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IS IT COOL TO BE AN ESKIMO?:

A Study of Stress, Identity, Coping and Health Among
Canadian Inuit Young Adult Men.

by

John D. O'Neil

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Medical Anthropology

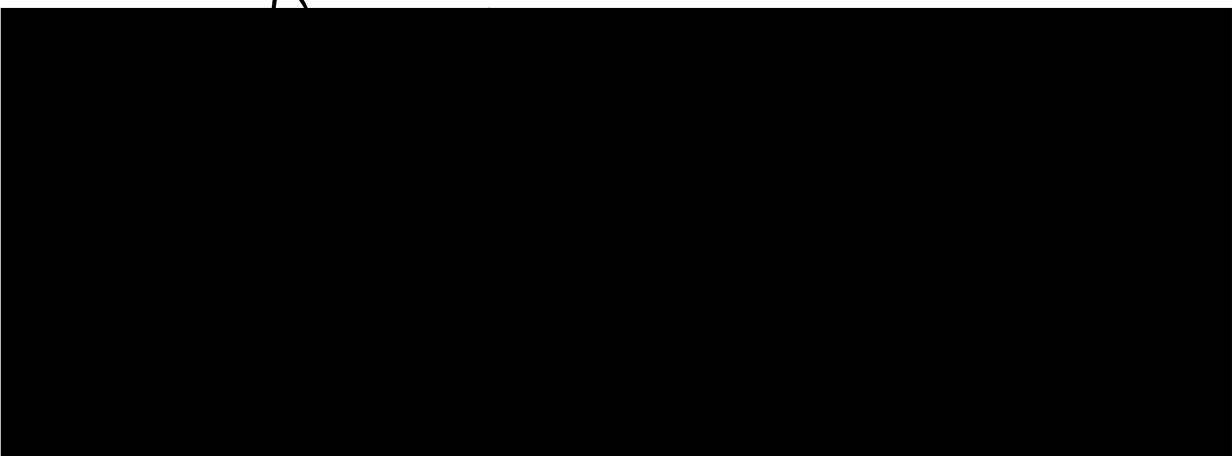
in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

San Francisco



Date

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Degree Conferred:

Mathematics

Algebra

1. Solve the equation: $2x + 5 = 15$

2. Simplify: $3x^2 + 4x - 7x^2 + 2x$

Geometry

3. Find the area of a rectangle with length 8 and width 5.

4. Calculate the perimeter of a square with side length 6.

5. Determine the volume of a cube with side length 4.

Calculus

6. Find the derivative of $f(x) = x^2 + 3x - 7$.

7. Integrate: $\int (2x + 5) dx$

Statistics

8. Calculate the mean of the following data set: 12, 15, 18, 20, 22.

9. Find the standard deviation of the data set: 10, 15, 20, 25, 30.

10. A bag contains 10 balls, 3 red and 7 blue. What is the probability of drawing a red ball?

11. A coin is tossed 10 times. What is the probability of getting exactly 5 heads?

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Canadian Inuit Young Adult Men.

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by

John D. O'Neil

IS IT COOL TO BE AN ESKIMO?:

A Study of Stress, Identity, Coping and Health Among Canadian Inuit Young Adult Men.

This dissertation describes the lives of young Inuit men between the ages of 15 and 30 in a Canadian Arctic village. It explores the relationship between their perception of stressful features in their socio-ecological contexts; their negotiation of age, gender, and ethnic identity; their use of various coping tactics, strategies, and styles to mediate the experience of stress; and their overall social, psychological and physiological well-being. It analyses the relationship between socio-cultural change, life-cycle development, and creative coping capacity.

It is an interpretive, interactionist, and epidemiological account of stress-related health problems such as emotional disturbance and substance abuse. It argues that well-being is related in a multi-dimensional way to a person's participation in the ongoing negotiation of definitions of self, and understandings about society, and the active construction of a supportive social reality. It concludes that in rapidly changing, multi-cultural contexts, the experience of stress and its health consequences cannot be fully understood with models which rely on unilinear concepts such as acculturation or social support to explain variation in the effects of stress.

It argues that the coping tactics, strategies and styles generated among young Inuit are legitimate, rather than deviant responses to the social, economic, and political conditions of internal colonialism which characterizes Northern Canadian society. In a variety of ways, Inuit youth are contributing to the redefinition and ultimate restructuring of Northern society in a manner which strengthens Inuit identity and tradition, and redistributes economic and political resources in a more equitable arrangement. Participation in this process is problematic; the experience of stress and its health consequences are often the consequence.

Acknowledgements

The research reported here covers a period of nearly seven years and has benefitted from the assistance of so many individuals and institutions that specific acknowledgement in every instance would be impossible. Further, the people to whom I owe the greatest debt -- my friends in Sanctuary Bay -- must not be mentioned in order to protect their right to anonymity. It seems unjust to detail other acts of kindness and support while ignoring theirs.

Nonetheless, I am deeply aware that while the research act -- and particularly the anthropological one -- is a solitary enterprise, its success is very much a function of the contributions of others. And it is often the seemingly most innocuous things which contribute the most: the flash of insight offered over a glass of beer, the letter timed to offer encouragement during a period of despair, or the use of a shower after a gruelling week in camp. Thus while the failures of this thesis are entirely my own, its strengths are very much a product of my interactions with many, many people over the past seven years, only a few of whom I can mention here.

The members of my thesis committee; my supervisor, Dr. Frederick L. Dunn in the Medical Anthropology Program at the University of California, San Francisco, and Drs. Nelson H.H. Graburn and Gerald D. Berreman in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, deserve my deepest gratitude. Their professional standards are the ideals I have tried to emulate, their influence on my thinking will be obvious in the pages to follow, and their personal kindness and care over long distances amidst hectic schedules of their own eased many a difficult moment.

The other faculty and students in the Medical Anthropology Program at the University of California (San Francisco-Berkeley) provided a rich and stimulating intellectual atmosphere where my interests in medical

anthropology were able to flourish and develop. In particular, Drs. Joan Ablon, Margaret Clark, Linda Mitteness and Corinne Nydegger assisted significantly in the theoretical and methodological development of the research project. Drs. Nydegger and Mitteness also contributed substantially to my economic welfare from their Fatherhood Project and kindly tolerated my intellectual preoccupation with my own work. I would also like to thank the University of California (San Francisco) Patent Fund for financial support of the project.

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The thesis is dedicated to the people of Sanctuary Bay, to whom my debt is boundless. Some of the most meaningful experiences of my life occurred in their company and their kind tolerance of my invasion into their lives, I hope, is partially repaid in this thesis.

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1. AN INTRODUCTORY STORY

Bobby Ukpinngituk lay inert on the caribou skin mattress, conscious of a numbness spreading through his body and mind. His Coleman stove had run out of fuel and the tent was intensely cold. He knew he would freeze if he remained immobile, but he felt paralysed by an indeterminate fear that seemed to pervade his being.

He had set out the previous day, travelling alone for the first time, to hunt caribou on the mainland when a storm had caught him unprepared. He had left the security of the village reluctantly, since it was late March and the weather could be treacherous, but his family was short of meat and his father was sick. He was 19; people expected him to assist his family but most boys his age would never consider a trip this early in the year alone.

Bobby was different. As a child he had suffered from severe headaches, and his moody, quick-tempered behaviour over the past few years frightened his family and friends. His uncles and brothers-in-law seemed to avoid him and only his father and younger brother would hunt with him. Sometimes he thought even his mother and sisters were afraid of him.

The fear that unmanned him now was diffuse in origin. The storm was dangerous, but he felt confident he could survive. Solitude, however, was a more immediate threat. He felt intensely lonely and his fantasies threatened to overwhelm him. He was compelled to venture out into the storm; he had no idea why.

He shuddered and sat up. Struggling to his knees, he pulled on his mitts and crawled through the doorway. Once outside, he methodically gathered his rifle, binoculars and skinning knife from his sled and prepared to search for caribou. The wind seemed less severe now. He thought he could see the outline of a row of hills in the distance that had been invisible before. Shouldering his rifle, he set off towards the top of the rise to survey the area. He had taken perhaps ten steps when he began to tremble. His heart pounded in his chest and his ears rang.

"Are you Angutimmarik?" a raspy voice asked. "Do not turn around. I have been waiting for you. I am your grandfather!"

And then silence. Bobby stood rigidly, and watched the snow swirl into the fur trimming of his parka. The silence continued. He could stand it no longer and slowly turned around into the wind, his eyes glued to the ground in front of him.

"One was told not to turn around. A person must show sense and learn to listen," the voice growled.

Startled, Bobby looked up and into the wizened face of a very old man, dressed entirely in caribou skins. He seemed to float several feet off the ground and the snow appeared to pass through him. Bobby's pulse slowed as he stared fixedly into the burning black eyes of this strange apparition claiming to be his grandfather.

"Because one has seen me, he must obey me. This one has waited a long time for you. Before you were of weak mind and little direction. After you will obey my will. One must be guided." As he spoke, the phantom moved closer until their eyes were only inches apart. Bobby could feel his icy breath on his cheeks.

He whispered, "What should I do?"

"Why are you travelling alone?", demanded the ancient. "You should have a wife to prepare food and warm your bed."

"My parents want me to stay with the daughter of Arnaiuk, but I'm not happy about it. I like Sarah," Bobby replied.

He was confused; men travelled without their families in winter and the implications of the spirit's words frightened him.

"We shall see," whispered the old man, "We are one."

And with that, he vanished, leaving Bobby dazed and trembling: his mind reeled. He dropped his rifle in the snow and stumbled into the tent. He collapsed into the pile of skins and blankets and fell instantly into a deep and dreamless sleep.

* *

"In case we're cut off, when can you see him?" Margaret bellowed into the telephone. The line was crackling and whooshing and she feared it might be days before she would be able to reach Dr. Feldman again, the psychiatrist in Yellowknife. Her experience as a northern nurse had prepared her for most emergencies but Bobby's problem was different from anything she had encountered.

"And what should I do with him in the meantime?" she asked with concern.

Dr. Feldman replied reassuringly, "If necessary, I can see him as soon as you can arrange to have him evacuated. But before we do that, please describe to me in detail exactly what has transpired."

"His mother came down to the Nursing Station late last night very upset. She had called Bobby's sister Martha, our translator, to come with her and they wanted me to come over to the house immediately. Martha said her mother thought Bobby was trying to kill himself and he wouldn't listen to anyone. When we got to the house, Bobby was lying on the floor under his bed, his clothing ripped and his legs bleeding from several knife wounds. His father had taken the knife away from him."

Margaret took a deep breath and continued. "He was very passive, almost catatonic, so I dressed his leg wounds and helped him onto the bed. The room was a mess, furniture overturned, and clothing strewn about. I decided it would be easier to talk to him at the Nursing Station so we..."

"Were there any bruises or marks on his face or upper body that might indicate a fight or struggle," Dr. Feldman interrupted.

"Nothing noticeable," Margaret replied tartly, resenting the implication that she might have missed something significant, "Just the wounds on his legs."

"Please continue," soothed the psychiatrist.

"Well, once we got him down to the Nursing Station and I was alone with him, he seemed to relax a bit. With very little encouragement he told me that he had been defending himself from a spirit. Apparently, the spirit was very angry with him because he wasn't married to a girl the spirit preferred," Margaret reported.

As the conversation continued, it emerged that Bobby's family had been worried about his strange behaviour for some time. They had tried to arrange a marriage for him with the daughter of his father's cousin but Bobby had resisted the arrangement and had instead been seeing a lot of Sarah. Sarah was the granddaughter of an old man with considerable influence in town who had no desire to see his favorite granddaughter married to such a strange young man. This information came from Bobby's sister, Martha. Bobby's story of the spirit described his experience while hunting alone several months previously, and Margaret was convinced he truly believed he was possessed. Apparently, the spirit was also attracted to Sarah and was making Bobby disobey his parents and act violently.

"I think the best thing would be for you send him down to see me as soon as possible," declared the doctor. "And please provide me with as much information as you can about his family, friends and any opinions local people may have about his condition. In the meantime, I think we will tentatively diagnose his condition as schizophrenia with delusional tendencies, and put him on a medium dosage of Stelazine."

* *

The old DC-3 taxied over and stopped beside the truck. Bobby was mildly surprised to see someone waiting for the plane because the weather was superb. From the window of the aircraft, he had counted fourteen boats out on the bay in front of the village. The sea was a mirror from the air, ideal conditions for seal hunting. He wondered who was passing up this marvelous opportunity just to meet the plane. Probably a qallunaaq he decided. Only White people failed to appreciate this kind of weather. He was therefore pleased to discover his uncle standing quietly beside the truck.

They shook hands silently, their palms hardly touching, and smiled briefly at each other. Neither of them spoke during the drive into town, where his uncle dropped him in front of his parent's house. Nevertheless, Bobby was greatly reassured. Without speaking a word, his uncle had informed him that everyone in the family was well and they were happy to have him home again.

He opened the door to the house and stepped inside. His youngest brother and sister ran down the hallway and stood in the doorway to the porch, staring silently at him for a moment. He flashed a quick smile at them and they ran back into the living area to watch television. He removed his shoes and followed them. Bertha, his fifteen year old cousin was curled up on the end of the couch watching the children play in front of her. He smiled at her and sat down at the kitchen table. No one else appeared to be home but the teapot was full and there were cups scattered about the table. He poured himself some lukewarm tea, and added two tablespoons of sugar.

"My parents are out seal-hunting?" he asked his cousin in English after a few minutes.

"My auntie is visiting with my mother," she replied, "and my uncle has gone out."

She glanced shyly in his direction. "No one told us you were coming home today."

The Citizen's Band radio on the shelf in the corner crackled and his aunt's voice broke the silence.

"My sister is happy that my nephew is home again," she declared flatly in Inuktitut. "My husband dreamt he would come home today and brought him from the airplane. My sister is on her way home now."

The CB went silent again.

Bobby heard the door to the porch open and his mother came into the room. Her tired face smiled warmly at him. Without a word she went to the freezer and brought a large piece of frozen caribou meat into the living area. She set it carefully on a piece of cardboard in the middle of the floor and placed a hunting knife beside it. Straightening, she picked up the cold teapot, refilled it with water and set it to boil on the electric stove. Bobby got down onto his knees and began to cut off slivers of frozen meat. Pleasure ran through him as he swallowed; the meat was such a pleasant change from the qallunaaq food he had been forced to eat during the past few weeks in Yellowknife. After several minutes his mother joined him on the floor and they ate silently together.

"My son is feeling better?" she inquired presently.

"The doctor gave me some medicine," Bobby replied, and his mother nodded her head in satisfaction.

Bobby was limited in his ability to express himself in Inuktitut so although his mother waited patiently for him to talk about his experiences, he remained silent. She had many questions and concerns crowding her thoughts but was too polite to ask her son directly.

Bobby set his knife down and stood up.

"The meat tastes very good," he said. "I was very homesick."

He sat down at the table and his mother poured him tea and set some bannock in front of him. He smeared it with butter and jam and turned his attention to the television. The village had begun receiving broadcasts two months previously and the novelty was still compelling. There was a football game in progress and he noted with a sort of perverse pride that the Edmonton Eskimos were one of the teams.

* *

Bobby groaned and sat up. His clothes were damp and sticky from perspiration and the bedclothes were in disarray. His head felt thick with sleep and he shook it slowly to dispell the grogginess. He shuddered slightly, remembering the frightening dream that had shocked him awake, and swung his feet over the edge of the bed. The flimsy curtain did little to block the sunlight streaming through the window and he paused briefly to survey the tiny room he shared with his two younger brothers. Most of the floor space was occupied by the homemade plywood beds except for a small bookcase from which spilled their collection of comics, records, toys, and a few articles of clothing. His gaze took in the Rolling Stones poster above the bookcase and he wondered idly if rock group qallunaat were anything like the teachers, nurses and construction workers with whom he was familiar. The remaining walls were bare except for a picture of Jesus above the door that the priest had given to him.

He brushed a hand through his long straight hair, rubbed his eyes and went down the hall to the kitchen, looking for something to eat. He took

several chocolate chip cookies from a bag on the table and opened the refrigerator. Inside was a large pot containing a few boiled caribou ribs in a broth. Beside it were a half loaf of white bread and a partially eaten bowl of jello that his sister had made a few days before. He took a little of everything to complete his meal and prepared to leave the house. On his way out he noticed it was six o'clock and for a moment paused in confusion. He knew it had to be six in the evening -- he couldn't have slept twenty-four hours -- but with long hours of daylight, it was easy to lose track of the time.

Dressed in jeans, a T-shirt, and nylon windbreaker, he left the house and hurried through the village, the brisk August air chilling him quickly. He was heading for the school, a massive building whose primary attraction was its fully equipped gymnasium.

