simpson Experience

We can get some idea of the impact of industrial development in the Northwest Territories by examining the experience of the native people at Fort Simpson. The Mackenzie Highway was completed to Fort Simpson in 1970, and the Inquiry was told of the social consequences it has had in that community. People in Fort Good Hope, Fort Norman and Wrigley told me that their deepest fear was that, if the pipeline went through, their communities would become like Fort Simpson. Native witnesses at Fort Simpson told me that their people's involvement in the construction of the Mackenzie Highway, through the Hire North project, has resulted in major social problems such as high rates of alcohol abuse, crime and violence, and family breakdown.

Betty Menicoche gave the Inquiry her own family's history as an example of what the

Inquiry hearing at Ingamo Hall, Inuvik. (D. Crosbie)

René Lamothe, Fort Simpson. (R. Zrelec)

Chief Jim Antoine and Joachim Bonnetrouge at Fort Simpson hearing. (R. Zrelec)

Lorayne Menicoche. (R. Zrelec)



native people mean when they say, "We don't want to become another Fort Simpson." She explained how her parents, after leading a traditional life in the bush, had moved into Fort Simpson to earn wages to supplement the living they earned by hunting and fishing. She told of the hardships her parents endured while trying to cope with the two ways of life, and she described the social pressures brought about by the construction of the highway:

By 1970, things in Simpson had reached a point of social disorder and ultimately of breakdown in [the] cultural value system. The scene in Simpson for natives was one of excitement, and one way they began enjoying this fun was through alcohol, [thus] beginning misuse through misunderstanding . . . it was since 1970 that I found the breakdown of our family as a result of alcohol, stress and strain, created by this need to achieve an economic base, a wage economy. At this time my family experienced the biggest social disaster . . . that was the ultimate breakdown of my mother. She had kept our family going despite the thin threads of the family. The strain of trying to tie two ways of life into one another was too much to bear. . . . All the frustrations and the difficulty of coping with this transition are easily remedied by the bottle. That was the final breakdown of a once solid family. . . .

We have been accused of being young radical Indians, only repeating ideas of left-wing people. These are just a few examples of what has occurred in Simpson. Further social and economic injustices will be experienced if the pipeline goes through. Tell me, is it wrong to begin standing on two feet, [telling] what you yourself and your people have truly experienced? [C2667ff.]

Theresa Villeneuve was born in Nahanni Butte and spent her early years living with her parents in the bush. In those days her father came to Fort Simpson only to sell his furs and buy supplies. She has lived most of

her married life in Fort Simpson and has seen the changes that have occurred:

Since 1968, things have been happening too fast, and people cannot put up with them. The Dene people are not involved in what things are happening. They have never helped in planning for future development . . . because Dene don't think like the white man. [C2656]

Seen through the eyes of the native people of Fort Simpson, their experience with wage employment during the construction of the Mackenzie Highway was debilitating. Jim Antoine, the young Chief of the Fort Simpson Indian Band, summed up the views of the Dene on the impact of the pipeline:

I'm not worried about the money or jobs that this pipeline is going to give because, as Indian people, we don't think about the money. We think about the lives of the people here because, the way I see it, if this pipeline goes ahead, it's just going to destroy a lot of people. It's going to kill a lot of people indirectly. . . . I don't want the pipeline to come in here because, with the highway coming in in the last five to six years, it has changed Simpson altogether. A lot of problems arose out of this highway. If this pipeline comes through, it's going to cause problems to be a hundredfold more. We're the people that live here, and we're the people who are going to suffer. [C2624]

Native Values and the Frontier

René Lamothe, a Metis, described to the Inquiry some of the deep-seated reasons for the confusion and frustration that have beset the native people of Fort Simpson. In his view, the assumption that native people will adapt to and benefit from industrial development is too easily made. He argued that, in the Northwest Territories, the philosophy of life, the values, and the social organization

that have been developed by a hunting-and-gathering society, together with the modifications introduced by a trapping economy during the last century, go very deep.

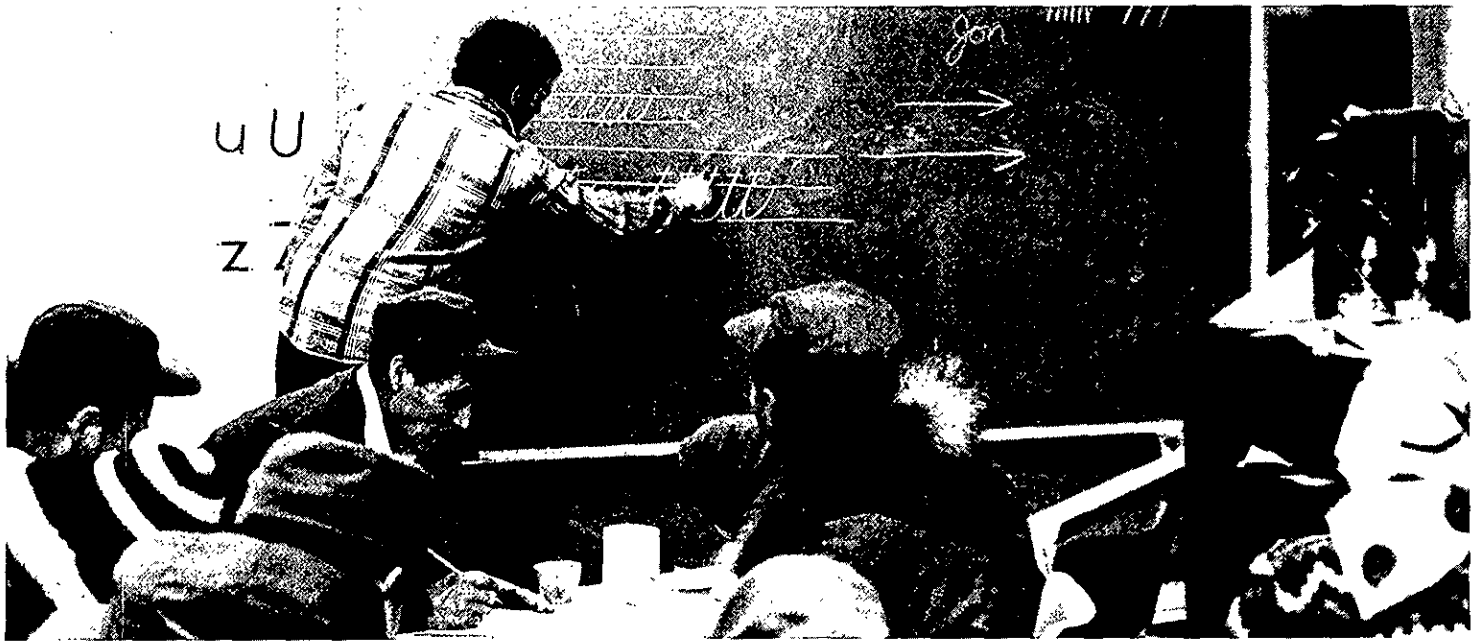
As we have seen, the native values and the native economy persist. But the values and expectations of the industrial system push in a different direction. Hugh Brody described the process in his evidence:

Inuit and Dene peoples are proud of the ways in which they share the produce of the land. The activity of hunting may be comparatively individualistic, but its produce tends to be communal - at least insofar as those in want are able to approach successful hunters and ask for food. Also, the basic means of production - land - is regarded as communal. Requests for food were never refused: the right to use land was rarely disputed. Money, however, is not so readily shared. It tends to be regarded as the earner's own private property, and spent on his or her immediate family's personal needs. Moreover, it tends to be spent on consumer durable goods, which cannot be divided among neighbours. [F25787ff.]

The result of this difference is not only that the sharing ethic is undermined, but the cohesion and homogeneity of the community are threatened when new inequalities begin to develop.