The gym was quiet when he entered. It was still early and most of the young people who spent their evenings here were probably still asleep. David, his cousin, was shooting baskets at the far end and Bobby trotted down to join him. Without speaking, they took turns retrieving the ball and roamed around, sometimes driving in for layups and sometimes leaping high in the air before arcing the ball towards the net. Most of the time they missed, and their serious expressions betrayed their intense concentration and growing frustration.

After about fifteen minutes there was a disturbance at the door and three youths entered the gym. They ran past Bobby and David without a word and into the change room. A few minutes later they returned, dressed in an odd assortment of sportswear, and with another ball began similar exercises under another basket. But with a singular difference. Their shots were accurate and attempted from impossible angles. They wrestled each other for the ball and although there was little conversation, smiles played about their faces and occasional bursts of laughter broke the steady percussion of running feet and pounding basketballs.

At one point, Bobby had to chase the ball into centre court and nearly collided with Papak, one of the youths in the new group. They straightened together, and for a moment stood face to face. Bobby started to flash a

smile but Papak's face remained grimly set and he backed away a few steps before whirling and driving in towards the other basket. Bobby retrieved his ball and feeling slightly humiliated, rejoined his cousin.

The gym was starting to fill with young people -- small clusters of teenage girls grouped along the walls, whispering and giggling as they watched the boys showing off in front of them. In one of these groups stood Sarah, and Bobby walked over to talk to her. As he approached, the other girls with her drew away.

"Why don't you visit anymore?" he demanded. "It seems like I never see you."

Sarah stared at the floor. "I don't know," she murmured.

"Do you still like me?" Bobby asked. "Are you still my girlfriend?"

"Maybe," Sarah replied, keeping her gaze averted and her body still.

"The spirit wants to see you again," Bobby stammered, and his pulse quickened. Sarah was the only other person who the spirit had spoken to. She had been with him in his room on several occasions when the spirit had visited and had admitted this to the nurse in a counselling session.

She glanced quickly at Bobby now, and started to edge away.

"It makes me scared," she said. "My grandfather says I shouldn't stay with you." And with that she turned and walked to where her friends were clustered.

Bobby wheeled, grabbed his jacket, and fled from the gym. His head felt heavy, as if his brain was frozen, and he strode blindly between the houses until he found himself on the beach. He stopped beside his father's boat and started to push it into the water. As the chill evening air cleared his senses, he realized that the sea was quite rough and he was poorly dressed. Subdued, he turned and started back up the hill towards his uncle's house.

* *

The movie ended and Bobby listened absently to the strains of the national anthem and stared at the picture of the federal parliament buildings for a few minutes before getting up to switch off the television. He stood thoughtfully staring out the window into the midnight

twilight. Far out on the bay he could see a single canoe, heavily laden, making its way slowly through the swells towards the village. He watched it until he could distinguish its occupants. He recognized two of his cousins, returning after a week of caribou hunting. From the set of the canoe, they must have been successful and he decided to visit them later - fresh caribou stew was always a treat, especially at two in the morning.

Right now, however, he felt like dancing, and through the partially open window he could hear the heavy beat of rock music coming from the community hall.

At the entrance to the hall he paused to let his eyes adjust to the darkness. There were no windows, and dances were always held with the lights off. A group of younger boys jostled him as they walked past and he followed them into the room. It was still early so it was easy to find a seat on the benches around the walls. He sat down and let the deafening rhythms wash over him.

Across the hall he noticed three strange White women clustered together, their eyes darting nervously about the room. He guessed they must be the new teachers for the school. He had heard that some unmarried teachers had arrived during the week - gossip had already started to circulate about one who apparently had a habit of parading before her windows in the nude.

The music ended and the lights came on, leaving everyone blinking and looking slightly bewildered in the unaccustomed glare. As if on cue, several middle-aged Inuit couples entered the hall and stood together in the centre of the floor. It was to be square dance. The vibrant strains of a Scottish reel spilled out of the stereo speakers and gradually other couples got up to join the few already on the floor. Bobby noticed that Nanurluk, the mayor, had asked one of the teachers to dance, and he decided to follow his lead. As he stood holding hands with the thin blonde woman, waiting for the dance to begin, he felt very powerful and proud. She was chattering away in his ear, asking all sorts of silly questions -- each of which he tried to answer solemnly while struggling to suppress a grin.

When the dance began, Bobby threw himself into its rhythms with intensity. His mind cleared, and a wide grin appeared on his usually troubled face. His partner was both amazed and a little nervous. Although she enjoyed dancing spiritedly, she had already decided that Inuit men were shy and quiet by nature and Bobby's exuberance startled her. Together, they whirled about the floor, caught up in the growing enthusiasm of the other dancers. Twenty minutes later, the music stopped and the exhausted couples separated and returned to their places on the benches. Bobby muttered a quick thank-you to his partner and withdrew quickly to the other side of the hall. Feeling slightly uneasy, his partner rejoined her colleagues and immediately entered into a discussion of the probable antiquity of a Scottish folk dance in Inuit culture.

The lights were extinguished and Rod Stewart's husky tenor throbbed deafenly from the speakers:

"Young hearts beat free tonight.
Time is on your side.
Don't let them put you down or turn you around.
Don't let them change your point of view."

Bobby caught just a few of the words from the refrain but the freedom implied in the heavy and sensual disco beat elevated his spirit.

Young couples gradually drifted onto the floor and swayed gently to the music. Movements were constrained, in contrast to the ebullience of the square dance, and to the raw physicality of the rock music. Bobby noticed with a wry grimace that the White women were, as usual, dancing with none of the reserve displayed by their Inuit counterparts.

As the next song began, he crossed the room and approached one of several teenage girls sitting together on the bench. With a slight shake of her head, she silently rebuffed him. Undaunted he asked the girl sitting next to her and she quietly followed him onto the floor. They stood several feet apart and shuffled rythmically to the music -- avoiding each other's gaze and never speaking. The couples around them were mirror images --

with the exception of one young man who had recently moved to Sanctuary Bay from a village on the Hudson's Bay coast. His entire body was in motion, hips swivelling and feet tapping out the beat. Although few tried to imitate his actions, Bobby and most of the other young men present were surreptitiously observing, and more than a few would practice these radical dance steps in the privacy of their bedrooms when no one was watching.

The song ended and Bobby and his partner separated and sat down quickly on opposite sides of the hall. Sometimes sitting and listening, and sometimes dancing, but always carefully with a different girl, Bobby and his peers passed the night. Towards dawn, the young man at the turntable started to play slower romantic tunes, and a new urgency permeated the young couple's actions. Heads on each other's shoulders, arms encircling eager bodies pressed firmly together, couples waltzed through several songs and then began to drift silently out of the hall.

Bobby had been waiting all night for Sarah to arrive and was now bitterly disappointed that she had not appeared. He tried to waltz with a few of the younger girls but most refused him and those that accepted, hurried back to their seats after each dance. After a frustrating half hour, he left the hall and headed home alone. The sun was well above the horizon and the weather was clear and calm. On the way home he passed one of the older hunters on his way down to the beach, laden with gear.

"Silatiaqtuk," Bobby observed. "Aullaqniaqpit?"

"Indeed, the weather is very fine," the old hunter agreed, "And I am going down towards Kupta in search of caribou."

Bobby smiled his encouragement and continued on his way. For a moment he was tempted to ask if he could go along -- it would have taken just a few minutes to grab his rifle and a few other necessary pieces of equipment -- but the old hunter started to walk away and the moment passed. Feeling more depressed than ever, he went straight to his room when he arrived home.

Stretched prone on his bed, he pondered the growing sense of isolation that seemed to surround him. His friends continued to reject him -- no one

ever said anything directly but he sometimes felt invisible when he was around people.

"I am very angry with you," a voice growled. "You have not performed as I instructed."

Bobby shuddered. There was little point in looking around the room. He could hear the voice as if it was spoken aloud but he had come to realize it only sounded inside his head. On several occasions it had spoken through him to Sarah, but otherwise, no one else ever heard it.

"Please leave me alone," he whispered. "I don't want to listen to you anymore. I want you to go away."

"Young people never listen when they should," the voice intoned. "They are too interested in the qallunaat. What use is a dance? Why do you waste your time playing games? You are a man. You should have a wife and children. You were born to be a hunter and you don't know how to build a snowhouse. The qallunaat have destroyed our land and now they take away the minds of our children."

"One must resist these intrusions. The qallunaat must be driven from our land if Inuit are to escape their servitude. There is no one else who cares enough about our future so it must be a solitary fight. You must have the strength to fight alone."

Bobby struggled to interrupt the monologue.

"Please don't make me hurt anyone," he said. "I don't understand what you are saying and I don't want to fight with anyone. Please leave me alone."

There was a crash and Bobby's stereo fell from the bookcase. He could feel a cold weight pressing down on his chest and the room was suddenly icy cold.

"You will obey me," the voice thundered. "You must become stronger and more powerful. The qallunaat can be frightened and you know how to do it. It is the only way!"

Bobby said nothing for a few minutes. On previous occasions when he had struggled to resist the spirit's commands he had succeeded only in injuring himself and scaring his parents. Perhaps the spirit was right and the qallunaat needed to be intimidated.

"I will try to do what you ask of me," he reasoned.

He lay quietly waiting for the spirit to speak but there was only silence. Gradually, his thoughts tumbling around like chunks of ice in a surging river, he fell into a troubled sleep.

* *

"Oh come on, eh. You can't tell me you really believe in all this spirit stuff. The kid knows a good alibi when he sees one. This is a straightforward case of breaking and entering, and everyone knows it. I'll admit, the kid seems to be a bit disturbed but that's no excuse for breaking the law."

Corporal Walters was exasperated. He was here to investigate the apparent theft of a video recorder from the school principal and he had spent the day listening to stories of spirit possession and Eskimo folklore. While he knew he had to be "culturally sensitive" in this sort of case, his years as an undercover narcotics officer in Vancouver had more impact on his sensitivities than a few paragraphs in a training manual.

"I don't think you can dismiss his story as easily as that," Margaret argued. "Even Dr. Feldman indicated last spring that he was prepared to believe an evil force might be at work in the community, and he suggested that Father Jean-Paul should consider an exorcism."

Margaret was fighting hard to control her anger. She had seen Bobby regularly for the past few months since his return from Yellowknife, and she deeply resented this police officer's implication that Bobby's problems were trivial. They were sitting together in the R.C.M.P. office, waiting for Bobby's father and several members of the Hamlet Council to arrive to discuss Bobby's case. He had been charged for the theft from the school principal's house and had promptly shot himself in the foot, claiming that the spirit had been trying to force him to "bother" the nurses when the accident occurred.

"I'm surprized you didn't anticipate some of this actually," Frank complained. "If you know him as well as you claim to, why didn't you contact me earlier? We could have tried to prevent this."

"I really didn't think it was a police matter," Margaret shot back.

Rumors of Bobby's problem had spread quickly through the White community in both Sanctuary Bay and the nearby settlements, and she had been under a lot of pressure to contribute to the local gossip. The other Whites in town had grown to resent her unwillingness to talk about a case that had captured their imagination and had subtly threatened to ostracize her from their social life in retaliation. As a result, she had refused to seek any assistance from others in the White community.

There was a light knock on the door and several members of the Hamlet Council entered the room. As they found places around the office, Margaret reflected on what she knew about them.

Nanurluk, the village mayor, made a great deal of money trapping foxes. Most of his family had died when he was a boy from the epidemics of influenza that had swept across the Arctic. Until a few years ago, he had a reputation as a heavy drinker with a violent temper, but since prohibition had taken effect, his intelligence and understanding had won him the town's support.

As the senior elder in the Anglican church, Samuel Silatiuk was concerned with the moral life of the village. He spoke no English and hadn't left the settlement, except to hunt, trap and fish, in over ten years.

Inuluituk was an Anglican elder, a carpenter, and a regular hunter. As a young man, he had moved with several relatives to Sanctuary Bay from the Western Arctic and was keenly aware of the problems that sometimes accompanied the growth of villages.

The fourth member of the Council present was widely regarded as an encyclopedic source of traditional knowledge. Nakasuk was also an elder in the Catholic mission and prominent on most of the village's political bodies.

Finally, David Isumatuk, although not officially a member of the Council, was there to act both as an interpreter and because his ideas were always valued when an important matter confronted the town. At thirty-nine, he was the youngest Inuk present.

Nanurluk spoke first. "I would like to say that it is fortunate that the police officer was able to travel to Sanctuary Bay today and help us with a serious problem. We always worry about our children and try to help them avoid trouble. Sometimes a person does things that hurt his family and he can't be helped. We should talk about this problem and try to help this family."

As he finished speaking, he lifted his gaze and glanced around the room into the eyes of the other men present, his mouth stretched in a tight smile in an effort to ease some of the tension he knew everyone felt.

"The mayor thanks you for coming to Sanctuary Bay," David translated for the benefit of Corporal Walters, "And he hopes you will be able to help us solve this problem."

This sort of summary translation of the discussion continued for the two qallunaat. Often the very personal and meaningful comments made by the Inuit elders were left out of the translation. The careful respect for each other's feelings and opinions that directed the discussion in Inuktitut was very difficult for David to translate into the pragmatic idiom that English prescribed.

There was a brief silence while the Inuit considered the problem but which Corporal Walters took to be a signal for him to speak. He directed his attention to David and spoke forcefully and rapidly.

"The situation as I see it is fairly straightforward. You have a young man, Bobby Ukpینگituk, who has admitted to illegal break and entering and possession of stolen goods. In addition, he appears to be mentally unbalanced and has become a threat to both himself and his family. The shooting incident yesterday indicates that his behaviour is potentially very dangerous to this community. Apparently, he claims to be possessed by spirits which are forcing him to break the law. I have talked to some of the shamans in the village and have been unable to obtain a definite indication that this "spirit possession" story has any truth to it. I feel that Bobby is using this story in an attempt to escape the consequences of his actions. I think he is trying to frighten people into letting him get his own way. Therefore, I think your decision is straightforward. We will

have to charge him with the crimes he has committed, but we will be unable to bring the case before a court for at least two months. I would like to hear from the Council their feelings about what we should do with Bobby until his case can be brought to trial. If you feel he is a danger to the community, we can have him sent to Yellowknife and detained in a juvenile home. I understand he has already been to Yellowknife once to see a psychiatrist so perhaps a similar arrangement could be made now."

As he finished speaking, he turned his attention to Margaret, asking for her support with a raised eyebrow and a slight lift in his voice.

Margaret started to speak but David interjected. "Could I translate that for the Council please?"

He turned to the Inuit, smiled apologetically, and spoke. "This White man said that we must decide what to do with this teenager who is hurting his family. He said this teenager is dangerous and has broken the law. He says he doesn't believe there are any spirits."

David continued. "He visited those old men with my brother-in-law as a translator and learned nothing. He says there can't be a trial for at least two months and we must decide what to do with the teenager until then."

Again there was a short silence while the Inuit considered these statements, but before any of them could respond, Margaret asked if she could speak.

David translated the question for Nanurluk who asked her to proceed but to please be brief.

"I have been talking to Bobby a lot over the last few months and I feel he is just a very confused young man. I think with the right kind of support from his family and the community he will get better. I think it would be a mistake to put him in jail, even for his own protection." Margaret spoke quietly but intensely, shifting her gaze about the room, beseeching the elders with her eyes to understand her feelings.

David translated this for the Inuit and several nodded and smiled in Margaret's direction.

Samuel Silatiak leaned forward and addressed the group. "Our young people have a hard time adjusting to the pressures that the qallunaat have

brought to our land. Their parents try to help them understand appropriate ways of behaving but they have minds of their own and they sometimes seem unable to listen. We know that stealing is wrong and that a person who commits such a crime will be punished by the White police. I think it would be better for his family if this young man went to Yellowknife for a while. Its not healthy if his parents worry too much."

Nakasuk had a different problem that concerned him and which he felt was relevant to the present discussion.

"In the old days," he began, "shamans would send their spirit to a young person that they felt was strong enough to become a shaman. If the young person did not want to become a shaman, he would refuse to accept the spirit and could go about his life without any trouble. Sometimes, a young person's parents would advise him not to accept the spirit because they might think shamans died young and they would worry about their son."

"If the shaman was a bad person, he might become angry and cause some harm to come to a family that had refused him. These days we believe in Jesus Christ and we know he protects us from the bad ways of evil people. Young people don't seem to have the same faith in the church as older people and may not be as strong when evil things enter their life. I think we need to help young people learn to be strong in their religious faith and protect themselves from evil things."