When those who live by hunting and trapping are seen to experience poverty, they tend to lose their status within the society. Once again, the native community's sense of cultural distinctiveness is eroded, and the traditional ways of according respect are undermined. Wage labour is not necessarily an adequate substitute for the traditional social system, once the values of the traditional system have been eroded by the industrial world. René Lamothe explained this danger to the Inquiry:

. . . the hunting economy permitted a man to support an extended family; whereas the



wage economy does not adequately support an immediate family within the expectations that the industrial economy raises. ... We have elders alive now who in their youth supported up to 40 people. Etoli, an old man living in the hospital right now, in his youth supported up to 40 people by hunting. Who of us with our salaries today can support 10? Etoli is living in the hospital here primarily because the expectations of ourselves, his relatives, have been changed by education, the churches, the industrial economy; and secondly because the wage economy ... does not generate enough cash to support more than one nuclear family ... young women are raised among the Dene people to expect specific benefits from a husband. However, these benefits are found in a hunting economy, not in a wage-earning economy. Young men are raised to believe that to be a man one must provide these benefits, and again these benefits are not found in a wage-earning economy....

We are a people caught in an industrial economy with a mind prepared for a hunting economy. The expectations women have of their men [and] the men of the women [are] not being realized in everyday life [which] results in frustrations, confusions, misunderstandings and anger that net broken homes. [C2687ff.]

Lamothe's views may seem, at first glance, out of keeping with modern notions of industrial motivation, but there is a hard practicality to what he said. His views are especially relevant in the North, because there the disruptive effects of the industrial system on native values are intensified by the particular kind of industrial development that the pipeline represents — large-scale industrial development on the frontier. The values of white people working on the frontier are opposed to and inconsistent with the values that are embedded in native tradition in the villages and settlements of the North. The community life of native people emphasizes sharing and cooperation

between generations and among the member households of an extended family. The native community has a profound sense of its own permanence. The place is more important than economic incentive.

The frontier encourages, indeed depends upon, a footloose work force, mobile capital and all their ideological concomitants. It is not any particular location that matters but the profitability of an area; attachments are to reward, not to place, people or community. Individualism, uncertainty and instability are part and parcel of the frontier.

The native people are well aware of the difference between their own attitudes and values and those of a frontier work force. Agnes Edgi at Fort Good Hope told the Inquiry:

We, the Dene people, were born on this land of ours. We are not like the white people who go wandering around looking for work. They are not like us ... who have a home in one place. They, the white people, move from one town to another, from one country to another, searching for jobs to make money. [C2003]

The frontier mentality exacerbates the processes whereby traditional social controls are broken down and pathological behaviour becomes a feature of everyday life.

Ethel Townsend, a native teacher from Fort Norman, told the Inquiry that construction of a pipeline will impose a great strain on the people of the Northwest Territories:

The adaptability of our people will be stretched to its limits, and there is a breaking point. [C4388]

I have been describing here a complex process, one that may be difficult for people who have grown up within the industrial system to comprehend. Let us turn now to some of the easily understood and highly visible effects of industrial development on the northern people to date, and let me

suggest what the social impact of the pipeline would be.

Specific Impacts

The Costs of Welfare

Transfer payments in the North are made for a variety of purposes, which include payments to people who are in ill health, to single parents with dependent children, to persons caring for dependent relatives, to wives of men in prison, to the blind and to the aged. These payments also include "economic assistance" for people who would normally support themselves, but who cannot do so for lack of employment.

It is commonly believed that welfare payments are inversely related to the size of the employment base: the larger the employment base, the lower the welfare payments. This idea is widely accepted among northern policy-makers; it is one of the foundations of policies designed to expand northern industrial wage employment and, more generally, to industrialize the North. The reasoning is simple: people in the North require economic assistance because they lack employment. They believe that the traditional life based on the land has collapsed and that nothing has taken its place. The native people therefore require welfare — but only as a "transitional measure." When opportunities for wage employment have been sufficiently enlarged, they will no longer need economic assistance. Quite predictably, white northerners complain that native people are receiving too much welfare, and that industrial development is not proceeding fast enough to relieve the public of the substantial burden that native welfare represents.

Trappers learning to write at adult education class, Rae Lakes. (Native Press)

Wrigley children being X-rayed for tuberculosis. (Native Press)

Inuvik youngster. (N. Cooper)

Group home for troubled young people, Inuvik. (GNWT)



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What is the real relationship between welfare payments and the economic base of the North? Have welfare payments declined as industrial activity has expanded? The evidence strongly suggests that the conventional wisdom is wrong. So far, the expansion of industrial activity in the North has been accompanied by a marked increase in economic assistance and in other types of welfare payments. In a report prepared for Arctic Gas entitled *Social and Economic Impact of Proposed Arctic Gas Pipeline in Northern Canada*, Gemini North have shown that welfare payments to residents of the Mackenzie Valley and the Mackenzie Delta rose sharply during the period 1968-1969 to 1972-1973. This period was one of rapid industrial expansion; it witnessed the construction of both the Mackenzie and the Dempster Highways, and the oil and gas exploration in the Mackenzie Delta. In 1968-1969, total welfare payments stood at \$495,294. By 1972-1973, they had risen to \$1,002,504, an increase of well over 200 percent. Throughout this five-year period, payments for economic assistance made up about half of the total, ranging from a low of 43.6 percent in 1968-1969 to a high of 55.6 percent in 1970-1971. Gemini North concluded:

It should be noted that job opportunities have also increased substantially for the Lower Mackenzie Delta, Central Mackenzie and Upper Mackenzie sub-regions, over the period under review. However, all [sub-regions] show an increase in the economic component of social assistance payments, in current dollar values. [Vol. 2, p. 629]

On a more local basis, Gemini North cited the case of Tuktoyaktuk:

Tuk represents the "Jesus factor" at work. Although oil exploration and development activity was at its maximum level in 1971/72 and 1972/73 social assistance payments have

increased phenomenally, 114 percent over the 1970/71 level. Furthermore, the economic component of total welfare rose drastically, from 32.7 percent in 1969/70 to 67.9 percent in 1972/73. [Vol. 2, p. 635]

The same substantial increase in welfare payments, largely for economic assistance, was evident at Coppermine following the introduction of Gulf Oil's recruitment program there. In 1972-1973, welfare payments in Coppermine were \$27,000; by 1973-1974, they had risen to \$51,000; and by 1974-1975, they amounted to \$71,000.

There were no doubt many factors at work that could in part account for these dramatic increases. A more generous policy of welfare payments to meet inflation could account for some of the increase, and perhaps a greater tolerance by the staff who administer welfare payment programs may account for more. There may be other factors, quite incidental to the spread of industrial activity, that led to increased welfare payments. Nevertheless, the relation between the increase of industrial wage employment and the increase of welfare payments stands out as obvious and fundamental. No one has been able to show that industrial activity, which has so far directly affected Fort Simpson, Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk, has played a major role in absorbing surplus labour and diminishing welfare dependence in those communities. Arctic Gas made that assertion, but advanced no evidence in its support.

Moreover, we must not fall into the trap of regarding total welfare payments as a measure of indigence. Moralistic judgments about "welfare bums" are wholly out of place in any discussion of the northern economy, for such judgments are little more than a denial of the serious issues under consideration.

Payment of economic assistance may be likened to reviving a boxer who is on the ropes to let him go another round — only perhaps to receive a knock-out blow. Welfare cannot solve the real problem. Welfare payments may be regarded as a recognition of social costs — by paying them we try to alleviate some of the hardships that the recipients have to endure. Nevertheless, these payments should, for the most part, be viewed as a short-term necessity; they should be paid until the fundamental issues are tackled. The problem of mounting welfare payments is a good reason for dealing with these issues now, but welfare is neither their cause nor their solution.

The recent increase in welfare payments and in related social problems that we have observed in the North has one basic cause: the force and suddenness with which industrial development has intruded into the region. During the past two centuries, the native people of the North have had to change a great deal and, by and large, they have shown a remarkable ability to adapt. But never before has there been such a sustained assault on their social institutions and relationships, on their language and culture, and on their attitudes and values. Never before have there been greater strains on the families. Should a husband and father stay in his community or work far away? Should the young people choose one way of life or another? Under the accumulated force of these pulls and pressures, communities are bound to disintegrate, families are bound to come apart, and individuals are bound to fail. The rising figures for welfare payments reflect to a considerable degree the impact of the industrial system on the native people of the North today.



Crime and Violence

Welfare and economic assistance payments may be regarded as the economic aspect of a much larger problem. We must also consider a range of social disorders, each of which, like dependence on welfare, can be seen in economic or in broader human terms. Crime and violence are already problems in northern native society; will the advent of large-scale industrial development ameliorate or compound these problems?