There were small nods from those present as they collected their thoughts while David translated for the qallunaat. When he finished speaking in English, he switched into Inuktitut and addressed the councillors:

"Sometimes young people are very bored and they do things to create excitement in their lives. I know that sometimes they make up stories to frighten people and make themselves more powerful. People shouldn't always believe these stories because they might think an old person is acting badly. I think we need to worry about creating more jobs in our community so young people are not as bored."

"I too am worried about young people in our village," murmured Inuluituk.

The room stilled as everyone concentrated to hear what the soft-spoken old man had to say.

"Our problem is more serious than one young man who has broken the law and is trying to frighten people. Many of our young people are very confused and many parents are very worried. The old ways seem meaningless to them and they can't seem to find any strength or wisdom in the church. They should be learning the skills necessary to take over jobs presently held by qallunaat and we should be proud to have them as future leaders. But most of them are uninterested in education and are not willing to work. This in itself would not be a problem if they were instead trying to learn how to hunt properly. But they seem to enjoy playing games and little else. I know too that some of them are drinking alcohol and fighting even though we have prohibited alcohol from our village."

Inulituk paused momentarily before continuing. "I don't think the solution is to send all our young people to jail in Yellowknife. Sometimes it seems a person comes out of jail less intelligent than when he went away. It is always better if families can stay together, we all know how sad it is when someone has to go away to Yellowknife without their family. That is all I have to say for now."

As Inulituk finished speaking there were muttered affirmatives from some of the councillors. The discussion continued with each councillor offering further refinements on the ideas presented, but avoiding the direct issue of resolving the particular problem of Bobby Ukpinngituk.

Finally Bobby's father asked if he could say something to the group. He had remained silent throughout the discussion out of deference to the older men present and because he was a taciturn man and was nervous when called upon to speak in public.

"I am a poor man," he began, "because my chest is always sick. The welfare money is not enough for a family to live on and my snowmobile is always broken. I cannot get a job and we have to ask our relatives for meat. A man's oldest son should be able to help his family if they are poor. But there are no jobs for young people and sometimes they don't know how to hunt. If my son is sent to Yellowknife he won't be able to help his family.

That is all I have to say."

Nanurluk decided to propose a solution. "I think it would be best if this young man had a job in Sanctuary Bay until the court decides his case. I know the Co-op could hire a helper for a few months, and maybe the nurse could give him medicine to help him sleep quietly."

After the rest of the councillors had an opportunity to voice their agreement with Nanurluk's suggestion, the consensus was translated for Corporal Walters and although he was doubtful that this was the safest solution, he knew he had to comply with the Council's wishes.

* *

The junior basketball team from Sanctuary Bay was not due to arrive until much later in the evening so I had several hours to myself in Yellowknife. After five months in the isolation of the village, I was also feeling the effects of re-entering the urban world -- and found myself wandering rather shyly the streets, window-shopping and hesitant to enter the very public world of a Yellowknife bar. Much the way a young Inuk was likely to feel on his first trip to the city, I imagined.

I was here to 'hang out' with the team who were competing in the Arctic Winter Games , a sort of mini-olympics, over the next few days. I knew I needed to stay 'in character' through this period in order to maintain rapport with my research subjects and accepted the wisdom that in order to interpret reality through their eyes, I would have to be careful not to slip back across the boundary into the White urban social world. Thus it was with trepidation, rather than a sense of release, that I pushed through the door to the "Rec Hall Bar" in the Yellowknife Inn.

As I stood in the doorway, surveying the unfamiliar faces, my thoughts drifted for a moment to the feelings of aloneness that social situations like this always evoked. At the end of this week I would be travelling out of the North to rejoin my wife for a brief holiday before returning, alone, to Sanctuary Bay. Our separation had not been easy. A great deal of ambivalent feeling had grown between us, and I was full of apprehension that I might be returning even more fundamentally alone than I was now. It

was a feeling I could not get used to; there was an incompleteness to life that seemed to pervade even the most insignificant activities. My reverie was broken abruptly when I was surprised to hear my name called.

I turned in the direction of the voice and recognized Bobby Ukpinnigitik sitting at a table with two young women. He beckoned grandly, and with a sense of great relief, I walked over to their table.

"What are you doing here?" he inquired. "Are you leaving Sanctuary?"

I told him about the games and my upcoming holiday and reviewed quickly what I knew about Bobby. I remembered that he had been sentenced to a year's probation for his theft charges on the condition that he see a psychiatrist immediately. When I had last seen him two weeks previously, he was a subdued and frightened young man; an image in marked contrast to the confident and demonstrative person sitting in front of me, one arm casually around the smiling young lady beside him and the other hand holding a glass of tomato juice.

We chatted amiably for a few minutes; Bobby inquired into activities in Sanctuary Bay and I was interested in who he had visited in Yellowknife. There were a few expatriate Inuit now living and working here but Bobby apparently had infrequent contact with them. He seemed to be enjoying himself immensely. There were pinball arcades and movie theatres, bars and restaurants, and scores of young women. He introduced me to the two girls at the table; they were friends from another village, one of whom was his new girlfriend.

"Rachel is going to come and live in Sanctuary with me after. I told my sisters about her and they can't wait to meet her." He was obviously very happy.

He went on to explain that they had met at the clinic -- she was here to see the same psychiatrist after an attempted suicide in her home town. This information was provided openly, without any sense of shame or embarrassment. Bobby did not appear particularly impressed by his interaction with the psychiatrist -- his attitude suggested he found it rather like school and ultimately boring. He attributed his good spirits to his newfound love -- he was quite explicit about this -- and to the

freedom and activity that Yellowknife provided. I was actually surprised that my expectations about urban stress seemed irrelevant.

Although I offered to buy everyone a beer, they declined. It was still early in the evening and, apparently, a party the night before had left them feeling rocky. Bobby was unaware of (or at least uninterested in) the competitions taking place that week and was slightly guarded in his comments about the junior team. I suggested there would probably be a party the next night at the hotel but he was non-committal about appearing. Instead he steered the conversation onto more comfortable ground.

"I can't wait to go musk-ox hunting when I get back," he exclaimed excitedly. "Has anyone gone out yet?"

I explained that I wasn't aware of any immediate plans -- I thought it was still too cold -- and tried to steer the conversation back to his experiences in Yellowknife.

But Bobby persisted. "I wonder how many fox Nanurluk has caught. There aren't as many fox this year but last year he made lots of money from trapping. I'm going to put out lots of traps next year because my father can't do it anymore. I think I'll stay out camping this summer on the mainland. Have you ever been down past Kalitovik? Its really beautiful land down there. And there's always lots of caribou."

He continued to describe enthusiastically past and planned hunting trips, interspersed with glowing descriptions of the village's better hunters. At first I resisted the flow of the conversation, looking for opportunities to inquire into his feelings about his psychiatric experience. Slowly, I came to realize that his choice of topics was a very important indication of his feelings about himself and relations with the two young women and myself. His new girlfriend was from a larger, more urban village and apparently had little experience on the land. She was listening intently to everything he said, and there was little doubt she was very impressed. I, on the other hand, represented a distinct threat in the context of Yellowknife bar culture -- where women from any ethnic group are targets of an unusually aggressive competition in which White

males exploit their advantages. Bobby had chosen to emphasize his Inukness rather than discuss topics that would indicate my wider experience and expertise. And he seemed to be succeeding brilliantly — if I had been openly competing for either girl's attention I would have undoubtedly lost.

After several enjoyable hours, I left them, extracting in the process some rather non-committal promises to come by the hotel for a visit the following evening. I was puzzled a little by Bobby's unwillingness to visit his peers. I knew he wasn't particularly skilled or interested in athletics but I thought he would be homesick and anxious to see people from home.

* *

A rather desultory party was in progress the following evening. The team had lost too many games on top of too little sleep, and weren't in any mood for a celebration. Nevertheless, liquor was available to them so infrequently that several were feeling pleasantly high. There were about a dozen of us scattered about the dumpy hotel room, slouched on beds, chairs and the floor -- a case of beer cooling in the bathroom sink and several bottles of liquor open on the dresser.

There was a knock on the door and I reached to open it. Bobby stood there alone and I invited him in. Without a word, he found a place on one of the beds and sat observing the room. A few of the youths nodded to him and one or two smiled a greeting, but I couldn't help noticing the absence of any verbal communication. There were no "How are you's?" or conversely, "How was the game?". (He had not appeared all day at the gymnasium).

Someone offered him a drink. For a moment Bobby was tempted to accept it. He had enjoyed the easy access to alcohol here and indeed, had managed to get drunk a few times. But he felt very anxious now and, indeed, had decided to leave shortly. He declined the drink and looked around the room. Some of the guys were beginning to act silly. Samuel in particular was swaying back and forth, trying to gain everyone's attention. He was asserting the capabilities of the basketball team in demonstrative terms, and some of his friends were teasingly calling him "Indian".

Over in the corner, the anthropologist was sitting with a drink in his hand, and looking very serious. As a matter of fact, Bobby thought, this qallunaaq always looked serious. Some people had said he never smiled, although it was hard to tell when you couldn't see his mouth behind his beard, and he knew some people were frightened by his intensity. But he seemed friendly enough, and at least he listened carefully when you tried to tell him something.

The others continued to ignore him and his anxiety grew. Bobby knew they were afraid of him and sometimes he enjoyed the power that gave him. But the constant avoidance bothered him. His new girlfriend was waiting at her house for him to visit so he stood up quietly and left the room. No one acknowledged his departure, but the anthropologist touched him on the arm and murmured "See you around" as he passed him at the door.

* * *

This was the third party in Sanctuary Bay that Bobby and Rachel had discovered that evening. It was unusual for people to be drinking this openly. Prohibition was generally observed voluntarily in Sanctuary Bay; the occasional bottle that managed to find its way into town would be drunk quickly and surreptitiously. Apparently, several young men who had just returned from jobs at a nearby mine brought suitcases full of liquor for distribution around the village. The ensuing celebrations were now in full swing -- concern for legal retribution had disappeared.

The party they had just entered was in the home of Samuel Igsivalituq. Samuel was one of the returnees from the mine and he was obviously thoroughly enjoying his role as a host. He was in an exuberant mood, welcoming visitors enthusiastically and pressing tumblers full of whiskey into usually eager hands. He stood swaying in the centre of his austere little house, eloquently regaling his listeners with stories of qallunaat idiocy at the recently opened mine. Bobby and Rachel accepted a glass and found seats on the floor amongst the half dozen or so other visitors who were in various stages of inebriation -- some passively dozing and surveying the proceedings through lidded eyes, and some energetically

interrupting to amuse the gathering with their own diverting anecdotes.

"...and when he got mad, his eyes would bug out like a gutshot caribou's," Samuel was saying. "He would stand and bellow like a walrus, while we tried not to smile. Sometimes he got mad about really silly things -- like onetime we parked the equipment in a different place and he wanted it done exactly the same every time."

There were sympathetic giggles from his audience and murmurs of "Eee, that's the way they are."

Conversation continued in this vein for some time. Bobby drank several glasses of whiskey in rapid succession and was beginning to feel more confident. He remained a listener most of the evening but eventually felt compelled to tell a story of his own.

"I like to watch the qallunaat at a dance," he blurted. "They always wave their arms and legs around like a goose trying to take off. It would be funny if someone tied them up so they couldn't jump around."

"Maybe someone should tie you up," Samuel snarled.

Bobby sat stunned. The mood of the party had suddenly turned ugly and Samuel and several others began to tease him. At first he tried to laugh with them but the humiliating affronts to his manhood and his sanity made him angry. Finally, he stood up and shoved Samuel against the wall. Rachel began to cry and pleaded with him not to fight. He ignored her and continued to struggle with Samuel. They pushed and grappled with each other about the room while the others scrambled out of their way. Rachel finally announced she was leaving if he continued fighting and she fled from the house.

As she left, Bobby's rage and frustration boiled over, and he began to wrestle with Samuel in earnest. Some of the older men became concerned and tried to placate the combatants by teasing and scolding them. A table was knocked over and several drinks were spilt. Finally, Samuel managed to get an arm around Bobby's neck and forced him to the doorway. He kicked open the door and with a brutal shove, sent Bobby sprawling down the steps to land face first in the newfallen snow. Bobby lay where he landed for several minutes, his arms and legs awkwardly twisted, and his mouth full of

sand and snow. His mind had gone blank; his heart was pounding and his whole body ached. When he opened his eyes the village spun around him and he quickly closed them again. He thought he was going to be sick.

"Leave this place!" the voice commanded. "An Inuk should live on the land with the animals and not in qallunaaq houses. You must leave at once."

Bobby groaned and struggled to his feet. He tried to run but fell flat at once. He got up again and weaving erratically, stumbled towards his house. He started up the steps to the porch entrance but changed his mind. He was afraid of the spirit and didn't want to alarm his parents.

It was late October and his skiddoo and camping gear were sitting in front of the house, already prepared for the upcoming caribou hunt. The sea had been frozen only a few days and everyone was eagerly awaiting the time a few days hence when it would support the weight of a snowmachine and hunting parties could leave in search of caribou. Bobby lurched towards his machine and pulled the starter cord. The motor roared into life and without hesitation, he collapsed onto the seat and opened the throttle wide.

He shot straight down the embankment in front of the house and out onto the bay. The ice bent under the weight but held. Turning, and with the throttle held at full speed, man and machine headed out onto the open sea and disappeared quickly in the enveloping darkness.

With the wind tearing at his body and the deafening clamor of the skiddoo ringing in his ears, Bobby clung to the handlebars and stared into the gloom. About five miles out of town he started to slow down -- the air had cleared his senses and he realized how dangerous this was. But it was too late. The rubbery ice, stretched thin beneath him, finally cracked, and with an agonizing cry, Bobby and his machine plunged into the icy water. For a moment they seemed to float together, and he started to turn in an effort to get back to safer ice. But a snowmobile has the buoyancy of a stone, and like a stone, it dropped beneath the surface and, twisting absurdly, plummeted into several hundred fathoms of inky darkness. With his hands frozen to the handlebars, Bobby went with it, tears of fear merging with the awful saltiness of an unforgiving sea. As his lungs

filled with water, his last thoughts were of an old tale his mother had told him as a child, about a sea goddess who ruled the ocean depths and he wondered briefly if he was about to meet her.

Bobby surfaced from the dream with a cry. He sat straight up in bed and rubbed his eyes. For a moment, he thought he was still under water until he realized the window was open and the room was icy cold. Rachel rolled over beside him on the bed and gently asked him what the trouble was. Gratefully, he remembered he had stumbled home after the fight and passed out on the porch. Rachel must have helped him into bed. He lay down beside her, his trembling body pressed firmly into the soft contours of her back. Pulling her close, he buried his face in her hair, and together, they quietly made love.

2. PROBLEMS, MODELS, AND METHODS

"A sad soul can kill you quicker, far quicker, than a germ."

(John Steinbeck, *Travels With Charley*.)

"Youth, in any period, means first of all the noisier and more obvious part of the subrace, plus the quiet sufferers who come to the attention of psychiatrists, or are brought to life by the novelists."

(Erik Erikson, *Identity Youth and Crisis*.)

"If it were not for a strong and tolerant Indian leadership, Canada would be embroiled in a revolution right now. That's not a threat but that's the way things are evolving. How much longer can we keep our young people in check?" (David Ahenakew, Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations.)

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter illustrates one of the more serious health issues confronting Canadian Inuit today. A review of the literature indicates that young Inuit men are committing suicide, abusing drugs, experiencing emotional distress, and injuring themselves and each other at intolerably high rates. They have been the highest risk group in a population already recognized as suffering from these and other health problems at rates far above the Canadian average (cf., Atcheson and Malcolmson, 1976; Berry, 1976; Forsius, 1980; Kraus and Buffler, 1979; Medical Services, 1981; Rodgers, 1982; Sampath, 1974; Seltzer, 1980).

However, while Bobby's story is typical of those suffering the ill-effects of stress in the northern environment, it is nonetheless atypical in comparison to the majority of Inuit youth who are actively coping with these same stresses in their attempt to build satisfying and healthy lifestyles in the context of Arctic villages. In order to understand why some people are suffering, we need to examine this larger picture.

The previous chapter also illustrates a fundamental question facing contemporary anthropology. Ambiguity, flexibility, creativity, and generativity are elements of modern life that are not easily portrayed in a standard ethnographic text where the emphasis is on system, structure, coherency and form. And standard ethnographic styles are not designed to convey diverse messages to multiple audiences whose interests may differ drastically from academic concerns.

This thesis will address all three themes. It will be an interpretation of the systems of meaning that permeate the lives of young Inuit men in the contemporary Canadian north. It will examine everyday interactions of Inuit and Whites through which young people come to understand their world, and address the larger social, political and economic forces operating in the northern environment which constrain and promote their physical, psychological and social well-being. It will describe the patterns of morbidity and mortality that result.

It will also critically examine several models currently popular in the social and health sciences which may be useful for understanding the relationship between social change and health. Important epistemological issues concerning the nature of social facts affect the explanations forwarded.

And finally, it will critically examine the processes underlying the interpretation and presentation of other people's life worlds. This study utilizes two fundamentally separate methodologies and is thus forced into a constant self-reflexive posture. On the one hand, the distribution of disease in a population requires an epidemiological perspective which is implicitly positivist, functionalist, statistical and empirical. On the other hand, the overlying theoretical suppositions which frame the ethnographic endeavor and guide our understandings of social facts are explicitly phenomenological and require a humanistic, hermeneutic and ideographic approach.

The dissertation will argue that for young Inuit men to cope effectively with stress derived from both a pluralist social order and intrapsychic development, ethnic identification must be understood and promoted as a flexible and dynamic capacity which facilitates creative participation in the maximum number of social arenas. Effective coping strategies are those that foster confidence in an individual's perception of his ability to effect change in his environment. The symptoms of ineffective coping are prolonged psychic conflict, physiological degeneration, psychopathological sequelae and self-destructive behaviour.

2.2 The Problem

"Now we can shoot caribou everywhere with our guns, and the result is that we have lived ourselves out of the old customs. We forget our magic words, and we scarcely use any amulets now. The young people don't."

(Ikinilik quoted in K. Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimo*, 1931.)

Inuit in the central Canadian Arctic have witnessed tremendous changes in the ecology of their circumstances over the past six or seven

decades. [1] Within a four generation family -- not at all unique in the more isolated villages -- there are old men who, as children, lived the traditional nomadic lifestyle. Their great-grandsons sit in centrally heated, modern schoolrooms, study computer programming and listen to their Euro-Canadian teachers discuss nuclear disarmament. During this relatively short period, the currently living members of a village have seen the introduction of everything from guns to churches, houses to television sets, basketballs to Prime Ministers. All these elements had to be given meaning within Inuit life worlds and social forms had to be created to contextualize them.

These changes have not occurred in a vacuum. Until very recently, innovation has been directed and controlled by the colonial organization of northern institutions. Although traditional Inuit society did not always run harmoniously, and various elements of the new institutions offered improvements to Inuit survival efforts, the Inuit were given

[1] Throughout this thesis I have used Inuit rather than Eskimo (except where Eskimo has been used in direct quotations) to refer to the modern indigenous peoples living along the Arctic coastlines of North America, Greenland, and parts of Asia. At least in parts of Canada, Inuit is the word in their own language that these people use to refer to themselves and it means simply "the People". Eskimo is an Anglicized version of a derogatory Cree Indian word and has been rejected by the Inuit who consider it offensive. Inuk is the singular of Inuit and is also the root of the word for the Inuit language -- Inuktitut (which also means in the manner of an Inuk and thus refers to customs and tradition as well as language). The word in Inuktitut for White (used here to describe anyone who is not Inuit, Indian or Metis in the North) is Qallunaaq (plural -- Qallunaat) and these terms are used interchangeably with White(s) where considered important to the tone of the argument and in direct quotations. There has been some controversy about the appropriateness of using Inuit (and other Inuktitut words) in English text since it is grammatically incorrect to say "the Inuit" or "an Inuit village". However, all northern and native publications use Inuktitut words exclusively in place of Eskimo, and I see no reason not to accept Inuit as the English translation of Inuit (rather than the offensive Eskimo) and to use the terms accordingly. The spelling of Inuktitut words in Roman orthography has also been an issue for many years. In this thesis I have tried to follow Spaulding (1979) whose grammatical text of Inuktitut uses the most recent standardization of Inuktitut spellings.

little opportunity to influence the dramatic changes that these foreign institutions wrought. Economics, politics, education, recreation, health care, religion, and even family relations were steadily assaulted by a not entirely benevolent colonial regime whose coercion of native indigenous expression was sometimes subtle through a system of implicit rewards, and sometimes overt through skillfully orchestrated suppression. Creative efforts have been channeled, blocked, patronized, permitted, coopted or ignored by a constantly changing cast of policy-makers, administrators, bureaucrats and their agents (cf., Brody,1975; Graburn and Strong,1973; Hughes,1965; Jenness,1964; Paine,1977).

This colonial legacy has stimulated the Inuit struggle for independence and autonomy. Issues such as land claims and political evolution are topics for ongoing discussion in nearly every household in even the most isolated villages. In the house where I lived in the winter of 1982, the old man kept his radio on constantly and would raise the volume and demand total attention from everyone present whenever an Inuktitut broadcast discussed the topic of Nunavut; a word which symbolizes the issues of land and political evolution. Hardly a week passed without some form of community meeting where similar issues prevailed. Institutions such as education and health care, which still remain to a large extent outside local control, are subjects of ongoing negotiation.

In another dimension, village-level economies produce considerable competition for scarce resources. While poverty in the sense we usually conceive it -- malnutrition, overcrowding, a lack of adequate clothing and housing -- is not really an issue in most Inuit villages, the wage economy has become essential as an economic base from which to pursue more "traditional" activities such as hunting and trapping; activities that remain of critical importance for both the physiological (i.e., nutritional) and psychological health of most villagers. The new technology necessary for hunting and trapping is expensive to acquire, maintain and operate. Income from the traditional sector (i.e., trapping

and carving) is usually capricious and inadequate to sustain a land-oriented lifestyle for all but a fortunate few.

Nevertheless, the efforts of Inuit over the past decade to wrest control over local insitutional processes is beginning to show dividends. The "disintegrating society" picture from research conducted as recently as the mid-seventies is no longer valid in the contemporary situation, at least in this and other similar villages. While there are still problems to cope with, there is also a new confidence in the North that suggests these problems are not insurmountable.

The health consequences of these historical processes have shifted from an early high incidence and prevalence of communicable diseases to a rising incidence of behavioural and psychological difficulties. During the "dreadful decades" of sustained first contact with Euro-Canadian society, epidemics of influenza, measles, smallpox, and the dreaded tuberculosis swept through Canada's northern regions (cf., Crowe, 1974: 110, 126-128; Jenness, 1964: 139-141; O'Neil, 1979). Inuit immunity to these diseases was very low, prior exposure non-existent, and changing epidemiological relationships resulted in dramatic increases in morbidity and mortality which transformed traditional patterns of social organization and economic activity. At its worst, entire tribes disappeared (e.g., Sadlimiut on Southampton Island). At its least destructive, decimated family groups and small bands of nomadic hunters were forced into a dependent and semi-sedentary relationship with the White agents now resident in the scattered trading posts and missions who offered security and protection in exchange for economic dependence and ideological allegiance. The delicate ecological balance, forged over centuries, that had assured the survival of the North's Original Peoples had been shattered forever. An Inuk woman, now in her early forties recalls an incident from her childhood:

We were camping near (name of a lake) in the early spring. There were three families; my father's parents and his brother's family, and we were waiting for the fish to come. I was about nine years old and I had two younger brothers and one sister at that time. One day a plane landed on the lake and the qallunaat said they had to take pictures of our chests, to make sure we

didn't have some kind of sickness. Now I know they were looking for tuberculosis. No one seemed to be sick in our camp but after they left, people started to get sick. After a few weeks, my father was the first to die. All the other men were very sick and had a hard time leaving their tents. We were nearly out of meat and were surviving on the few fish we could catch. My uncle decided to try to walk to the trading post and since I was still healthy, my mother told me to go with him. About half way to the trading post, my uncle died and I was left on my own. I was walking towards the post when I was picked up by another hunter with his dogteam who was going in to trade. The trader got a plane to go to my parent's camp but by the time it got there, only a few people were still alive. My mother and one young brother survived and we stayed near the post after that. We never moved back to the land.

Tragically, one of the tuberculosis survey team apparently had what to him would have been a minor case of influenza.

The Canadian government moved to assist its suffering northern population. By the mid 1960's, isolated trading posts and missions had become basic villages, complete with outpost health clinics called Nursing Stations, elementary schools, administrative offices and the beginnings of a housing program that promised even greater security (and concomittantly dependence) to the rather distraught and disorganized groups of Inuit who now spent most of the year in the villages, venturing out onto to the land to trap and hunt but not to live.

With improved medical services, immunization programs, and greater economic security came drops in the morbidity and mortality rates that had previously devastated the population. And with these new services came hordes of Whites and a new technology that destroyed any symbiotic elements in White-Inuit relations, and with it much of the confidence and self-respect of many Inuit.

During the sixties and the early part of the seventies, this loss of confidence had its most serious impact on young people. While some found roles to play in the new national Inuit organizations (McElroy, 1980), most suffered profound alienation. To their elders, they became a source of

worry and concern -- their families bewildered by self-destructive acts and incomprehensible behaviour (cf., commentary of Inuit elders in Brody, 1976).

And yet, this characterization of Northern youth as a social and health problem is only partially accurate. There is a danger that an entire generation will be labelled sick and that improvements in situations resulting from effective coping tactics and strategies will be overlooked. This tendency is particularly evident in the medical and psychological literature where references to the "native adolescent" and "the present generation" are frequent and suggest a general incompetency on the part of young people to protect their own well-being. Inuit youth are described as victims, incapable of coping with contemporary conditions and consistently inadequate in the face of modern challenges. Young Inuit are perfectly aware that everyone else -- and here I include both Whites and older Inuit -- consider them "a problem". They are aware that activities which they consider appropriate to the circumstances such as drinking and/or drug use, all-night card games, and daily sporting events, are regarded by others as either dangerous or a waste of time. They know they are criticized as lazy workers, uninterested in education and most condemningly as poor hunters. And yet as the following statement from a young man in Pond Inlet suggests, these labels only scratch the surface of a much more complex reality:

You know it is not the Eskimo way to speak. We learn not to be boastful; like, if you do something, if we can do something, we do not always say it... and we come back home, here to Pond Inlet and those old people judge us real harsh. They say, "kids don't know anything". But they taught us, our parents are teaching us not to say, like not to boast, so we don't say [what] we can do. We don't show what we can do.

(Quoted in Brody, 1976)

This young man's comments echo the sentiments of many young Inuit. Bobby's problems may be very real, and the stresses which are responsible for these problems are also part of all young Inuit lives, but on the surface at least, most young Inuit manage to create meaningful, healthy lives for themselves. They consider the lifestyles they are generating as

legitimate coping responses to contemporary conditions and resent the negative and critical feedback that seems to flow from many White and Inuit commentators. In this sense, the presentation of Bobby's problems in the prologue is somewhat misleading because in this thesis I intend to examine the efforts of young men to change the conditions responsible for the high incidence rates of psychosocial pathology, rather than focus on the pathology itself. Indeed, we might better characterize the present analysis as the progress of victims rather than the "Victims of Progress" paradigm that has influenced much of the recent literature on the plight of indigenous peoples (Bodley, 1982).

2.3 The Models

"It would be a major advance in cross-cultural research if generalizations could be made regarding the relative significance of various life-cycle stages, rapid social change, and environmental stress."

(Henry P. David in Ahmed and Coelho, 1979:307.)

"And finally, in discussing identity...we cannot separate personal growth and communal change, nor can we separate...the identity crisis in individual life and contemporary crises in historical development because the two help to define each other and are truly relative to each other."

(Erik Erikson, 1968:23.)

"In humans, the objective nature of the demand, whether grave or trivial, can be irrelevant; frequently it is the translation to subjective reality that is critical."

(Eyer and Sterling 1977:15.)

The "stress of change" is possibly one of the most ubiquitous topics of analysis in the behavioural and health sciences. Despite a long and multidisciplinary history, however, our understanding of the problem remains plagued by inconsistencies and contradictions. The question still remains: Is change itself stressful or is there something else relevant to particular situations that is responsible for the stress and illness people seem to experience at abnormally high rates in changing contexts.

The prevailing view has been that rapid social change causes social disorganization and disruption which is in turn responsible for role confusion, identity conflicts, alienation and anomie (cf., Berry, 1978; Graves and Graves, 1979; Leighton et al, 1963; Carstairs and Kapur, 1976; Lubart, 1969). There have, however, been a number of studies which have objected to the universality of this conclusion. Bruner (1975) argued that where people are actively engaged in constructing their realities -- that is recreating their tradition and identity in ways meaningful to contemporary situations -- modernity was a product of their actions and not something that happened to them. Chance (1965) argued that where people maintain a strong sense of identity and exercised control over their lives and community, modernization had minimal disruptive effects. Inkeles and Smith (1974) challenged the assumption that contact with modern institutions produces psychic stress and nervous tension and argued that "attitudes" towards modernization were the key factor. Dressler (1979) has suggested that the idea of social disorganization means different things to different peoples; he argues that Afro-American families indicate lower physiological evidence of stress in association with sociological conditions normally considered evidence for social disorganization. He argues that in this case, these conditions reflect coping strategies suitable to given economic and political conditions.

The critical issue here is that the meaningfulness of people's situations and actions must be considered before the investigator can determine the constituent features of the stressful environment. Such a focus on meaning is necessarily phenomenological, interpretive, actor-centred, and subjective. This focus is obviously going to be difficult to reconcile with an epidemiological model (which informs most contemporary "stress of change" studies) which is implicitly positivist, empirical, objective, and population based. This is an issue of current relevance to medical anthropology generally -- the negotiation of new health and illness models less influenced by the empirical paradigm of biological science, and more a reflection of the cultural hermeneutic paradigm currently popular in the social sciences (Good and Delvecchio-Good, 1981).

Most authors reviewing the history and definition of the stress concept mention the confusion that has surrounded the locus of stress and its relative specificity. Researchers have used the idea to explain everything from ecological stress shaping social mobility (Savishinsky,1974), to the stress of losing a spouse which may contribute to the onset of cancer (Engel,1968; Seligman,1975). It can have concrete physical connotations as in the case of nutritional stress, or it may be used in an abstract sense to describe the experience of social situations and events. Semantically, people describe "a state of stress", "a stressful episode", "the stress of life", "the impact of stress", "feeling stressed", and "coping with stress". Many physiological researchers follow Hans Selye, whose pioneering work stimulated much of the current popularity of the stress concept, and regard stress as a response state, characterized by a set of general physiological changes that occur in an individual responding to any stimulus (Selye,1956). Those with a more behavioural interest alternatively consider stress to be a part of the environment, to which individuals respond with a variety of psychological (or emotional) and physiological patterns (Mason,1975). Richard Lazarus (1981) suggests that we can escape this conceptual confusion by considering stress as a general rubric, useful to conceptualize the links between social/environmental, psychological/emotional, and physiological processes that interact to affect human well-being. We can then discuss individual pieces of research in terms of stressors, coping patterns, emotional states, etc., without concern for the semantic referentiality of stress itself.

There is a further appeal in the Lazarus approach that recommends it for anthropological consideration. While there is a distinct empiricist tradition in the stress research field -- impossible to avoid when attention is on the link between behaviour and physiology -- there is presently a growing tendency to conceive of stress in phenomenological and transactional terms. "Meaning" has become a critical element in the analysis of stress, and interest in its negotiation and emergence resembles the approach taken by anthropologists towards cognitive/symbolic processes.

Stress can therefore be conceived in both ecological and interpretive terms: it refers both to the physical relationship between people and their environment, and to the meaning they ascribe to that relationship. Since a prevailing concern of anthropologists today is with the synthesis of models and concepts considered incompatible historically, refinement of the stress concept along ecological/interpretive lines may contribute to this endeavor.

There is yet another contribution that the stress concept can make to anthropology -- and particularly to medical anthropology. As the literature clearly illustrates, the concept is used equally by both clinical and epidemiological investigators. There are few other concepts in the human sciences which have the power to articulate the relationship between an individual and his interactional setting and between populations and their socio-ecological environments. Particularly with the growing interest in intra-cultural diversity -- and with the emergence of the so-called "clinical anthropology" -- any concept which is equally powerful on all levels is useful.

Before proceeding with this conceptual discussion, it is important to outline briefly the evidence that stress researchers argue establishes the relationship between the experience of stress and the onset of illness -- a key issue in this consideration. Whereas the links between the experience of stress and psychological and behavioural health problems has a more abstract theoretical base and is the subject of much controversy, (cf., Eisdorfer et al, 1981, for good summaries of some of the models competing for explanatory primacy), research has clearly demonstrated that physiological response and pathology is a function of emotional experience.