Native witnesses maintained that there is a correlation between social disorders and industrial development. Crime in the Northwest Territories increased between 1969 and 1975, a period of industrial expansion. The native people assert that the communities least involved in wage labour and least dominated by the frontier mentality are the communities with least crime and violence. Indeed, many native witnesses emphasized to me their fear that their particular settlements might become more like the "developed" communities.

It would be difficult to overstate the seriousness of social problems in the Northwest Territories. Death by violence — accident, homicide, suicide and poisoning — has been the main cause of death among native people in the Northwest Territories since 1967, and among the Yukon Indians for approximately 15 years. In the Northwest Territories, the figure for violent death rose from 14.1 percent of all deaths in 1966 to 23.4 percent in 1974. The most recent figures published by Statistics Canada for the whole of Canada are for 1973, when deaths caused by accident, homicide, suicide and poisoning comprised only 10.2 percent of the total number of deaths — less than half the percentage for the Northwest Territories.

All of the evidence indicates that an

increase in industrial wage employment and disposable income among the native people in the North brings with it a dramatic increase in violent death and injuries. The experience at Fort Simpson, cited by Mr. Justice William Morrow of the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories in *Observations on Resource Issues in Canada's North*, bears out this tendency:

Until just recently, the present population [of Fort Simpson] of several hundred Indians and whites had led uneventful and relatively quiet lives. But the highway construction combined with pipeline speculation appears to have changed all of that. Last year [1975] the Magistrate's Court had more than seventy juvenile cases in one week, and my court was required to go there more times in that one year than in the previous eight-year total. To me this is a clear indication of what is to come. These small native communities are just not ready to take major developments. [p. 9]

I am persuaded that the incidence of these disorders is closely bound up with the rapid expansion of the industrial system and with its persistent intrusion into every part of the native people's lives. The process affects the complex links between native people and their past, their culturally preferred economic life, and their individual, familial and political self-respect. We should not be surprised to learn that the economic forces that have broken these vital links, and that are unresponsive to the distress of those who have been hurt, should lead to serious disorders. Crimes of violence can, to some extent, be seen as expressions of frustration, confusion and indignation, but we can go beyond that interpretation to the obvious connection between crimes of violence and the change the South has, in recent years, brought to the native people of the North. With that obvious connection, we can affirm

one simple proposition: the more the industrial frontier displaces the homeland in the North, the worse the incidence of crime and violence will be.

How, then, should we regard the social effects of a pipeline that would bring the industrial frontier to virtually every part of the Mackenzie Valley and Mackenzie Delta? The experience of the construction of a pipeline in Alaska offers an indication of what may happen. In the State of Alaska, deaths by violence have risen from over 20 percent of all deaths in the 1950s, to more than 30 percent of the total between 1969 and 1974. Significantly and ominously, this increase was almost entirely accounted for by a steep rise in violent deaths among native Alaskans — from less than 20 percent all through the 1950s to over 40 percent during the period of the oil boom, 1969-1974.

In the North Slope Borough itself, where the majority of permanent residents are Eskimo, the picture is worse. Suicides there have gone up from two in 1968 to eight in 1975; suicide attempts increased from seven in 1973 to 23 in 1975. The figures for purposefully inflicted injury there are even more alarming. In 1973 there were 162 such injuries, 123 of which were alcohol-related; in 1974, the figures dropped to 144 and 116 respectively; in 1975, however, they increased dramatically: there were 231 purposefully inflicted injuries, 180 of which were alcohol-related. Preliminary figures at midpoint 1976 show that the rate may have nearly doubled in that year.

There is a small native village along the Alaska pipeline corridor, which has a population of about 150 people. During 1973-1974, the work force of this village was employed on the pipeline, and during that year the local health aide treated nearly 200 purposefully inflicted injuries. The previous year,

NAHANNEELER
FORT SIMPSON
ADM AUG 7 1961
BORNIET BC

Garbage dump at Old Crow. (C. Calaf)

Mr. Justice William Morrow. (ITC)

Elsie Nahanni of Fort Simpson at the Charles Camsell Hospital, Edmonton, 1963. (NWT Metis Assoc.)

Jo MacQuarrie appearing for the NWT Mental Health Association. (Native Press)



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there were only 15 such cases. In 1974-1975, after the villagers decided to give up working on the pipeline, the number of purposefully inflicted injuries treated declined to fewer than 30.

Dr. Otto Schaefer, Canada's foremost authority on northern health, and Director of the Northern Medical Research Unit, Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton, has concluded:

Judging by the latest figures coming from Alaska as well as by disease patterns seen in our native population in the Northwest Territories, and considering the striking parallels in development . . . one must fear that violent death in the Northwest Territories would climb to similar tragic heights (over 40 percent) or even worse, as the impact in the Northwest Territories would be concentrated on a smaller base, which therefore has less resilience to extra demands. [Exhibit F823, p. 2]

I see little reason to suppose, therefore, that the social and economic transformations associated with construction of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline will reduce crime and violence, both of which are already acute problems in the larger towns of the Northwest Territories. Rather, the evidence from both Alaska and the Mackenzie Valley and Western Arctic leads me to believe that construction of the pipeline would only aggravate a situation that is already alarming.

Health and Health Services

During the 1940s and 1950s, the health of the native people was one of the major problems confronting government in the North. By that time, the spread of infectious diseases, especially tuberculosis, had assumed appalling dimensions, and it was evident that medical services would have to be extended to even the remotest camps and villages. The

extension of these services was one of the reasons for the rapid growth of settlements in the 1950s and 1960s. However, improved medical services did not solve the native people's health problems. Certainly the devastation of pulmonary disease was eventually brought under control, and epidemics of influenza, measles and whooping-cough no longer caused so many deaths. But the former causes of sickness have, to some extent, been replaced by new ones — less deadly, but nonetheless debilitating.

The Inquiry heard evidence from doctors and dentists with wide experience of the health situation in northern communities. They told us that during the past decade venereal disease rates have risen rapidly in the Northwest Territories and are now many times higher than those for Canada as a whole. Dr. Herbert Schwarz, a physician from Tuktoyaktuk, told the Inquiry:

Mr. Commissioner, if we apply these 1975 Inuvik percentages and figures for the seven-month period only [the first seven months of 1975], showing that one person in every six was infected with gonorrhoea, and transpose these figures on a per capita basis to a city like Ottawa, then [it] would have from 80,000 to 100,000 people suffering with venereal disease. [The] city would be a disaster area and a state of medical emergency proclaimed.

The incidence of venereal disease for the whole of the Northwest Territories was up 27 percent for the first seven months of 1975 over a similar period of a year ago. The Inuvik region contributed much more than its share to the territorial average. Cases reported and treated in the Inuvik zone were up 58 percent over a similar seven-month period last year, with 537 cases confirmed and treated to 339 confirmed cases treated last year. [C7532ff.]

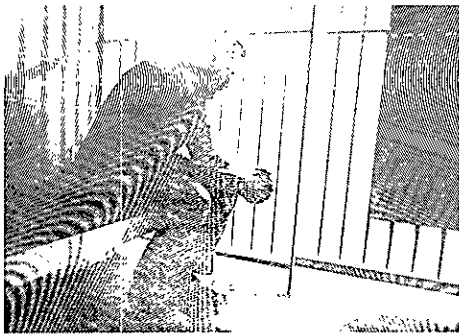
In testimony, the medical authorities gave particular attention to changes in diet: native people are eating less meat, more sugar, and mothers have been encouraged to bottle-feed

rather than breast-feed their babies. Dr. Elizabeth Cass said the shift from country food to southern food has resulted in widespread myopia; Dr. Schaefer associated the change in diet with extremely high rates of child sickness in general and with middle-ear disease in particular. Dr. Mayhall described an epidemic of dental disease and the very high rates of tooth decay and gum disease in the North. We understand that a change in diet may cause such problems when we realize that local meat has a higher food value than meats imported to the North. Some changes in diet are plain to see, such as the consumption of great quantities of pop. (It has been estimated that in Barrow, Alaska, the average consumption of pop is seven cans a day for each man, woman and child.)