I have chosen here to summarize a review by Sterling and Eyer (1981) which is up-to-date, comprehensive, and easily understood by anyone lacking biological expertise. They argue that human physiology is not a simple negative feedback system tending towards equilibrium, but is instead in a

state of constant change and adaptation, its functions regulated in an autocratic manner by the brain. The brain's decisions are inalienably adaptive in the sense that even responses which result in illness or death are logically appropriate to a given environment. It is only environments which are pathological in their terms. For example, if the legs of a rat are tied together, it will develop stomach ulcers in twenty-four hours. But the state of prolonged arousal contributing to the development of ulcers is a perfectly adapted response to the threat imposed. According to their evidence, the body doesn't just respond to internal threats automatically, it's response is also regulated by brain function.

More specifically, the sympathetic and parasympathetic components of the autonomic nervous system are capable of overriding autoregulatory hormonal response, in addition to controlling heartbeat, vasodilation, and other aspects of cardiovascular response. This enables the body to maintain elevated blood pressure for example, in response to an ongoing external threat, despite the internal tendency to return to normal as quickly as possible.

The brain also influences the various hormones directly through the hypothalamus and the pituitary glands. These hormonal responses can be grouped together into two very important processes: anabolic and catabolic. Anabolic processes include energy storage, growth, renewal, repair, and surveillance against the body's own malignant cells. Catabolic processes have the opposite function of mobilizing energy to cope with an external threat to the organism. Stores of fat, glycogen and protein are broken down, and increased blood pressure speeds these substances to the tissues where they are needed. It is important to note that the two processes cannot occur simultaneously. As long as the organism is in a state of arousal, anabolic processes vital to internal physiological integrity are suppressed and catabolic hormonal production continues -- hormones which have been shown to damage tissue if elevated levels continue for prolonged periods.

Unfortunately, arousal occurs not only when one is about to be run over by a truck, or a polar bear, or the opposing team -- if it did, the usually quick return to a neutral environment would enable our bodies to relax and restore themselves -- but also in response to an overwhelming bureaucracy, a nagging spouse, or peer rejection -- stressors which tend to persist indefinitely. This sort of chronic arousal can further damage the body by conditioning the brain into accepting much higher than healthy levels of both blood pressure and hormones. This basic alteration in physiological functioning means that even when a chronic stressor disappears, pathological physical processes already set in motion may continue to progress.

The most puzzling and least understood area of stress research concerns the interactions between the different levels of adaptation. Effective behavioural and psychological coping in particular environments -- for example the highly competitive and psychologically aggressive strategies of corporate managers -- can contribute to pathological physical processes such as cardiovascular disease. Conversely, it is possible that emotional illnesses may protect the body from physiological breakdown. These linkages are an important concern of this thesis.

Despite the emphasis in the literature on the stress concept, there are those who argue that the more important phenomenon is the coping process. As Lazarus (1981:196-197) suggests:

In my view, stress itself pales as a concept in significance for adaptation compared with coping...stress is ubiquitous, an inevitable feature of normal living, though some persons do indeed experience more frequent, severe, or sustained stressful encounters than others. What makes the major difference in adaptational outcome is coping, and so we should give special attention to it in our research on human functioning.

He defines coping as the process of managing external and internal demands and the manipulation of environments and emotions. There is an obvious connection between the coping concept and the related ecological concepts in anthropology of adaptation and adjustment that have been used to describe respectively, the external and internal processes that occur

between populations and individuals and their environments (cf., Devos,1975:5). I would argue, however, that these concepts have a passive connotation and are cumbersome when considering internal/external relationships, whereas coping implies an active mode and intrinsically recognises the interplay between externally oriented behaviour and internally constituted meanings and emotions: an appreciation that will be further significant when we consider the concept of social change.

Despite a definitional recognition of coping as both a behavioural and a cognitive process, the stress literature and particularly the popular literature has tended to emphasize the psychological dimensions of the process. This emphasis can be criticized as overly individualistic and victim-blaming, and potentially dangerous because it tends to endorse destructive environments and sociopolitical conditions (Love, Coburn and Kaufert,n.d.). Richard Harvey Brown, a sociologist trained in the symbolic interactionist tradition, argues instead for a humanistic theory of coping:

With moral agency as its starting point, a humanistic theory of coping would investigate the person in his social and moral settings, his construction of such settings, the role of power in the imposition and resistance to such constructions, and the ways in which cultures, societies, and political economies serve as resources and constraints...In such a theory, coping would be understood as the capacity for culture creation...coping involves competence in symbolic construction...coping is not merely a matter of job satisfaction or personal adjustment. Instead it is a question of potency in creating meaning and form.

(Brown,1980:43,45; emphasis added)

Brown's ideas are further relevant because he discusses coping in the context of identity formation and community development; issues which are central to this dissertation. Brown's definition of coping is adopted here; which sets this thesis apart from the prevailing interest in coping which emphasises psychological processes such as denial, repression, avoidance, etc., as ways of coping with stress.

In the chapters to follow, coping tactics, strategies and styles will be distinguished and described. Coping tactics are situationally significant actions and/or associated shifts in understandings about a situation. The following example illustrates a specific coping tactic:

In a basketball match between two neighboring villages, a White teacher was refereeing the match in a blatantly biased manner that was unfair to the visiting team. His ethnic and social status inhibited complaints from the visiting team members and their growing frustration and resentment was apparent. In the midst of the match, Joshua, a member of the visiting team who was generally disliked by his teammates because of his individualistic style of play, and who was suffering their active displeasure with the entire situation, suddenly left the court and confronted the teacher. He indicated that another referee was necessary and that he would be happy to meet this need. He conscientiously carried out the task with studied fairness and immediately overrode some of the teachers more biased judgements. The teacher rather paternalistically accepted these challenges and the host team as well was happy about the more balanced refereeing. As the game progressed, Joshua emerged as the principle referee and the teacher eventually left the gymnasium amidst a chorus of very carefully concealed grins and smirks from the members of both teams.

If in the case above, Joshua had decided that the most effective way to cope with his peer's resentment was to adopt the role of referee in all future basketball matches, this would constitute a coping strategy.

A coping style on the other hand is a set of behaviours and understandings that have arisen in response to a series of situations or a set of conditions. It is by no means immutable, nor is it always an individual act. For example, several young men in their early twenties who had new marriages, in-laws, and economic self-sufficiency to cope with, spent most of their time and energy on the land. Their conversation was predominantly about past and future trips and they wore camp rather than village clothing everywhere.

The stress and coping model is also compatible with a definition of health that emphasizes its relative rather than absolute qualities. The World Health Organization (WHO), has defined health as "a state of

complete physical, mental, and social well-being, not merely the absence of disease", and promotes this absolute state as the goal for everyone by the year 2000. While the "mental and social" aspects of this definition are commendable inclusions, its utopian qualities render it impractical in the real world. A more appropriate definition for our purposes recognizes health as a relative or scalar quality that is in a perpetual state of re-expression as the organism adapts to meaningfully relevant physical, psychological, and social insults in the environment (Dunn,1976). Or in the words of Renee Dubos (1968:67): "the modus vivendi enabling imperfect men to achieve a rewarding and not too painful existence while they cope with an imperfect world."

This interpretive and interactionist approach to stress and coping is also compatible with the interpretive and interactionist traditions in anthropology (Barth,1967; Geertz,1973). Grounded in the social psychology of G.H. Mead (1934), Blumer (1969), and Goffman (1959); the phenomenology of Schutz (1971); the hermeneutic philosophy of Ricoeur (1976); and the symbolic sociology of Durkheim (1966) and Weber (1963); these traditions consider social life to be the product of human action, meaningfully constituted through the exchange of understandings and definitions about selves and situations in the dialectic of social intercourse. From this perspective, change is the only reality; understandings about social roles, structures, institutions, etc. are subject to continual negotiation, redefinition and modification as new situations present themselves and new resources become available. It emphasizes creative action, generative processes, and emergent forms. It focuses methodological attention on social interaction between individual actors in order to capture the images, metaphors and symbols that make social life sensible. But it also accepts ambiguity, contradictions, diversity, and paradox as integral and fundamental aspects of cultural systems.

This model is opposed to an approach which views human beings as bound up in a mechanistically conceived system, reacting (or adjusting or adapting) passively to forces in their social environments; be they

tradition, value systems, social structure or acculturation. These concepts must be kept as descriptive labels -- or heuristic devices -- suitable for characterizing identifiable patterns and configurations which emerge, achieve stability, and disappear in the ongoing dialectic of everyday life. But we must take care not to indurate or calcify them into "things", with an independent organic "reality", capable in an ontological way of "causing" actions, feelings, or most importantly, health problems.

Nonetheless, we must also consider the fact that some people have more influence over the negotiation and creation of understandings about social life than others. This influence derives from capacities and resources available to some actors (and/or groups of actors) at some times, in specific situations, and in some contexts, which are not available to others. As Marx (1951:225) argued:

Men make their own history, but they do not do it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.

Creative social interaction generates forms that distribute capacities and resources unequally which in turn generate circumstances (or situations) which require actors to cope with these inequalities from unequal positions, always remembering that the definition of what constitutes a resource, a capacity, or a position is not necessarily shared by all parties to a given set of interactions. While undoubtedly a tautological argument, this holistic approach to social evolution nevertheless avoids static structural models which run the risk of justifying or perpetuating these inequalities. Brown's (1980:45) ideas clarify this argument for us:

Our perception of the symbolic nature of reality involves a recognition of the fragility of institutions that once were thought to be obdurate and concrete, and this parallels our prior recognition of the frailty of persons; yet the admission that social order is a construction also invites us to actively reconstruct our worlds.

An example may illustrate our powers -- and depowerment -- symbolically to construct identity and culture. Today the

spokesman for cybernetic systems theory argues that society is (or is like) a great computer, with its input and output, its feedback loops, its programs. This machine -- society -- is in turn guided by a servomechanism -- the technoadministrative elite. To see this imagery as a thing made, as a cultural artefact rather than a fact, is to reject it as a literal description of how society "really is", and to unmask it as legitimatizing rhetoric.

Fundamental to this consideration is the notion of identity which ties together individual biography and social history. Berger and Luckman (1967:173) describe this relationship elegantly:

Identity is of course, a key element of subjective reality and like all subjective reality, stands in a dialectical relationship with society. Identity is formed by social processes. Once crystallized, it is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations. The social processes involved in both the formation and the maintenance of identity are determined by social structure. Conversely, the identities produced by the interplay of organism, individual consciousness and social structure react upon the given social structure, maintaining it, modifying it, or even reshaping it. Societies have histories in the course of which specific identities emerge; these histories are, however, made by men with specific identities.

Identity is the product of socialization -- or the internalization by an individual of the understandings of others towards the world and himself. It is an ongoing process, initiated in infancy, and as current research suggests, continuing into senescence. Some analysts such as Erickson (1968) argue for distinctive stages while others describe a fluid process, reducible only to primary and secondary stages (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). G. H. Mead (1934), whose ideas are largely responsible for the growth in popularity of the concept, conceived of the self, wherein identity lay, as consisting of an "I" and a "me"; respectively the creative and conforming elements of individual behaviour. Mead argued that the expectations of others in society were internalized generally as the "me" component of the self and it is towards this "me" that the individual acts in any given situation.

Relevant here is the literature on reference group theory and particularly the way it has been used in the analysis of social change in the North (Berreman,1964; Chance,1965; Hughes,1960). Reference groups are the "others" whose assumed values and norms influence the perceptions and definitions of the individual. In social-psychological terms, reference group valuations contribute to the "me" element of the self, and influence self definition in positive and negative directions. From the standpoint of Inuit youth, reference groups can be groups to which the individual belongs -- such as a youth group -- or they can be groups from which the individual is excluded but from which he expects, or hopes for, positive valuations of his self-expression -- such as Inuit elders and Whites. During the sixties, the reference group concept was used to explain the alienation experienced by Native groups which aspired to White identifications but experienced exclusion or rejection from Whites. When the "I" component of the self seeks confirmation of its value and dignity from reference groups which do not respect this need, serious problems can result.

However, contrary to the expectations of earlier observers, many ethnic groups no longer seek their legitimacy from dominant groups but are instead embracing their own traditions and definitions of reality. Ethnicity, or ethnic identity is increasingly the source of both emotional pride and political action (Hicks and Leis,1977; Isaacs,1975). In the North, this reidentification with Inuitness has been documented by Brody's (1975) discussion of inummarik, "a genuine Inuk" and an identity to which even those most involved in the modern economy aspire, and in Graburn's (1978) discussion of the importance of artistic expression (i.e., soapstone carving) in contemporary Inuit identifications.

Many analysts since Barth (1969) have refined his ideas about the negotiable and flexible quality of ethnic identifications; and have described many cases where the symbolic content of ethnic identity is forever changing but is nonetheless considered unique and in continuity with the past by those who define it. The dichotomy of traditional and

modern is a dead issue when people's self-perceptions include aspects of both within an identity that stretches equally into both the past and future (cf., Blu, 1980 for an interesting discussion of how a group of Native Americans "create" traditional ethnic identity from scratch.). This is a very fundamental idea, and will form the basis of the argument to follow. The negotiations of ethnic identification among Inuit youth is considered the principal outcome of coping tactics, strategies, and styles executed in the context of a plural social order.

Brown's (1980:42) ideas are again illuminating:

Identity is not given, either institutionally or biologically. It is achieved through continuities in the ordering of one's conception of oneself. This evolving self-image is supported and shaped through meanings that are derived through interactions and infused with affect. To the extent that the polity is expressed through the everyday contexts of such meanings, that polity may be said ideally to embody not only the formal organization of social relations, but also the personal participation in and collective celebration of moral community. One context that is critical to such shared meanings is that of intimate interactions between persons of different social positions and generations, for it is here that an integral significance can be conferred on otherwise separate stages in the life cycle and places in the social system.

But where has this rather broad discussion of concepts taken us in terms of the problems to be discussed in this thesis? Fundamentally we will be examining the way in which young Inuit men construct social realities that are personally meaningful at different stages in their maturation into adulthood. We will consider these constructions as the product of coping tactics, strategies and styles and will attend to the emotional understandings that surround them. Personal identity will be considered a central feature of these understandings and we will concentrate on the dialectic through which personal identity and social action combine to facilitate the successful negotiation of stressful circumstances. Understandings about appropriate roles and responsibilities will be seen as part of an ongoing negotiation through situations; and control over and manipulation of these processes is

considered variable, particularly where different ethnic groups and age cohorts are in competition. The relationship of a sense of competency in personal identity with an ability to influence the outcome of the negotiation of understandings about the extemporaneous nature of social reality will be the fundamental dialectic in the discourse to follow. Questions will be entertained about under-socialization, consistency, flexibility, conservativeness, and innovativeness, because it is by no means clear how these facets of modern identity interrelate with the challenges of a post-industrial and neocolonial world.

It should be clear that I do not consider the positivist emphasis on social forces impacting upon, or eliciting responses from, groups or individuals, to be a particularly productive line of inquiry. Thus I am not interested in the impact of culture change. Rather I am attending to the ways in which young people negotiate new understandings about their social worlds and generate new social forms to accommodate these understandings. This is how I define coping and it should be obvious that some people find this process more difficult and hence more stressful than others. Why this is so and who these people are, will be explored in the chapters to follow.

However, there will be a tension in this dissertation between the quantification of stresses, coping skills, and health outcomes, with the thoroughly qualitative discussion outlined in the foregoing introduction. (Indeed, it is impossible to write about stress and coping epidemiologically without sounding deterministic, as the previous sentence suggests.) This tension is unavoidable since the paradigms on which each perspective are based are epistemologically irreconcilable. The epidemiological approach, based as it is on an empirical scientific foundation, forces the investigator to seek explanations, to look for cause and effect, and to focus on general trends and ignore subtle patterns of variation. The ethnographic paradigm on the other hand -- and I am using "ethnographic" as a loosely defined label for the perspective outlined above -- based on phenomenological and holistic traditions, leads us to seek understanding rather than explanation, to focus on individual

actors and idiosyncracies, and to view social life as interrelated rather than interdependent. Where push comes to shove, my loyalties are with the ethnographic approach and some sacrifices in epidemiological rigour will have to be made.

2.4 The Methods

Discussions of methods in anthropological discourse range from the simple but elegant statement -- participant observation, life histories and unstructured interviews -- to comprehensive monographs such as Berreman's (1962) Behind Many Masks. And recently there has been a trend to the more rigorous use of quantitative designs and techniques (Johnson, 1978). My own understanding of the purpose of a methodological discussion is to enable the reader to assess the validity and reliability of the analysis presented. Or in the hermeneutic sense, to encourage his assessment of the depth of his interpretations of my interpretations of their interpretations.

Fieldwork is an intensely personal and irreducibly human enterprise, where the instruments of measurement are the fieldworker's sensitivity, intuition, and empathy. As part of the interpretive process, these capacities require fuller explication than is usually found in ethnographic work. Since data flow from interaction with people, this interaction needs to be detailed in all its human intensity. And since all actors bring their individual biographies to all interactions, it is both fair and theoretically sound to include my own biography together with the biographies of my interactional partners.

The sketch which follows has been difficult to write and difficult to edit. I have obviously had to summarize decades into a paragraph and emphasize some aspects while ignoring others. And, equally obviously, I have interpreted the experiences of a lifetime through my present perspectives (i.e., the framework of this thesis). Therefore what follows is an attempt to highlight those elements of my biography which I feel

bear on my interpretation of young Inuit lives.

To begin at the beginning, I am the eldest of two children in a solidly middle-class family, descendants of Irish and Scottish immigrants to southern Ontario, and was raised with moderately conservative attitudes and a weakening allegiance to the Protestant faith.

My childhood was unremarkable. I lived in a suburb of Toronto surrounded by orchards, fields and streams and played with the sons and daughters of the Ramseys, Stuarts, and Baileys. My only cross-cultural experience was at the age of eleven, when my family spent a year in Paris where I apparently cried myself to sleep most nights out of loneliness and frustration but which I remember as the most exciting period of my pre-adult life.

My adolescence was a turmoil. My high school was rated by a national media survey in 1968 as having the highest frequency of illicit drug use in the country. It was also renowned for the fact that many students drove better automobiles than their teachers. We displayed all the manifestations of a bored and spoiled generation. Our participation in the profound social movements of the sixties was peripheral -- there was no war in Canada -- and we enjoyed the pleasures of the radical movements without ideological or physical commitments. As my immersion in the sub-culture associated with rock music and soft drug use increased, I became somewhat alienated from my family and more committed to peer relationships and "alternative" forms of social relationships.

After one year studying liberal arts and artificially expanding my consciousness at a local university, I decided it was time for broader human experience and spent the next five years travelling throughout Canada, Europe, and parts of Africa and the Middle East, working as a taxi driver, stevedore, carpenter, and bartender, and acquiring an honours degree in anthropology after attending three different universities in three different regions of Canada.

During this period I overcame some anxiety about relations with women; I am shorter in stature than average -- a handicap which was particularly disadvantageous in the emotionally charged atmosphere of adolescent impression management. I began living with a woman who is now a midwife and whose professional influence on my own interests has been profound. My interests in exotic and interesting things gave way to a desire to work -- as quaint as it may sound -- for the betterment of humankind. Our relationship has not been easy, however; our careers have required frequent uprootings and separations which have stressed our emotional bond to the breaking point many times. In the eight years we have been together, we have lived separately for nearly half.

At some point in this peregrination, I realized that the profession of anthropology offered an identity with which I was comfortable. My professional interests were primarily political in the sense that I was concerned with the issue of local control over institutional processes, and my first endeavor was a study of medical services in a Canadian Inuit village.

My previous experience with the North and native peoples was minimal -- I had only read about them. As an outdoorsman, my skills were limited to pitching a tent in a national park or sitting in a boat, dangling a worm into an overfished lake while waterskiers whizzed by. I was reasonably fit, but three squash matches a week does not prepare one for Arctic travel.

None of this,, however, dampened my naive enthusiasm as I set off in July 1977, laden with camping gear, and full of optimism that the next six months would fly by as I learned a new language and "did fieldwork" -- whatever that was. I was travelling alone, and fully expected to remain alone for the duration; fears of homesickness and alienation pushed deep into my subconscious.

I was at this time rather strongly influenced by the perspective on Whites in the North that coalesced with the publication of Brody's (1975) The People's Land and the rejection of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline in

1977 by a Berger Inquiry strongly influenced by the anthropological community. As I travelled north, I experienced considerable hostility and skepticism from the White community who were annoyed and disillusioned with southern social scientists.

The first few weeks in the field were quintessentially ethnological. It was a profoundly lonely period. I was extremely anxious, afraid my behaviour would appear "too White" and concerned I might be interacting with the wrong people. I realized early that different groups, teams, factions, whatever, were part of community life and I was afraid I would gain the interest and friendship of one group at the expense of alienating another.

I wanted desperately to be adopted, given an Inuktitut name and accepted on equal terms, but paradoxically found myself increasingly drawn to the homes of Whites; at first to beg an occasional shower or the use of a washing machine, but eventually to escape the angst of tent-life on the beach.

As the weeks passed, this initial turmoil settled into a more comfortable -- and expected -- pattern of relations. I began having tea regularly with an old Inuk in a nearby tent, and learned some rudimentary bits of the language. Someone invited me to share a meal with his family -- and I had my first experience eating raw meat. Someone else asked me along on a hunting trip which turned out disastrously, and the ensuing humour and fellowship transformed my relationship. I was invited into houses to recount the story of our sinking boat, amid understanding chuckles. I was given an Inuktitut nick-name -- Mikiruk, which described my comparatively short stature -- and was welcomed into the household of a very traditional old man.

This first fieldwork has two additional significant features. Two months after my arrival, a vacancy opened at the Nursing Station, and after

some hasty negotiation, my wife joined me to assume the job. [2] She was young and inexperienced (as was I), and in order to cope with her own set of professional stresses, found it imperative to remain "inside" the White community. I continued to live with the Inuit family but divided my eating and sleeping hours between their home and the Nursing Station. In retrospect, it was an absurd arrangement because I was stretched dangerously between the White and Inuit social worlds. I had to expend enormous effort presenting multiple images to the community in an attempt to avoid over-identification with either ethnic group. This ambiguity and strain eventually took its toll on our marital relationship as well.

For various reasons we decided to extend our stay in the village beyond the original Christmas deadline. By this time I was becoming disillusioned with the efficacy of research and was easily persuaded by a few Inuit friends to accept a position with the Housing Association which was in serious financial and organizational difficulty and needed help in order to upgrade the abysmal standard of housing that then existed. I negotiated a contract with the Housing Corporation in Yellowknife which guaranteed I would have a free hand in organizing the local authority according to expressed Inuit needs. At the time, there was a lot of money available to recondition houses, in the process creating many jobs for local people, but Yellowknife was unwilling to provide the funds unless there was a responsible local administration. Although conscious of the role effect this decision was likely to have, I decided the ends justified the tutelary role I would have to adopt (see Chapter 6 for a fuller discussion of this experience).

Although I was no longer focused on medical services, this second six months contributed to my research because I was inside the tutelary process, and thus constantly confronted with the difficulties experienced

[2] To be perfectly accurate, we were not legally (or religiously) married and thus "wife" is technically incorrect. However, since we had lived together for nearly six years, "girlfriend" seems a bit silly.

by Inuit and Whites when control over an institution is under negotiation. I was also very aware of the stresses experienced by the young Inuk who was training to assume my position at the end of my contract.

I left Sanctuary Bay eleven months after I arrived and while I remained intellectually committed to Northern affairs, emotionally, I never wanted to see the place again. The year of fieldwork had left me exhausted and our personal relationship severely strained. While I recognized ethnographic fieldwork was not easy, I felt there must be compromises where one's personal life need not be sacrificed in pursuit of professional goals.

During further graduate training at the University of California, I managed to work through this ambivalence but became convinced that ethnographic reporting had to incorporate humanistic issues if the product was to be meaningful. (For the classic example of how important this dimension is, see Geertz's (1976) discussion of Malinowski's diary, which was published posthumously, and which describes a personal anguish that had to influence the interpretations in his professional monograph that now stands as a classic in the anthropological literature.)

I was further influenced in this direction by the Californian context in which my further training took place. Colleagues were challenging every accepted standard prevailing in American society; some were experimenting with everything from sado-masochism to cocaine. And the boundary between personal and profession selves was very permeable: drunks were studying drunks, gays were studying gays, and crazies were studying crazies. The professional product emerging, however, continued to project a detached, objective perspective; insisting for the sake of authority that the personal details of fieldwork relations were irrelevant to the validity of the data presented.

I believe this separation is unnecessary and indeed inhibits rather than contributes to ethnographic authority. This observation carries particular weight when the research questions address meaning and understanding. What does it mean to be an alcoholic? What is it like to be

ostracized by one's peers? What does it mean to suffer acute anxiety over relations with the opposite sex? How does it feel to rely on drugs in order to escape the pressures of unemployment? What effect does it have to be labelled deviant after a minor arrest for underage drinking? And how do the meanings attached to these situations and conditions arise in a context where ethnic, age, and gender groups compete to create pervasive understandings that best serve their own interests? As hermeneutic scholars have clearly demonstrated, the penetration of these processes is a profoundly human enterprise and the interpretations that derive are a product of the emotionally charged interaction between the anthropologist as a person and his subjects as people (Gadamer,1975; Rabinow,1977; Ricoer,1974). And in the time-honored tradition of the comparative method, I believe the explicit comparison of my experiences and understandings with those both reported to me and those I experienced with Inuit, contributes to our ultimate understanding of cultural boundaries and ethnocentric illusions.

Thus it is with the perspective implicit in the foregoing discussion that I returned to Sanctuary Bay in August 1981 to begin a study of Inuit youth. The Hamlet Council had strongly supported my suggestion that such a study might be valuable. I deliberately returned alone -- cautious to avoid the stresses of multi-ethnic participation that had affected my previous work, and had no illusions that the time would be anything but challenging and hard work.

I had given the village very little forewarning of my arrival. I wandered about, exchanging smiles and accepting "You came back's!". I began to feel like the prodigal son and was astounded by the warmth old friends expressed.

While having tea with the young man who had worked with me at the Housing Association, I was offered a room in his grandfather's house. There were eleven of us sharing a brand new four bedroom house, replete with running water, electric kitchen appliances, and a television. In addition

to my friend, his wife and their two infant children, who shared one bedroom, there was the old man, his elderly wife, and their adopted four year old granddaughter, who shared another bedroom, and my friend's sister, her husband, and their two infant daughters, who shared the third bedroom. I had the fourth and smallest bedroom all to myself -- prior to my arrival it was used as a storage room, a function to which it returned after I left. I lived with them until March, when, after returning from a short holiday, I moved into an empty two-bedroom house which at the time was the oldest, ugliest and least well-equipped house in the village. My relationship with my friend's family is well illustrated in the following excerpt from my fieldnotes:

CONTEXT: March 3/82 -- Return to Sanctuary Bay after Holiday.

It was lunchtime when the truck dropped me off from the airstrip and everyone was sitting in the kitchen and living area. There were smiles and handshakes all around and the old man got up to say something on the CB radio. I listened carefully but missed its meaning and turned to Richard quizzically (my friend -- a pseudonym). He was smiling and told me that his grandfather had told the town that Mikiruk, his adopted son, had come back. This was the first instance in either of my two stints of fieldwork when the adopted label had been used to describe my relationship to anyone. The old man sat down again and proceeded to tell me about his dream of the previous night, with Richard translating. He dreamt that he was sitting in the bathroom, defecating, when he realized someone was trying to open the bathroom door. At first he thought it was Richard's little boy so he reached to help him open it. As he pulled the door open he realized it was me trying to get in and he knew then that I would be coming home the following day. The remarkable thing about this dream is that no one knew exactly when I would be returning. The other dimension that struck me was the location of the dream. The privacy of a toilet was immaterial to old Inuit but I was always a little embarrassed, which I'm sure struck the old man as funny, whenever I accidentally walked into the bathroom when he was using it. I would always stammer apologies and leave hastily, and its likely I will always be remembered as "he who was embarrassed whenever I took a shit".

My relationship with the rest of the village was not without its problems however. In my first year of fieldwork, I had associated

largely with well-respected men in their thirties and forties and I felt I had earned their trust. My second year of fieldwork was fundamentally different for several reasons. I was focused on youth which meant I dressed young (or foolishly from an old person's perspective), I played cards all night with young people, I drank and smoked dope illegally with young people, and I equipped myself to travel and hunt independently, and went out primarily with young people. The effect of this rather radical shift in behaviour was that I was invited to parties by the "bad" young people, and I think -- or at least felt at the time -- subtly pressured to leave the village by some of the moral elders. I make no apology for this unfortunate outcome: it is impossible to remain neutral over the course of a year in the fishbowl-like context of an Arctic village. One doesn't have a private life, research is twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and it is impossible to please all of the people all of the time. Or constantly present multiple masks or make all of the teams in Berreman's (1962) and Goffman's (1959) terms.

My status as a single White male was also a significant methodological feature. This is probably the most sensitive area of interethnic relations in almost any context -- although surprisingly little has been written about it -- and I knew that young men particularly would be very sensitive to my behaviour in this regard. My decision to restrict my research to young men was predicated on this concern -- I knew I would provoke all sorts of misunderstandings and anxieties if I tried to participate in the life-worlds of young women as deeply as I hoped to do with young men. However, despite my frequently depressing efforts to maintain all interaction with both White and Inuit women on a strictly platonic level, I am sure there were many people in both groups whose attitudes towards me were prejudiced by their misinterpretation of my behaviour in this regard.

My immersion in the lives of young men also restricted my ability to develop fluency in Inuktitut. Everyone under the age of 30 speaks

English, and as my data will show, most prefer to use it socially. It was generally the language of encounter between young people, and in exchanges with non-English speaking elders, verbal communication was severely restricted. However, I was able, with the help of the family I lived with before Christmas, to develop enough comprehension in Inuktitut to catch the drift of conversations occurring around me and express and understand basic thoughts and needs. I worked with an interpreter at public events where Inuktitut was spoken and in interviews with unilingual older Inuit.

The quantitative dimension of my methodology was fairly straightforward. [3] Epidemiological data were gathered through a combination of socioeconomic and health measures. Based on my previous exploratory work, a questionnaire was designed to measure various aspects of young men's activities. All 56 young men between the ages of 16 and 30 were approached and asked if they were willing to participate in this part of the study. I was unable to offer any financial compensation and indicated clearly that participation would be voluntary and at their their convenience. Several members of the sample were resident in Yellowknife and other villages during 1981, so I mailed a questionnaire and covering letter to each. I also tried to make personal contact with them on my infrequent trips through other towns, but was unable to interview them systematically because of the exorbitantly high cost of Arctic air travel. I administered all the local questionnaires personally — each took from one to three hours to complete -- and I was successful in reaching 86 percent of the sample. For the remaining eight questionnaires, I was able to complete substantial portions myself based on my general ethnographic material.

[3] For examples of questionnaire items and coded variables, and a discussion of health measurements see Appendix 1.

In addition to this questionnaire, I administered the Health Opinion Survey , a checklist of twenty questions designed by the Leightons (cf., Macmillan,1957) to measure psychiatric symptomology cross-culturally. This instrument asks respondents to subjectively assess their experience of psychophysiological symptoms and then scores these responses to ascertain the presence of psychopathology. Scores usually range between 20 and 35 with scores of 30 or above indicative of emotional trouble. It has been used in a number of different cultural contexts, particularly among Inuit, and, subject to certain reservations, has been found a reasonably valid and reliable indicator of stress-induced anxiety (cf., Schwab et al,1979). I found that some young people were conservative in their response because of a cultural expectation to express a happy and healthy persona in public.

I was also cognizant of seasonal variation in the experience of stress (cf., Condon,1981), and I tried to concentrate most of my interviewing in the early spring so that seasonal stress variations would be minimized.

Prior to each interview, I provided each respondent with a written explanation of the nature of the data to be collected and detailed their rights and expectations regarding its eventual use (see Appendix 2). This letter also asked each respondent for his permission to allow me access to his medical chart. These charts are the property of Medical Services and I also had to secure their permission to review them as well. No charts were reviewed without the written and informed consent of every person.

For analysis, a codebook was generated, which listed 95 variables for statistical analysis, (see Appendix 1 for examples). Simple frequency distributions, cross-tabulations and analysis of variance procedures were run using the programs available from SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). Variable correlations

are provided with the level of statistical significance in square brackets: e.g., (.245 [.01]).

The hermeneutic concern with the interpretive process does not end with the collection of data, but extends to the style of presentation as well. In a recent article, Stephen Webster (1982:112) argues that: "Ethnography must remain as hesitant and open to contingency and interpretation as is the concrete social experience on which it is based". He goes on to discuss the important parallel between the trend towards "thick description" advocated by Geertz (1973) and others in ethnography, and the "new journalism" of Tom Wolfe. Both of these styles, he argues, try to exploit the natural tension between the authorial and narrative voice as a means to bring the reader closer to the experience of the actors whose lives are being interpreted. Traditional ethnography tends to rely on the authorial voice (i.e., the "message" of the author) whereas literary fiction relies on the narrative voice (i.e., the "message" of the fictive characters). Webster argues, and I agree with him, that modern ethnographers must embrace some of the techniques of the novelist in order to provide their readers with a "true" portrait of the reality experienced by their research subjects -- or characters.