Construction of the pipeline would increase and intensify the impacts that recent changes have already had on the health of the native people. Accidents during construction, and incidents in the camps would require medical attention; these cases and the requirements of in-migrants who are not directly employed on the pipeline would impose a severe strain on existing health services. The pipeline companies may be required to supply additional medical services to attend to both their own workers and those working on pipeline-related activities. There may be some difficulty in recruiting medical staff to handle a sudden influx of several thousand people. But this is a problem associated with industrial expansion anywhere and, while it is acknowledged that it may be difficult to manage, it is regarded as a tolerable concomitant of industrial development.

These are not the problems that chiefly concern me. Change will come to the North,

6,398 BAD NIGHTS*

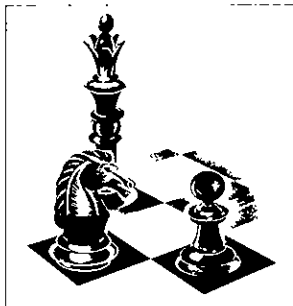
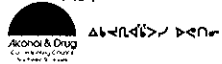


Canada's Police Week May 9th - 15th

It's mighty expensive babysitting service. Every night the police have to take care of 100 many people who can't take care of themselves. Our society can't afford acohol abuse in one way or another we are all paying for it. The total unincarcerated persons jailed overnight in the N.W.T. 1974.

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We need your help.



IT'S YOUR MOVE ...

Grants are available to Community groups for programs in the area of prevention, education and treatment for peoples or communities with alcohol or drug problems. The Alcohol and Drug Co-ordination Council is a loan fund to keep in mind, but it's worth summing up.

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It's your move, contact your local Department of Social Development or the Alcohol and Drug Co-ordination Council.



THEY ARE GROWING UP... THE WAY YOU ARE



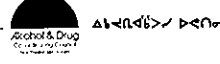
Canada's Police Week May 9th - 15th

How can I help them grow up right?

Today many parents are worried about the kind of children they can give to their youngsters. Perhaps it was best expressed by F. Scott Fitzgerald when he wrote in 1925 "Direct examples teach more than words of a room. Your behavior in front of your children's faces will determine their behavior behind your back."

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as it does everywhere. There will be problems related to the delivery of health services in the North, pipeline or no pipeline. What we must understand is that the impact of a pipeline, with increased wage employment, rapid social change, and new ways and diet, will produce among the native people of the North particular and unfortunate effects that cannot be mitigated by any conventional means. There are real limitations to any preventive and curative measures that can be recommended.

I do not wish to leave the impression that I believe wage employment and an increased availability of cash to be the proximate cause of health problems. They are perhaps more generally attributable to rapid social change. But the situation is all of a piece: when the native people's own culture is overwhelmed by another culture, the loss of tradition, pride and self-confidence is evident in every aspect of personal, family and social life. The advance of industrial development has affected every part of native life, and there is every reason to believe that the construction of a pipeline and its aftermath would lead to further deterioration in the health of the native people.

Alcohol

The subjects of heavy drinking and drunkenness recur in every discussion of social pathology in the North. Both native and white people regard the abuse of alcohol as the most disruptive force, the most alarming symptom, and the most serious danger to the future of northern society. François Paulette of Fort Smith expressed the feelings of many native people in saying:

Today I feel sad when I see my people, the people who were so close together in the past ... fragmented with booze. [C4747]

Alcohol was introduced to northern natives by the fur traders in the Mackenzie Valley and by the whalers on the Arctic coast. Alcohol and other drugs were used in the Americas before the advent of Europeans, but only among agricultural peoples, not among hunters and gatherers. There is no evidence of the use of alcohol in any form by northern Indians and Eskimos before the coming of the white man.

Before the 1950s, alcohol was not an overriding problem in the North. Since then its use has increased and is still increasing. Northern natives were interdicted from drinking it before 1960. When the interdict was lifted, the consumption of alcohol began to increase, but it was only with the construction of the highways and with oil and gas exploration during the late 1960s, which brought high wages to native people, that the rate of consumption moved ahead of the Canadian average. Moreover, the higher rates of consumption are in part the result of population increases in regional centres. However, now some of the smaller communities are also experiencing an alcohol problem.

The alcohol question points to an important distinction between the communities that the native people think of as having been influenced by the industrial system and those that have not. When the residents of Paulatuk or Colville Lake express their fears of increased white pressure, of a further weakening of the native economy, or of a pipeline, they point to the problems related to alcohol in other, more "developed" settlements. They fear an increase in wife beating, child neglect, violence, and other abuses they associate with drunkenness and drinking communities.

The reality of their fears, as well as of the kinds of change that can take place in a

small northern community, are illustrated by Hugh Brody's description of the experience of a settlement in the Eastern Arctic. In Pond Inlet in 1972, the per capita consumption of alcohol was 2.2 ounces per adult per month. In that year, Panarctic Oil began to recruit labour there, and in 1973-1974, the cash income of Panarctic employees from the village amounted to about \$220,000. By 1974, the per capita consumption of alcohol was 30 ounces per adult per month. The Commissioner of the Northwest Territories tried to control the problem at Pond Inlet by forbidding mail-order deliveries of alcohol from the liquor store at Frobisher Bay. This action met with such hostility in Pond Inlet that he rescinded the order. By 1975, the Hamlet Council itself was preparing to regulate the importation of drink by mail order, and a jail had been built. In just three years, Pond Inlet had acquired a serious alcohol problem.

But although there was a 15-fold increase in per capita consumption of alcohol at Pond Inlet, that rate is still only 30 percent of the average consumption in the Northwest Territories. The disease there is still in its early stages, so to speak, but its impact can already be seen in the incidence of violence and child neglect: the number of cases related to drunken and disorderly behaviour went up from two in the year before Panarctic began to hire workers there, to 24 in the first year after hiring began. But, by comparison with settlements that have had a longer history of industrial impact and change, Pond Inlet has had only a glimpse of the alcohol-related disorders that may come.

At Fort McPherson, Neil and Elizabeth Colin, who helped found the Peel River Alcoholics Anonymous Centre, described for the Inquiry how the consumption of liquor increased when people from the village were

Alcohol education advertisements in northern newspapers. (GNWT)

Liquor store in Norman Wells. (GNWT)

Liquor misuse — a major northern problem. (Inuit Today)

Cocktail lounge in Yellowknife. (NFB—Grant)



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employed on construction of the Dempster Highway:

The beer sale here in Fort McPherson is \$5.50 a dozen. In March 1975 they sold 1,413 cases, which cost \$7,771.50. In April they sold 2,360 cases. It cost \$12,980. In May they sold 2,489. It cost \$13,690. Total sales is \$34,441.50. That's in three months. This averages out to 7.3 dozen beer for every man and woman and child in this community. For this amount 10 men could purchase a freighter canoe and 20 [men a] kicker and skidoo every three months.

The reason I put this up is because if the pipeline comes through it will be worse. [C1101]

The fact is, drinking has become an enormous problem throughout the Northwest Territories. When a traditional community becomes a drinking community, the whole atmosphere can change. Drunks can be seen staggering around the village, and people begin to lock their doors. People are apprehensive every time a plane lands: is it carrying liquor?

Let us look now at alcoholism in the Northwest Territories as a whole. In the year ending March 31, 1976, 877,000 gallons of alcohol were sold at a value of nearly \$11 million. This volume represents 86,810 gallons of absolute (pure) alcohol: if that amount is divided by the population aged 15 and over, we see that the average consumption is roughly 3.4 gallons of absolute alcohol per person per year. With the exception of the Yukon, per capita consumption of alcohol in the Northwest Territories is higher than anywhere else in Canada. It is approximately one gallon of absolute alcohol over the national average.

Native leaders have questioned the wisdom of government policy on the price of alcohol and on the effect of its price on consumption. Frank T'Seleie at Fort Good Hope told the Inquiry:

What else other than liquor is the territorial government willing to subsidize to make sure that prices are the same throughout the Northwest Territories? Does it subsidize fresh food or clothing or even pop in the same way? No, only liquor. [C1774]

Alcohol prices are the same throughout the Northwest Territories. The price of a given alcohol product is "set" f.o.b. Hay River, and markup and transportation costs are averaged throughout the distribution system. This practice is one of the factors contributing to the misuse of alcohol in the Northwest Territories. It is unfortunate that the Government of Canada, in granting this revenue source to the Government of the Northwest Territories, has placed the territorial government in a position where one of its principal sources of revenue comes from the sale of liquor. Tim McDermott, a white resident of Yellowknife, argued that there was a moral contradiction in encouraging "the people [to] work for the white man for reasonable money and then [to build] a liquor store for them to spend this money." [C8044]

Alcohol and the Pipeline

If we build the pipeline now, what will be its impact on native drinking? To understand what alcohol in its relation to accelerated industrial development will mean to Canadian native people, we have only to look at Alaska, where it is a problem of immense proportions. The rank of alcohol as a killer has risen from tenth place in 1960 to fourth in 1970, and it is still rising. Figures from the Office of Systems Development, Alaska Area Native Health Services, show that in 1960 the death rate attributed to heavy drinking and drunkenness (excluding deaths from cirrhosis of the liver) was 4.6 per 100,000 population; in 1970 that rate had risen to 41.1

per 100,000; and by 1973 the rate was 57.8 deaths per 100,000. In 1975, within the North Slope Borough, every single death was linked to heavy use of alcohol.

What might happen in Northern Canada? Dr. Ross Wheeler, a Yellowknife physician, outlined the problems he saw in the North. He mentioned suicide, mental illness, crimes of violence, and the exploitation of native women, and he concluded:

The common theme running through all these social problems is alcohol. This single drug, more than any other factor, has been, is, and will be at the root of most of the social problems in the Territories. Facilities for dealing with alcoholism are in their infancy. More time and money are needed if the programs are to be built up. This need can only increase in the future.

While treatment programs are necessary, they do not affect the basic problem causing alcoholism. Only the restoration of self-respect and a meaningful place in a society to which a person can relate, only basic dignity as a human being will reduce the problem of alcoholism. [C3401ff.]

Wheeler, like so many other witnesses, insisted upon the connection between the abuse of alcohol and industrial development. How, therefore, can we suppose that the construction of the pipeline will do anything but make the present situation worse?

The mindless violence and the social disarray that accompany drinking in the native communities are matters of grave concern to the native people themselves. They have spoken frankly to the Inquiry about the use of alcohol in the villages and of the measures they have taken to curb the problem.

Historically, measures to limit or prevent the misuse of alcohol have taken two forms: legislative sanction and remedial and educational activities. These efforts have not



succeeded generally in North American society and they have largely failed in the North. But recently the native people have had some success with both methods: at Fort Rae and at Lac la Martre the people have adopted local prohibition, and in many native villages programs of self-help are underway. In my view, these programs will succeed only to the extent that the increasing self-awareness, self-confidence and self-respect among the native people provide a foundation upon which these programs can be built. I believe that the native organizations have created positive role models — exemplars, even heroes — for native people. These models may now be replacing the southern stereotype of the drunken Indian.

At the moment, it is impossible to say whether or not the native people's attempts to control the use of alcohol will succeed. But the construction of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline will certainly make the struggle more difficult, not easier. Elizabeth Colin, basing her remarks on her experience with the Peel River Alcoholics Anonymous Centre in Fort McPherson, told the Inquiry of her fears if the pipeline is built:

Right now we are trying to get back on our feet. As natives. Trying to help ourselves. But what will happen if the pipeline comes through, and there is going to be a lot of money, and a lot of the Indians are going to be affected by alcohol? ... The people in the North are talking to the government for the first time now. If the government doesn't listen, how many more people will start drinking, just because they feel they have been fooled again? ... Maybe they will just drink more to try to forget what is happening to them. [C1102ff.]

The alcohol problem is bad now, but it could become far worse. There are communities in the Mackenzie Valley where alcohol-associated problems are severe, but there are

other communities where these problems are relatively minor, still kept at bay by the enduring vigour of native society and its values. In the language of sociology, there continue to be well-integrated native families and communities. Rapid and massive change poses two threats: to communities of well-integrated families, whose satisfying lives may suddenly be disrupted, and to communities whose families have already been broken, and who will find attempts to improve their situation made more difficult or impossible.

I suggest that the problems of alcohol abuse are not insoluble, and that they have not proceeded so far in the North that all talk of native identity and self-respect is hollow rhetoric. The alcohol problem is secondary to other and more basic issues. Why should people not drink heavily when they have been separated from all the things they value? To the extent that the native people are obliged to participate in the type of frontier development that separates them from their traditional life, their chances of containing, and finally of ameliorating, the problems of alcohol grow worse and worse.

Some small groups of Dene and Inuit have, in various parts of the North, tried to move away from settlements that are afflicted with alcohol-related problems to create new communities of their own. These movements are a means that the native people themselves have found to solve the problem. In their view, the one way in which they can hope to ameliorate the alcohol problem is to ensure that they are *not* compelled to participate in industrial development, *not* compelled to leave their own lands, and *not* compelled to surrender their independence. Insofar as abuse of alcohol is a warning of the gravity of the native people's predicament,

that warning is against unrestrained industrial development.

Social Impact and the Women of the North

Women from every town and village in which the Inquiry sat, described their hopes and fears for the future. The social impact of the pipeline will affect all members of the community, but it may have a particular effect upon women. Four women, Gina Blondin, Rosemary Cairns, Valerie Hearder and Mary Kerton, submitted a brief to the Inquiry at Yellowknife on this important subject:

Looking at development from a woman's point of view is vital. Women are concerned with the human element of development, about what it will do to their children, their homes and their community. Women are the ones who end up coping with the results and effects of development decisions usually made by men. [Submission on the Merits 189, p. 1]

They suggested that the pipeline would aggravate the housing problem that now exists in communities such as Yellowknife, Fort Simpson and Inuvik. The pressures of overcrowding and the deterioration in the supply of public utilities such as electricity and water, and in communications, would fall mainly on women who, during the long northern winters, are often alone at home.

Of great concern to many women in the North is the likelihood of their being sexually exploited during the construction of a pipeline. Marie Anne Jeremicka at Lac la Martre pointed out this danger:

There will be about six thousand men working on the pipeline and mostly these men will be from the South. What will it mean to us young people? It means, if these men come, they will take our young women away for a

A Yellowknife hotel. (NFB-Pearce)

Gina and Tina Blondin. (N. Cooper)

Government-run receiving home for children in Inuvik. (GNWT)

Three generations at Fort Providence. (GNWT)



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year or two. Like the pipeline project will be going on for three years. They will take our young women away, probably shack up with them, make them pregnant, and leave them alone after the job is done. What will these young women do? They don't have education. Where will they get the money to support their children, and what will they do for a living? [C8224ff.]

Cassien Edgi of Fort Good Hope told the Inquiry:

I am 57 years old and have eight children and grandchildren. I am going against the pipeline which will give my children trouble and hardship. Every one of you sitting here love your children. Do you want them to suffer? What is going to happen if the pipeline goes through Fort Good Hope? Drugs, booze, family break-up and trouble. In the past we have a handful of white men. Still, how many girls have kids without fathers and live on welfare? If the pipeline goes through there will be thousands and thousands of white people. [C1884]

The women's brief also addressed this issue:

Teenagers are confused about sexual behaviour at the best of times and under the best of circumstances. But an imbalance in the number of males and females caused by a massive development intensifies this confusion for young girls and boys. In communities where the traditional pattern of life already has broken down, young girls have begun drinking and are being taken advantage of sexually. Recent reports point out that illegitimate pregnancies and venereal disease have skyrocketed in the Northwest Territories communities where development has taken place. But all these signs, which would be greatly intensified by development, are only the visible indicators of the real problem — a generation of confused young people and a disrupted community. [Submission on the Merits 189, p. 12]

Dr. Ross Wheeler of Yellowknife described to the Inquiry some of the implications of the pipeline for social contact between native women and a large number of transient white labourers, based upon the experience of Frobisher Bay:

This contact was characterized by a total lack of regard for native people as human beings. The male-female contact was invariably sexually exploitive in nature. The presence of a lot of money and easy access to alcohol were the catalysts. Young native women were drawn out by these features from their normal social patterns, and into patterns of drunkenness and overt sexuality. Little or no thought was given by the men involved to the consequences of their actions. These actions were totally irresponsible and devoid of emotional content. The effect on the native women was socially, physically and culturally destructive. They tended to be alienated from their people and were left alone to attend to their venereal disease, illegitimate children and incipient alcoholism.