Indications that the ethnological community is moving towards a greater acceptance of this approach are evident in the popularity of several recent monographs. Basso (1979), Briggs (1970), Brody (1981), Crapanzano (1980), Dumont (1978), and Rabinow (1977) all explore the various voices potentially available for ethnographic interpretation. While they have not used fictive literary devices (at least explicitly), they do present much of their material from the actors' perspective, and they include considerable material documenting their own emotional reaction to the research setting. This stylistic technique emphasizes the ambiguous nature of the ethnographic reality.

This thesis is written with a similar objective. I have three different audiences in mind: my academic audience expects order, system, and meaning; my applied audience (the Inuit and White policy makers and service providers whose decisions and actions affect the everyday lives of Inuit youth) want insight, explanation, and predictive advice; and the young Inuit men who opened their lives to me expect understanding, empathy and support. I have been advised that meeting these diverse needs requires three different books, but I am unhappy with this solution for several reasons. All three audiences are likely to read all three books, and more importantly, the integrated combination of "experience near" and "experience distant" concepts, in Geertz's (1973) terms, is necessary in order to communicate the complete message to all three audiences. For example, since an important objective of this thesis is to describe the ambiguity, flexibility, and open-endedness that characterizes the systems of meaning through which young Inuit act out their lives, I felt the presentation of some of the material in a literary format would achieve this objective.

The rest of the thesis will rely on the usual blend of life histories, extended case studies, and quantitative material normally found in the ethnographic literature. Chapter 1 is both fact and fiction in the sense that while the events, characterizations and conversations are loosely based on the lives of real people and observed events, these elements are blended to communicate a particular message rather than to record accurately events and personalities. The meaningfulness of the various interpretations that could be given to Bobby's experience is the objective here. I leave it to the reader to judge whether the preceding chapter approaches certain truths about life for young Inuit in the Canadian North more directly than would have been otherwise possible in the usual ethnographic manner.

There is another rationale underlying the approach to ethnographic data taken here. In order to protect the anonymity of persons and events, I have found it exceedingly difficult to reconstruct the sensitive and sometimes painful elements of people's lives in a way which protects their privacy and dignity. If I assumed, as I think most ethnographers assume, that my research subjects are unlikely to read my descriptions of their lives, anonymity would be a simple matter of assigning pseudonyms.

An example from my first fieldwork will illustrate the problem. When I returned to the village for my second period of fieldwork I was immediately informed that many people were suspicious of my intentions because they had heard I had written bad stories about certain people. Apparently, a local White who had played a minor role in the events described, had read the description and was deeply offended by the "making public" of information that he felt should have remained private and forgotten. He spread rumors through the village that I wrote lies and shouldn't be trusted. The problem here of course was that his interpretation of events differed from my own -- his interpretation quite naturally accorded responsibility for unpleasantness onto others and away from himself.

The use of pseudonyms mattered little -- local history is so well known that it would have been impossible to completely camouflage any event that involved more than one person. Creating new occupations, or indeed genders, for the principal actors, as some of my colleagues have suggested, may work in an urban research context with large differentiated communities, but it is ineffective in situations where everyone's lives are open to the scrutiny of their neighbours.

My attempted solution to this problem was to have a long meeting with the Hamlet Council where I explained the context of my work and read carefully, with a translator, the controversial parts of my thesis. Council decided I had "told the truth" and that since I had

used pseudonyms, I was innocent of any sinister intentions. Together we decided that it would be a good idea if a Research Committee was formed with whom I could discuss problems arising in the course of my planned research. Shortly before I left the field, I had another long meeting with this committee to discuss the problem of anonymity. They would have been happy with pseudonyms for individuals and the real name for the village but I have chosen to disguise the village also.

Almost any event of local significance, and certainly those involving conflicts or emotional trauma, had at least two different interpretations or versions, depending on whose interests were at stake. And obviously, it is impossible to penetrate equally all versions of an event for the relational reasons outlined earlier. Thus the interpretations presented here are at best an approximation of the total meaningful context of an event -- and I would seriously doubt any anthropologist who argued otherwise.

I have no easy solution to these dilemmas. It is probable that if everyone whose lives form the basis of this thesis were to read it in its entirety, some of them might be offended. I have tried to disguise people, places and events to the best of my ability and have selectively chosen material that leaves out much that may be scientifically relevant but which would challenge seriously the bonds of trust that obtain under research conditions fraught with ambiguity. In other words, I know far more than I am prepared to tell in some cases, and far less than I think I do in others.

I have in mind here the controversy that ensued following the publication of Nancy Scheper-Hughes' (1979) Saints, Scholars and Schizophrenics, which, while honored by colleagues as a profound insight into the relations between migration, poverty, and mental health, was severely criticized in Ireland where some of her research subjects considered it offensive and a betrayal. While they did not question the accuracy of her work, they did question her right to

tell the world about their problems. I think the present work is unlikely to raise a similar controversy; I intend to continue working in the village so it must not. But the problem is a general one and worth noting.

Let us proceed then. The next chapter will provide a description of the context. It will compress into one chapter, in a necessarily superficial format, material that might normally constitute an entire monograph. This is necessary because the remainder of the thesis will address the processes whereby features of this context become defined as stressful and are coped with.

Chapter 4 will introduce the actors in this drama. Inuit youth in Sanctuary Bay will be described in general terms through the presentation of case and statistical material. General similarities and differences in historical experience, contemporary coping styles, and health conditions will be described.

Chapters 5,6,7, and 8 will address specific aspects of stress, identity, and coping within meaningfully different contexts. As will become obvious in the next chapter, everyday life in an Inuit village is performed on a number of interconnected stages which can be considered separate for heuristic purposes.

Chapter 5 -- Hunting -- will describe coping tactics, strategies and styles created by Inuit youth at different ages to negotiate the successful assumption of the central features of male gender identity -- to become hunters.

Chapter 6 -- Working -- will describe coping tactics, strategies and styles created by Inuit youth at different ages to negotiate their way through the institutional structure of village life in search of money. It will specifically address social interaction and identification in the culturally plural situations that work in the North entails, and it will examine the stress of negotiating adult

status in situations dominated by older generations and Whites.

Chapter 7 -- Recreating -- is a more difficult chapter which will describe those situations where the community comes together to express collectively identifications negotiated in other sectors of life. It will describe the participation of Inuit youth at different ages in these activities and discuss the extent to which rituals of solidarity both stress (i.e., alienate and marginalize) and support (i.e., facilitate effective coping tactics and strategies and healthy coping styles) different youth at different ages.

Chapter 8 -- Loving -- is also a difficult chapter which will address specifically the issue of social support and particularly the affective or emotional quality of social bonds. It will describe Inuit youth negotiating relationships with friends, lovers, and relatives, and will discuss the paradox of social relationships being simultaneously and sequentially supportive and stressful.

Finally, Chapter 9 will summarize the findings from the previous chapters and suggest a program for community action/development which enhances the creation of coping tactics, strategies and styles associated with health, dignity and freedom.

3. THE CONTEXT

3.1 The Land

A newcomer flying into the central Canadian Arctic is initially struck by the vast emptiness of the landscape. In summer, the ground appears flat and colourless, broken only by an infinite number of tiny lakes and streams, and ending abruptly on the shores of a grey and forbidding ocean. In winter, the land and sea merge, and give the impression of an endless white desert. In either season, hours may pass where the only break in the monotony is the aircraft's shadow skimming across the surface of this alien world. There are no mountains and only occasional areas of elevated land. And of course there are no trees, roads, rail lines, farms, etc., all the features one usually associates with a rural landscape. Villages appear suddenly and dramatically, tiny havens of human activity occupying a few square miles, and surrounded by literally thousands of square miles of sea and land.

This initial impression of a vast emptiness is false however, from both White and Inuit perspectives. From a naturalist's point of view, the oceans abound with many species of fish and seals, and the land is alive with great herds of caribou and musk-oxen. Polar bears stalk the edges of the ice pack; wolves and wolverine scavenge along the coastlines and around lakes and rivers; and fox, rabbits, and ground squirrels skulk behind every rock and hummock. In the spring, the skies darken with swans, geese and ducks returning to their nesting grounds in the river estuaries along the coast. For the Inuit, the land is alive with their own humanity and folk history. Places are thought of as "where we camp during the summer", "where I used to spend the spring in my childhood", "that is the area where my great uncle lived when I was a boy", "I have heard that this camp was where

an old shaman was killed after he stole some women from my great-grandfather's camp", "these old tent rings belonged to the Tunit, the people who lived in this land before the Inuit". And snowmobile tracks radiate outwards from the villages for hundreds of miles like the spokes on a wheel: Inuit hunters continue to fill their larders from the land's bounty.

The climate commands your attention at all times. Seasons boom out their arrival; transitions are dramatic and rapid. It is always cold, relative to any other region of the world, and the ground is frozen year round. This particular area is even colder than other northern regions (monthly mean temperatures average five to ten degrees celsius less than the eastern or western Canadian arctic). The desert analogy extends further when one considers the approximate yearly average of 140mm of precipitation -- ranging from 3mm per month in winter to 25mm per month in summer. The prevailing winds out of the northwest blow fairly steadily at approximately 6.0 metres per second -- enough velocity to keep what little snow that arrives vertically, moving horizontally, and accumulating substantially along river banks, beside hills, and into an endless series of bumps and ridges on the sea ice.

These general features of the environment can be more specifically addressed within the framework of seasonal change, which in the Arctic occurs almost monthly. Resource use, while largely determined by seasonal fluctuation, is also influenced by legal restrictions regarding times and quantities.

Probably the most meaningful seasonal change occurs in mid-October when the sea ice freezes, and the first snowfalls begin to cover the landscape, permitting snowmachine travel across to the mainland. Snowmachines are the sole mode of transportation for overland (and sea!) travel between October and June. These machines have come a long way mechanically since their introduction to the area fifteen years ago. The largest, sporting hydraulic suspension, 500cc engines, heavy duty

"trappers" drive tracks, and even dashboard cigarette lighters, are capable of pulling hundreds of pounds of family and gear all day long at speeds up to 70km per hour. They are roughly the size of a motorcycle, capable of carrying usually one but occasionally two riders, and although the riders are exposed to the elements, they are partially protected by a windshield in front and warmed slightly by heat radiating from the front-mounted engine. Gasoline consumption varies according to load but averages 3.5km per litre. Breakdowns occur regularly, but they are not as serious as they used to be and repairs can usually be effected on the spot. The sledge (qammutiq) which drags along behind on a 3 metre length of heavy rope, is constructed from two boards, usually 5cm by 30cm and 4 metres long.

At this time of year, caribou come together in great herds near the coastline to begin their annual migration further inland. They are in excellent condition, their meat well marbled with fat and their pelts thick and luxurious. Temperatures average -15°C but there is insufficient snow for snowhouse construction, so hunters must use canvas tents. Travelling across the sea ice is, somewhat paradoxically, both treacherous and easy; the ice is thin and rubbery, bending visibly under the weight of snowmachine and sledge, but as yet smooth and fast. The first hunters must wind their way carefully along the shorelines, testing for ice thickness and ever alert for cracks.

Hunters claim there are more caribou now than in living memory, and the earliest hunting parties usually reach the herds within 80km of the village. A trail that snakes its way tortuously along a coast and through river valleys is obviously many times longer than the actual distance, and 80km can take a day of continuous travel to cover. Daylight averages nine hours and ice conditions make night travel impractical. Together these conditions assure at least three days are required to complete a trip successfully and safely.

The rivers and lakes are frozen to a depth of about 40cm and many hunters set nets for whitefish and trout while hunting caribou. Similar

fishing for char occurs near the village, where everyone physically capable of walking a few miles will drop a hook through a hole in the ice and spend an afternoon jigging.

November is an extremely busy month as fox trapping season opens and safer sea ice travel encourages everyone to stock up on caribou for the winter. Occasionally, one to two metre cracks open in the ice however, and caution is still important. Temperatures have now dropped to -25°C and windspeeds are at their maximum. Daylight has shrunk to about six hours, but night travel is feasible with snowmachine headlights, and snow buildup permits snowhouse construction in some areas. By the end of the month, the ice is too thick on rivers and lakes for fish nets; consequently most fishing ceases. Checking and setting an average sized trapline can take three or four days of stop and go travel, and allows little time for hunting; some caribou hunting does occur but usually not in conjunction with trapping.

December is cold and dark; -30°C with only a few hours of twilight at midday. Trappers remain active and out of approximately 15 permits each year for polar bear, seven are made available in early December. Their denning and hunting areas are located approximately 145km northwest of the village and in an area of still-open sea, little snowcover, and extensive areas of piled-up chunks of old ice, sometimes as high as three story buildings. Manhandling snowmachines and sledges through this area, all the while keeping a vigilant eye peeled for tracks and curious bears, is a demanding and wearisome task. The major river mouths on the mainland, some 65km away, are rich with char and trout and some jigging through two metre holes in the ice takes place around Christmas time.

January and February are exclusively trapper's months. Temperatures average -35°C , the wind blows steadily out of the north, and the sun begins its slow return. Travelling is arduous over sea ice that now resembles an exaggerated washboard; the snow, hard as concrete, is driven by the wind into an endless series of ridges and hummocks. Occasional forays for

caribou, now scattered in small herds further inland, still occur, but otherwise, trapline maintenance is the sole land activity.

Around the end of February, approximately a dozen musk-oxen permits are distributed, and the hardiest hunters leave for their wintering grounds, 250km away. The rest of the polar bear permits are also made available, and caribou hunting begins to pick up again, although the animals are skinny and skittish. March is still very cold, -30°C , but there are many clear sunny days and travelling seems a little easier.

The beginning of April marks the end of winter. Temperatures are a relatively pleasant -20°C , there are at least 10 hours of daylight, and by the end of the month, mid-afternoon sunshine actually feels warm on the face. Fishing and sealing are the main interests now. Seal pups are born in late April and May and they can be dug out of their dens beside their breathing holes. Fishing trips to the mainland for trout, which average 5kg each, are frequent. Holes have to be chopped through two to three metres of ice in order to dangle a lure in front of these ravenous monsters, but a good days' work can secure 25kg of fish per man. Caribou meat cached under rocks the previous summer is recovered, the herds at this time are thinly scattered and the animals are nervous and in poor condition.

The nearest village is 100km distant and people begin to visit back and forth by snowmachine around the middle of the month. Wives usually accompany their husbands on these trips and children are taken out on weekends to watch their fathers build snowhouses and spend the day having tea and visiting other picnickers.

May is seal hunting month. The ringed and bearded seals bask in the sunshine around their breathing holes and hunters crawl towards them, and taking care not to frighten them back into the water, they dispatch them with one well-placed shot from close range. The ringed seals can be hunted everywhere around the village but the larger and more valued bearded seal is found about 100km west. Fishing for char and trout through holes in the ice continues in the major lakes and rivers on the mainland, and caribou

are hunted on these trips as well. Traps are closed at the beginning of the month.

Temperatures continue to increase to a very pleasant -10°C and the midday sun is beginning to melt the snowcover on the sea ice. Travelling is much easier as the softer snow flattens under the tracks of snow machines, trails becoming highways as visiting among neighboring villages increases in intensity. Hunters and their families sometimes make trips of more than 450km. Two or three heavily laden snowmachines and sledges arriving from a distant village resembles a wagon train of the old west. Towards the end of the month, motorbikes and three-wheelers (a sort of motorized tricycle with huge balloon-like tires), are pulled out of storage and are sometimes used instead of snowmachines for land travel. The soft midday snow makes snowmachine travel difficult; friction increases on the sledge runners and tracks spin uselessly.

By the end of the month, swans, geese, and ducks begin to return to their nesting areas along the coastline. It is a rather strange sight to see huge flocks of waterfowl, standing on the frozen rivers and lakes, waiting for the ice to melt.

Late May and early June is bird-hunting time (although wildlife regulations prohibit it), and families camp all along the coasts near the village. Temperatures are now a balmy 0°C and the snow is melting rapidly. By the end of June, the land is almost free of snow, rivers are starting to run and the sea ice is covered with a sometimes waistdeep slush that for a short time makes travel almost impossible. Harpooning seals at their breathing holes which are now exposed as the snow melts, competes with bird hunting as a favored activity.

Although the weather in July is a very comfortable 5°C , the lack of snowcover on the land and the beginning of the sea ice breakup make travel very difficult and dangerous. Huge leads appear overnight in the ice and much of it is covered by meltwater. Many hunters have already crossed to the mainland in June, dragging small boats on their sledges, and remain

there until the sea is free of ice. Fishing for char along the coastline through holes and cracks in the sea ice with a kakivak, a long-handled fork-like affair (leister), which is thrust into a fish attracted to a dangled lure, is the favorite activity in July. Twenty-four hour daylight in June and July mean that seal hunters and fisherman will sometimes stay active for two or three days straight before dropping from exhaustion.