In the past the social stigma of this type of contact happening occasionally could be absorbed. However, we have only to imagine this effect multiplied by a factor of a few thousand concentrated over three winters. It could be devastating. We could calculate the cost in terms of medical service. We could even "guesstimate" the cost of supportive social services, but it is impossible to assess the cost, the human price, for loss of dignity and social alienation.

Who is going to pay? The pipeline company? The oil company? The people of Canada? These people may pay the dollars; we already know who is going to pay the price in human misery. [C3400ff.]

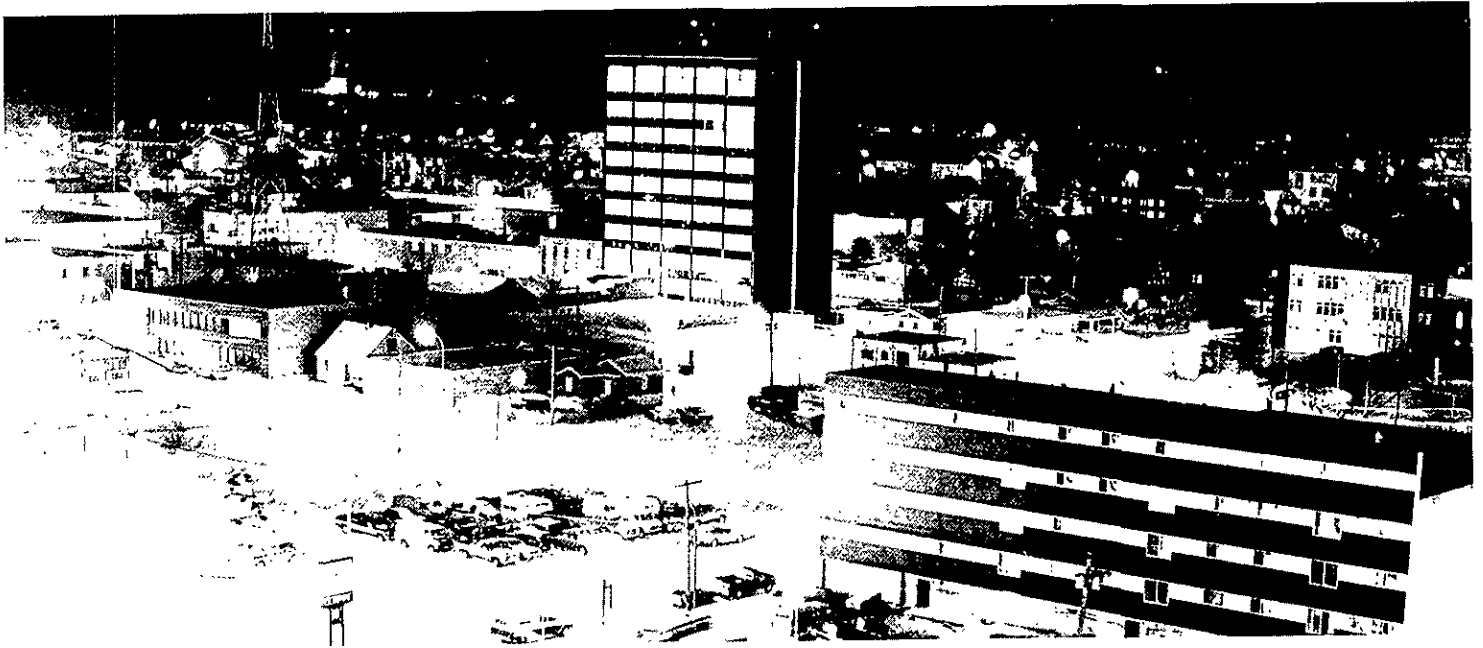
Everywhere, the native people expressed the gravest concern about the potential dangers of having large construction camps near or with easy access to their villages. They insisted that these men must be prevented from disrupting community life. Jane Charlie of Fort McPherson said:

Now I worry about my own girls, how they will grow up. When I hear that there is going to be 800 people in every camp, I hope they make a law that the white people will have to stay away from the town of McPherson. Like I said before, the white people are good, but some are no good. [C1253B]

The pipeline companies, aware of this concern, have told the Inquiry that they will make every effort to minimize undesired communication between the construction camps and the villages and that, subject to union agreement, they will make the native villages "off limits" to men in the construction camps. They say that many of the proposed camps will be in remote locations, and that scheduling of construction during winter will prevent easy access to villages.

I do not doubt the good intentions of the companies in this regard. However, there is real doubt about the companies' legal right in Canada to restrict the access of their employees to native communities. In any event, as I have pointed out before, the companies will have no control over the influx of other workers who will come north to take advantage of the secondary employment generated by the pipeline.

It is, in my judgment, unrealistic to expect or hope that the villages can be immunized, as it were, against contact with the construction camps. Native people will be employed in those camps, and inevitably some of them will make friends with white construction workers and will wish to invite them home. We must also remember that many of the construction workers will be seeing the Canadian North for the first, and perhaps the only, time. Naturally, they will want to see something of the native villages, many of which are in locations of natural beauty. To expect anything else of them would be to deny the fascination that the North holds for Canadians as a whole. Unfortunately, that



fascination will inevitably lead to trouble when the leisure activities of large numbers of white male labourers begin to influence the social life of the small native villages. Other difficulties will be created by the attraction of young native people to the excitement and activity generated by the pipeline boom in the larger centres of settlement.

These attractions, together with the ready availability of alcohol, are the background to sexual exploitation and to family breakdown, two related and familiar aspects of social life in frontier settlements. Already there are towns in the Northwest Territories where Dene and Inuit women, many of them teenagers, are regarded as easy prey, an amusement for an evening or a week. Women, especially young women, will be vulnerable to the social impact of industrial development in the North.

If the young women, particularly those from traditional communities, are attracted by the company of white workers, they may reject — or be rejected by — their own families, a situation that has often occurred in the North in the past and that has led to much sorrow and disappointment. Less obvious, perhaps, but no less important is what happens to the young native men in such a situation. If the young men find that their company is rejected in favour of that of white workers, who are likely to be fully employed and to have a lot of money to spend, they will experience a whole range of frustration and despair. In such a situation, the temptation to turn to drink may be overwhelming. A drunken person who has these reasons for rage, anger and frustration inside him is a dangerous man, and he is likely to become violent. This situation, too, has often occurred in the North, but its

causes may not have been obvious to an outsider.

Social Inequalities

During the early 1950s, the swift growth of a strong governmental presence in the North was intended to bring to the native people the benefits of the modern liberal state and to give them equal opportunity with other Canadians. Paradoxically, it had the effect of producing yet deeper inequalities in the social structure of the North. The establishment and growth of Inuvik illustrate this point vividly.

Inuvik was intended to replace Aklavik as a centre for federal administration. All major commercial and government services were transferred to Inuvik, and new research and defence establishments were built there. Dr. Hobart described what the move from Aklavik to Inuvik entailed in terms of social impact:

When whites first came to the Arctic, if they were to survive, much less live in comfort, they had in many ways to adopt the life-style of the native people. Thus, there was a basic similarity in the everyday living and survival patterns of everyone in the same community. As I heard people in this area say ten and more years ago, in Aklavik, the honey bucket was the great equalizer. At the risk of oversimplification, we could characterize the shift from Aklavik to Inuvik as the shift from egalitarianism to discrimination, from attitudes of acceptance to attitudes of prejudice against native people. ... If in Aklavik the honey bucket was the great equalizer, in Inuvik, particularly during the early years, the utilidor was the great discriminator. The planning of Inuvik provided that some would have to continue to carry the honey bucket and [others] would no longer have to. Thus, discrimination was built into the piling foundations of this community. You could see it from the air, before ever setting foot in town, in terms of where the utilidor did run, the

white serviced end of town — and where it did not — the native unserved part of town. [F17160ff.]

Such inequalities have not gone unobserved by the native people, for they are to be seen in almost every community. Philip Blake, a Dene from Fort McPherson and a social worker there for five years, talked about the changes in that community:

I am not an old man, and I have seen many changes in my life. Fifteen years ago, most of what you see as Fort McPherson did not exist. Take a look around the community now and you will start to get an idea of what has happened to the Indian people here over the past few years.

Look at the housing where transient government staff live. And look at the housing where the Indian people live. Look at what houses are connected to the utilidor. Look at how the school and hostel, the RCMP and government staff houses are right in the centre of town, dividing the Indian people into two sides. Look at where the Bay store is, right on the top of the highest point of land. Do you think that this is the way that the Indian people chose to have this community? Do you think the people here had any voice in planning this community? Do you think they would have planned it so that it divided them and gave them a poorer standard than the transient whites who came in, supposedly to help them? [C1078]

We must ask ourselves, how will these inequalities be affected by the construction of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline? The likelihood is that the native people will be employed as unskilled workers on jobs that will not last beyond the period of construction. The social implications of this likelihood can be stated baldly: industrial expansion into the Western Arctic means the extension northward of southern wage-and-status differentials. The native people will find themselves on the bottom rungs of the

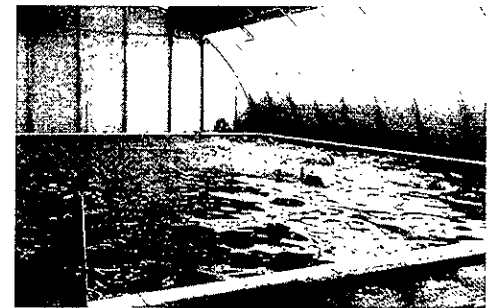
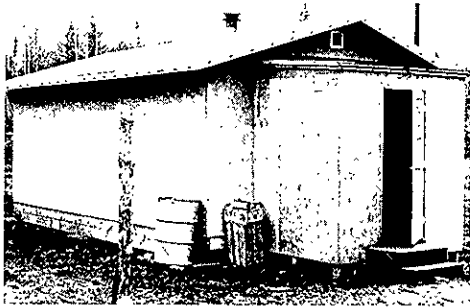
Yellowknife. (DIAND)

Accommodation and recreation in Hay River:

House on Indian Reserve. (Native Press)

Highrise apartment. (DIAND)

Swimming pool. (GNWT)



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ladder, and most of them are likely to remain there.

Any claim that equality of opportunity at the work place will prevent the coincidence of low pay and low status with brown skin is, to say the least, naïve. Inequalities of income and of occupational level are intrinsic to the industrial system, and they will no doubt be features of its extension to any frontier. Nevertheless, it is not easy to accept the racial inequalities at the work place. Still less easy is it to accept the social tensions and disorders that such inequalities bequeath.

Only time and the establishment of options available to the native people will go any distance toward preventing such inequalities. Once again we must remember that industrial development of the frontier, without a parallel development of native self-determination and the native economy, will bring to bear on the native people immense pressure to give way to a style of life that they regard as alien and destructive. If we create a society in which the native people of the North are deprived of social and economic dignity by a process of development that they regard as an assault on their homeland and themselves, they will see this assault in racial terms and will protest and oppose it in the years to come.

Identity and Self-respect

By cataloguing the pathologies of society in the North today, I have tried to show the North as I see it. I have tried to predict what will happen in terms of social impact, if a pipeline is built now.

It should be plain enough that one of the most pervasive social problems in the North today is the loss of self-esteem that many native people have experienced. It may be no exaggeration to speak at times of a despair

that has overwhelmed whole families, even whole villages. I want this point to be well understood because it is integral to many of the social pathologies of northern people, and the problem must be faced if we are to develop a rational social policy for the future of the North.

Many of us cannot easily imagine what it is like to be a member of a subject race. When you see your race, or a member of it, denigrated or insulted, then you too are diminished as an individual. The expression can be subtle and insidious, or it can be overt; it can be part of deliberate behaviour, or it can be unintentional. The disorders that such discrimination involves cannot be eliminated by psychiatric, health and counselling services. Although such services may palliate the disease, they will never cure it.

Pat Kehoc, a psychologist who practises in the Yukon, told the Inquiry:

I have talked to numerous native people, many as clients, who described to me their personal frustration, despair and sense of worthlessness in the face of the growing white community, and as the numerical dilution continues, this feeling is likely to grow. [F28455]

He made this prediction of the likely consequences of the pipeline:

From the model presented earlier and the abundant evidence of cultural breakdown, we should predict a high incidence of disordered behaviour or, if you prefer, mental illness, among the native people. I have described [a] population with limited access to highly valued, achieved roles, whether these be white or traditional: where people are given roles that are incompatible with their traditional values; where there is a discontinuity between the old ways and the new; where traditional roles, such as hunter, trapper [and] shaman, are devalued or discredited entirely;

and where the old standards by which self-esteem was regulated are increasingly identified as irrelevant. [F28457]

He summarized his conception of the problem by reference to the psychiatric disorder known as reactive depression:

This disorder is recognized by a set of symptoms including passivity, lack of interest, decrease in energy, difficulty in concentration, lack of motivation and ambition, and a feeling of helplessness. These symptoms can vary in degree and from person to person and culture to culture. It has been suggested by many of my colleagues in psychology and psychiatry that this disorder is virtually endemic among the northern native people but at a sub-clinical level or [it is] perhaps simply unrecognized as depression. [F28458]

Dr. Pat Abbott, a psychiatrist with the Division of Northern Medicine, Department of Health and Welfare, made a point that is vital to understanding these problems. The establishment of new programs, the recruitment of personnel, the delivery of improved health services and social services by themselves are and will be an exercise in futility; it is the condition of the people that we must address. And here we have come full circle to return again to the question of cultural impact. Abbott elaborated upon the difference between disorders that are individual, and therefore amenable to treatment at the individual level, and those that are social, and therefore unamenable to individual treatment:

In the same way that psychiatry throughout the world differs in its approach [in] different cultures, psychiatry in the North must also take into account the cultural and social conditions of the people. The vast majority of the problems that I have seen as a clinical psychiatrist cannot, in all honesty, be classified as psychiatric problems. Some problems such as the major psychoses occur in all people, and the treatment is largely medical in



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the sense of medication. So at least in its initial stages, southern psychiatry is appropriate. However, many of the problems seen are so closely interwoven with the life-style of the native people in the North, which in turn is closely bound to such problems as economics, housing, self-esteem and cultural identity, that to label them as psychiatric disorders is frankly fraudulent and of no value whatsoever, as the treatment must eventually be the treatment of the whole community rather than [of] the individual. [F28437]

Social Impact and the Pipeline

Some advocates of the pipeline say that the wage employment it would provide, even though temporary, would ameliorate the social problems that underlie the psychological symptoms that Kehoe, Abbott and others have described. In the light of all of the evidence and our experience, this attitude must be regarded as wrong. We cannot ignore the truly frightening increases in crime, abuse of alcohol, diet-related illness, venereal disease rates and mental illness that have occurred during the past ten years in the North.

At the same time, we should acknowledge some encouraging trends: violent deaths of native people in the Northwest Territories fell from 28.4 percent of all deaths in 1974 to 22.5 percent in 1975. There was a reduction in the number of cases of venereal disease reported in 1976. I have described some local reactions against alcohol abuse that have led to measures of local prohibition. Why have these indicators of crime and social disease, which for years have gone from bad to worse, broken their upward trend? Perhaps it has been a result of heightened native consciousness, the determination of the native people to be true to themselves, that is responsible. But let us make no mistake: these improvements, although welcome, are

small, and they may prove to be merely an interruption of longer-term trends. In communities into which the industrial economy has only recently penetrated, the situation is deeply alarming.

The question we face is, will construction of the pipeline hamper social improvements? The answer must be yes. If pipeline construction goes ahead now, can we ensure that its effects will not halt these social improvements? The answer must be no. Although some ameliorative measures can be taken to lessen the social impact of pipeline construction and related activity on the northern people, no one should think that these measures will prevent the further and serious deterioration of social and personal well-being in the native communities.

The process of rebuilding a strong, self-confident society in the Mackenzie Valley has begun. Major industrial development now may well have a disastrous effect on that process. With the pipeline, I should expect the high rate of alcohol consumption to persist and worsen. I should expect further erosion of native culture, further demoralization of the native people, and degradation and violence beyond anything previously seen in the Mackenzie Valley and the Western Arctic.

The presence of a huge migrant labour force and the impact of construction over the years will mean that alcohol and drugs will become more serious problems. It is fanciful to think that greater opportunities for wage employment on a pipeline will stop or reverse the effects of past economic development.

Let me cite what Dr. Wheeler said of the Dene, because this statement applies to all the native peoples of the Mackenzie Valley

and the Western Arctic. His views exemplify those of every doctor and nurse who spoke to the Inquiry.

The Dene have great strength as a people. Part of this strength lies in their extended family ties which they have been able to maintain in close-knit communities. We white people know the value of these kinds of ties, as we are now feeling the loss of them in terms of the depersonalization and dehumanization of southern urban living. How long will the Dene family survive the loss of its young men and the degradation of its women?

We want to hear what plans the territorial and federal governments have or are developing for these kinds of social problems. But perhaps the answer lies not with increasing government bureaucracy, with all its controls. The solution to these problems, and with it the survival of the Dene, lies within the Dene. They must be allowed to develop these solutions within a time frame of their own choosing before we get stampeded into a social disaster from which the North may never recover. The people need time and freedom in order to survive. [C3402]

The Limits to Planning

I have been asked to predict the impact of the pipeline and energy corridor and to recommend terms and conditions that might mitigate their impact. Some impacts are easier to predict than others: there is a vast difference between the effects that are likely to occur in the first year and those that will be important in ten years. And there are difficulties in prediction that involve more than time or scale, for even short-term causal chains can be intricately connected. Moreover, some consequences of the pipeline will be controllable, but others will not. Just as there are limits to predicting, so also are there limits to planning.

Arctic Red River. (M. Jackson)

Café and bar in Fort Providence. (Native Press)

Elizabeth Mackenzie, activist against liquor abuse, being sworn in as a Justice of the Peace, Rae-Edzo. (Native Press)

People visiting outside the Bay, Fort Norman. (N. Cooper)



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I can recommend terms and conditions that will to some extent mitigate the social impact of the pipeline and energy corridor, but some of the consequences I have predicted will occur no matter what controls we impose. Other consequences can be predicted only in a vague and general way: we can anticipate their scale, but cannot adequately plan for them. There is a gulf, therefore, between the nature of the predictions and the nature of the terms and conditions I am asked to propose. The one is imprecise and often speculative; the other, if the terms and conditions are to be effective, must be very precise. We must never forget their limitations; it is all too easy to be overconfident of our ability to act as social engineers and to suppose — quite wrongly — that all problems can be foreseen and resolved. The nature of human affairs often defies the planners. In the case of a vast undertaking like the Mackenzie Valley pipeline, overconfidence in our ability to anticipate and to manage social problems would be foolish and dangerous.

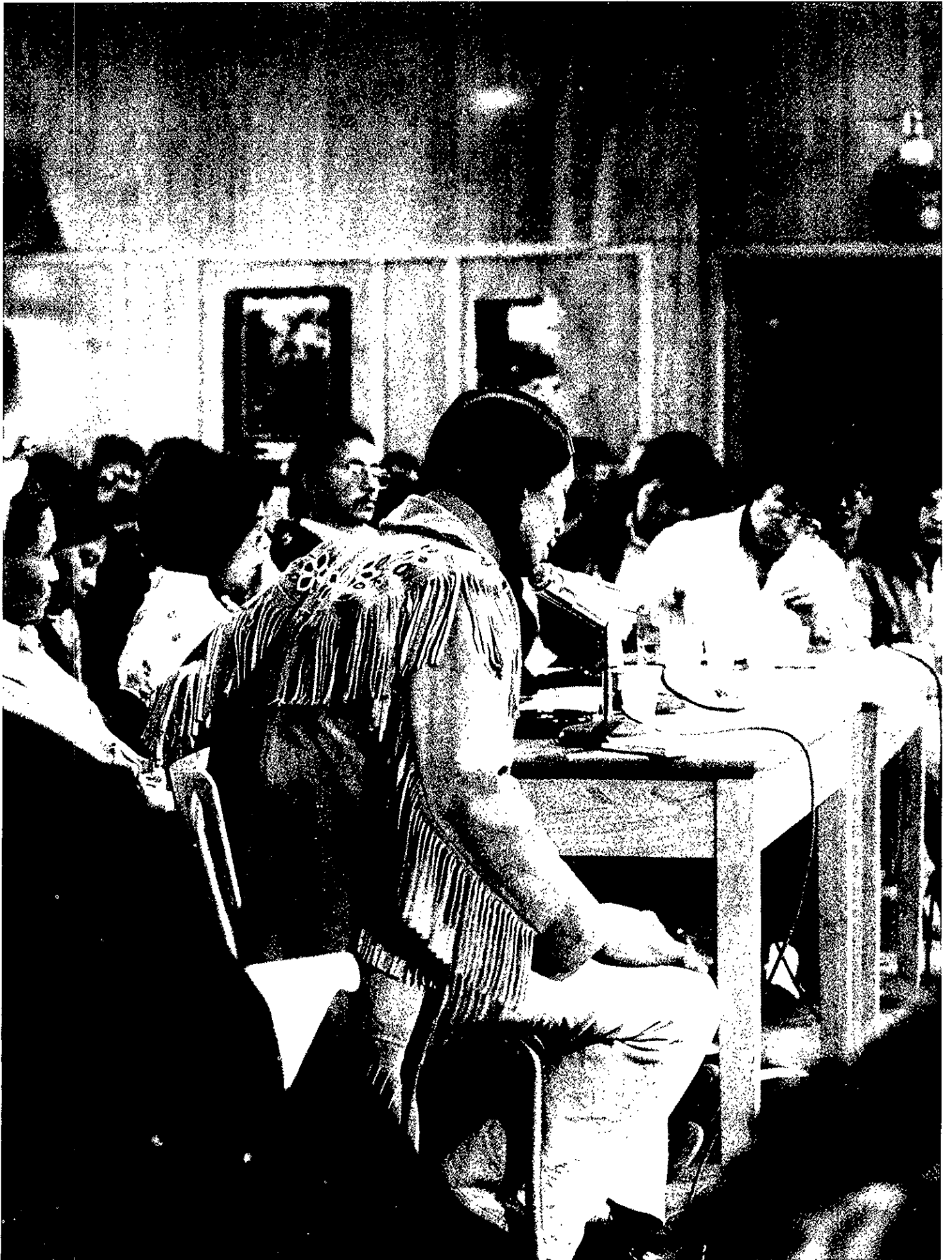
I am prepared to accept that the oil and gas industry, the pipeline company, and the contractors will be able to exercise a measure

of control over the movement and behaviour of their personnel. I am prepared to accept that government will expand its services and infrastructure in major communities to serve the requirements of pipeline construction in the Mackenzie Valley and of gas plant development in the Delta. Where actual numbers of people can be predicted, planning is possible and orderly procedures and cost-sharing arrangements can be worked out. However, there are obvious limitations to planning of this sort. The cost of the project or the number of workers required may be so far in excess of the figures we have now that it will seem as though we had planned one project but had built another. There is the question of how many people will be involved in secondary employment: their number will be large, no matter what measures are taken to discourage them, and the costs associated with their presence in the North will be very high.

There are also political limits to planning. The impacts that lead to social costs vary in the degree to which they can be treated. There are matters over which government and industry can exercise some control; there are other matters over which control would

not be in keeping with the principles of a democratic society. And there are social impacts over which no control could be exercised even under the most authoritarian regime.

Finally, I am not prepared to accept that, in the case of an enormous project like the pipeline, there can be any real control over how much people will drink and over what the abuse of alcohol will do to their lives. There can be no control over how many families will break up, how many children will become delinquent and have criminal records, how many communities will see their young people drifting towards the larger urban centres, and how many people may be driven from a way of life they know to one they do not understand and in which they have no real place. Such problems are beyond anyone's power to control, but they will generate enormous social costs. Because these costs are, by and large, neither measurable nor assignable, we tend to forget them or to pretend they do not exist. But with construction of a pipeline, they would occur, and the native people of the North would then have to pay the price.



Fort Simpson community hearing. (N. Cooper)