Sometime in early August, the sea ice disappears and travel by boat, usually a 4 to 6 metre open aluminium dingy powered by 10 to 50 horsepower outboard motors, begins in earnest. Families and groups of hunters cross to the mainland, endure clouds of mosquitoes and a constant chilly (2°C) drizzle, and travel either by foot or motorbike (or three-wheeler) inland in search of caribou. The caribou are in good condition now, their summer skins highly prized for making skin clothing, but they are scattered in small groups across the landscape. Carcasses either have to be carried considerable distances back to the shoreline, or they are cached under piles of rocks for later retrieval in the winter. Fish nets are strung along the coastline to catch the tremendous quantities of char which are in the midst of their annual migration. Seals are hunted from open boats whenever the weather is calm.

Much the same pattern of activity continues into early September, but as the temperatures once again drop below freezing near the end of the month, fishing through the newly formed ice on the lakes and rivers near the village predominates. September is a very windy month and sea travel by boat is very dangerous. By mid-October, everyone's store of caribou meat has usually run out, dried fish are the mainstay of the diet, and the hunters are busily repairing snowmachines and sledges in anticipation of freeze-up and the fall caribou hunt.

The most significant difference between the country around Sanctuary Bay and other villages and regions in the Canadian North is the complete absence of whales and walrus, and the lack of ungulates in any proximity to the village.

3.2 The Village

Like most Arctic villages, Sanctuary Bay crouches beside a small inlet, looking out on the Arctic ocean. The buildings are a motley collection of pastel coloured bungalows, impressive new government buildings, brightly painted plywood houses, odd assortments of grey-walled missions and white clapboard stores, and makeshift storage shacks. All the building material is supplied from the south, and one can date a village year by year according to changing architectural styles that represent annual shifts in government policy towards what Canada's northern citizens deserve in the way of accomodation and services. Looming ominously to the rear of the village are the massive fuel tanks that store a year's supply of diesel for generating electricity, oil for heating the buildings, and gasoline for the snowmobiles and trucks that trundle back and forth constantly. The airstrip with its tiny terminal building lies several miles away.

By Euro-Canadian standards there is nothing charming, quaint, rustic or picturesque about this Arctic village. The land around it is tediously flat; there are no "traditional" buildings; and rusting hulks of machinery and oil drums lie scattered amongst the houses. One has the impression of impermanence, as if everything was built yesterday and tomorrow it could all be adandoned. However, this image is not the feeling Inuit have as I will illustrate later.

There are about a 100 houses which shelter about 500 people; nearly half of which now have running water and flush toilets. The old "matchboxes" of the sixties -- one room affairs with an oil stove parked beside the only exit -- have all been turned into warehouses, or dismantled and dragged out onto the land to function as trapping cabins. Most of the older houses have at least been given a cosmetic renovation - new paint, panelling and floor tiles -- and some of them have been reinsulated and refitted with modern plumbing and other conveniences. Houses range in size from 500 to 1500 square feet, providing two to four bedrooms plus living/kitchen areas and a bathroom. All have electric

stoves, most have refrigerators, but none are provided with furniture. There are still about a dozen older houses that anywhere else in Canada would be considered unfit for human habitation, and anything built before 1975, unless it has been completely rehabilitated, is still a fairly uncomfortable place to live. In my house, built in 1968, when the floor was washed in winter, the water froze before it dried. In 1978, policy changes in the Housing Corporation determined that from then on, Inuit and staff housing would be identical and to some extent this has occurred, but inequities still exist.

Staff housing, as many commentators have suggested, looks as though modern, well-furnished bungalows in an Edmonton suburb, were picked up, complete with occupants, and air-lifted into their present locations. They come replete with wall-to-wall broadloom, draperies, and the latest in department-store showroom furniture, and they are meticulously maintained. While Inuit housing has two full-time maintenance men to look after 90 houses, government staff housing has three men to look after a dozen. Often a single teacher will have a three-bedroom house all to herself and every effort is made to ensure unrelated people never have to sleep under the same roof. Until very recently, rents were ridiculously low, supposedly scaled to income, but in fact far below the cost of similar accomodation in southern Canadian cities. In 1981, the Territorial Government decided to try and bring staff rents more into line with their economic costs, and for the first time in the history of the village, every resident White attended a public meeting in order to voice their criticism of the new housing policy. Many threatened to quit and voiced dire predictions that southerners would no longer come North if their savings accounts were threatened by rent increases.

Except in a few places like Frobisher Bay and Inuvik, no one owns their own home North of the treeline. The high cost of transporting building materials in from the South combined with incredible heating and electric charges -- which can average 1000 dollars per month -- inhibits home ownership as a viable possibility. Instead, all the housing stock is the

property of a crown corporation, based in Yellowknife, and is administered locally by an Association in which every resident Inuk is technically a member. The Association is directed by a locally elected Board, whose primary function is to allocate new housing units, and its day-to-day operations are the responsibility of an Inuk manager. Rents vary from 50 dollars per month for a poor family with little income living in an older house, to more than 500 dollars per month for a family with several regular incomes living in a new house. Heating and electrical costs are subsidized by the government and are included in this monthly payment. It is significant that although several local Inuit have senior positions with the Territorial Government, only rarely are they provided with staff housing.

Aside from houses, there is an elementary school, a health clinic, two churches, two general stores, various offices for the different Territorial and Municipal levels of government, a community hall, public workspace for carvers and sewers, a snowmachine sales office, several warehouses, garages and maintenance shops, a firehall, and dozens of tiny shacks built by hunters to store their gear. In 1983, a small hotel and coffee shop is scheduled to open -- an earlier attempt now stands abandoned.

The School was built in the mid-seventies at a cost of three million dollars to replace the original early sixties building. It is a large two-story structure; with a full-sized and well-equipped gymnasium, a woodworking shop, kitchen facilities, a photographic darkroom, a small library, and about a dozen classrooms; some are open affairs in the main building and some are small portables in the yard. There are nine staff positions for teachers plus a principal and vice-principal, all of whom are White -- although an Inuk presently working for the Regional Office was formerly the vice-Principal -- and usually about five classroom assistants, all of whom are Inuit. Older Inuit are also hired on a part-time basis to provide instruction in "traditional culture" -- things like sewing and drum-dancing.

The School is administered by a locally elected Education Society whose responsibilities are currently subject to much negotiation but who are likely in the near future to have authority for hiring all staff and administering operating budgets. At the moment however, their decisions tend to be regarded as advisory by Territorial bureaucrats whose job it is to ensure local initiatives do not disrupt departmental policy.

The School provides primary level education only -- secondary education is in Yellowknife -- although there has been a White adult educator for the past three years who theoretically provides an upgrading facility to allow students to complete at least the rudiments of a secondary education in the village. In practical terms, the children of Sanctuary Bay spend their days at the school from the age of five or six until fifteen or sixteen. Unless they continue in adult education classes or go to Yellowknife, they leave school with the approximate equivalent of a grade eight level of education by southern Canadian standards.

The curriculum has until recently been based on southern Canadian curriculums although a recent emphasis on "cultural inclusion" means that Inuktitut is increasingly the language of instruction in the lower grades and reading materials in Inuktitut based on Inuit legends and folk history are increasing in production. Field trips onto the land are now structured aspects of school life in the spring and children are not considered absent if they are on the land with their parents. Indeed, the Education Society has initiated a policy whereby parents are eligible to receive five gallons of free gasoline from the school for each child they take out camping. Other extra-curricular activities have varied over the years, depending on the motivation of the teaching staff, but sports are a daily and very popular activity. Basketball and volleyball are integral aspects of the school routine.

The two churches were constructed in the late fifties. Both are small, fairly simple structures with little in the way of ceremonial trappings. The Anglican church has been directed since its construction by Inuit

preachers. Early converts to the faith were given rudimentary religious instruction and left in charge of the growing congregation. Today there is an unofficial group of men in their forties and fifties who supervise the spiritual and social affairs of the laity. There are usually three services per week, two on Sunday and one on Wednesday (for hunters away on weekends); the services are entirely in Inuktitut from a Bible translated into syllabics, and are very formal affairs replete with processions, a choir, and elegant robes for the clergy. [1]

The Catholic church is, somewhat paradoxically, less rigidly organized, more tolerant of "tradition", but is still supervised by usually European priests. However, there has not been a White priest resident in Sanctuary Bay for nearly a decade and services are conducted locally by an Inuk catechist who receives training and supervision from the priest resident in a nearby village. Services are conducted in both languages, with the more educated Inuit reading passages from the Bible in English. They hold as many services per week as the Anglicans. The congregations are approximately equal in size, and there is no clear relationship between traditional band affiliations and contemporary religious memberships. During the sixties and early seventies the churches encouraged religious endogamy and indeed discouraged social intercourse of any sort across the religious boundary but this restriction is losing importance.

There are four political bodies that have varying degrees of authority and representation in the local political arena. The Federal Government in most villages is present through the offices of the R.C.M.P. (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) but in Sanctuary Bay there is no permanent police establishment. They do maintain a small trailer to house visiting officers

[1] The syllabic orthography is a phonemic writing system invented in 1875 for the Cree Indians by a Protestant missionary to facilitate the translation of the Bible into the Cree language. It was later modified for use by the Inuit by Reverend Peck around the turn of the century. Almost every adult Inuk is literate in syllabics and many consider it a traditional writing system to be preserved against the incursive influence of the Roman orthography. Inuit, for example, would be written in syllabics as $\Delta \cup \Delta^c$

from a nearby town when the need arises. The Federal Government is also responsible for health care and I will discuss this facility shortly.

The Territorial and Municipal levels of government occupy separate buildings, maintain separate warehouses, garages, and trade shops, and have separate administrative and service staff. The buildings and equipment are roughly equal in terms of quality and quantity, and the staffs are nearly equal in size.

The Territorial presence is overseen by a "Field Service Clerk" who is vestigally related to the settlement managers of the sixties (cf., Brody, 1975). The position is usually held by a White who is responsible in a general way for the local interpretation and administration of Territorial policy. In practice, much of their everyday activity involves hosting visiting government officials and providing clerical assistance to various local organizations such as the Hunters and Trappers Association. Social assistance also comes under Territorial jurisdiction, but a locally elected Welfare Committee and an Inuk manager provide considerable local input into the system today.

The Municipal level of government is organized as a Hamlet which means a locally elected Inuk Mayor and all-Inuit Council are responsible for passing by-laws and administering the village's operating budget -- which means they hire personnel to maintain roads and the airstrip, and service houses with water, sewage and garbage collection. Politically, their decisions affect everything from dog control to alcohol prohibition to non-renewable resource development. As an institution, they hire more Inuit locally than anyone else, but their everyday clerical affairs are supervised by a White secretary. His title as "Secretary-Manager" euphemistically disguises a dual role as both the instrument of Council's decisions and its teacher and advisor. Most of the Councillors elected have, characteristically, been prominent members in either of the two churches. They are usually the same core of men in their forties and fifties with occasional older or younger men or women. Representation is

fairly equally distributed among the different families and bands in the community, but individual characteristics are an important facet of leadership. An ability to speak English is not a prerequisite, but a balanced understanding of the qallunaat world is a major asset. All Council members are regular hunters, and most hold full-time regular jobs as well. A new territorial policy prohibits Hamlet employees from election to Council and has meant that many of the core Council members no longer serve on Council but are active on other committees. It has also created a situation where a good deal of political decision-making takes place outside the institutional framework because many of the natural political leaders are no longer eligible for election to Council.

The various Municipal political organizations (i.e., Hamlet Council, Education Society, Housing Association) also send representatives to Regional Associations which are again predominantly all-Inuit organizations. These Regional Associations vary in strength -- Baffin and the Keewatin are particularly active -- but they are emerging as strong collective voices for both regional and local interests.

The Regional and National Inuit Associations (such as the Kitikmeot Inuit Association and Inuit Tapirisat) constitute the fourth political presence that is active on municipal, regional and national levels. These Associations are active on issues such as land claims, political development, and cultural renewal, and the Regional Associations provide umbrella organizations for representatives of the various villages in each region to work collectively on important issues. Again, the same people who figure prominently on Hamlet Council and other local political bodies, are also involved with Inuit organizations. Although the Inuit Associations mirror political organizations constituted within the bureaucratic framework, there is little evidence, particularly at the municipal and regional levels, that different local constituencies are represented in either sector. Usually the same people are elected to represent local interest in both sectors, and these people experience little conflict in performing both roles; indeed, most feel that the

objectives of the two organizations complement each other and do not perceive one organization being "more Inuit" than another.

However, Inuit associations do tend to operate outside the boundaries and procedures set by the Territorial Government, and in areas where land claims have become immediate issues (such as Baker Lake where uranium exploration was taking place close to the village), it is the Inuit Associations which tend to voice the loudest opposition. In another instance, the Kitikmeot Inuit Association negotiated a deal in 1982 with Saudi Arabia, where falconry is a royal sport, to supply the Saudis with 50 young gyrfalcons for about \$300,000.

In the economic sector, the Co-op and Bay stores compete for the villagers' business. Both sell groceries, hardware, dry goods, clothing, household furnishings, snowmachines, and other miscellaneous items, but the Bay does at least three times the business of the Co-op. The Bay is part of an enormous multinational corporation; indeed, the Hudson's Bay Company is one of the oldest multinationals in the world. It is an efficient and well-organized operation and local business is conducted in a thoroughly southern manner. Although originally involved in the trade of goods for furs, the Bay now does very little of this and concentrates almost exclusively on merchandizing. The managers are almost always White and until a few years ago, were discouraged from settling in a particular village or marrying Inuit (a rule which is no longer applied). However, a unique and perhaps significant feature of Sanctuary Bay was the presence for 25 years of a manager with a Inuit wife and an Alaskan Inuit mother.

The Co-op store was initially part of a national effort to foster community economic development in the early sixties, encouraged by Catholic priests with federal support (cf., Balikci, 1959). Operating out of makeshift buildings scavenged from abandoned military and exploration sites, and emphasizing local initiative and management, the Co-op has struggled to survive against overwhelming competition from the Bay. Often, poorly trained and occasionally dishonest White managers have been hired

who usually plunge local operations further into debt rather than fostering growth and development. The growth of handicrafts as a local industry has been energetically promoted by the Co-ops, although in Sanctuary Bay, the territorial government administered development of this industry until the summer of 1982. The Co-op however, stresses the training of local Inuit as managers (whereas the Bay has always ignored this aspect of local business), and it has an all-Inuit Board of Directors. The first independent business to open in Sanctuary Bay, for snowmachine sales, is run by several Inuit who have been active in the Co-op for years.

Most of the merchandise is freighted in by sealift once a year when the sea lanes are free of ice. Otherwise, occasional chartered aircraft bring supplies, and perishables are delivered regularly by scheduled aircraft. Although this service is somewhat erratic and does not provide the quality one might find in a southern supermarket, fresh vegetables and fruits, milk, eggs, and cheese are now available year round. In mid-January, it is possible, in addition to the ubiquitous canned and packaged food, to fill a grocery cart with the following items:

- 1 bag frozen fried potatoes
- 1 pineapple
- 3 apples
- 1 quart of milk
- 1 doz. eggs
- 1 lb. grapes
- 5 lbs. potatoes
- 1 head lettuce
- 3 tomatoes

These items alone, which are both encouraged as superior nutritional choices in health education efforts and are increasingly preferred by young Inuit particularly, over the canned and powdered foods also available, could easily cost 50 dollars, which to some extent belies the cost of living index set by the Territorial Government at 1.75 times that of Edmonton, Alberta. (The reader is reminded however, that the majority of the diet for Inuit continues to come from the land.)

The two stores also function as local banks, albeit with very restricted capacities. Paychecks are cashed at either store and individual account records are kept for every adult member of the village. People have rather informal credit ratings based on the regularity of their income. For example, one woman might be allowed to charge 20 dollars worth of groceries while she waits for her welfare cheque, whereas another man working full-time might be able to borrow 400 dollars from the Co-op to finance the private purchase of a snowmachine. Occasionally, people will deposit money with either store (no interest is given) in order to accumulate enough money for a major purchase like a snowmobile. More often, however, a large down payment will be made (usually 75% of the purchase price), and the remainder paid off in monthly interest-free installments.

The remaining two major institutions which are important features of village life are the health clinic and the law enforcement agency. As mentioned earlier, both are federal responsibilities and consequently stand virtually autonomous from village control or involvement. The health clinic has an Inuit advisory committee which seems to satisfy the bureaucrats in Yellowknife and Ottawa (cf., Scott, 1982), but which locally is essentially ineffective.

The health clinic is staffed by two nurses, usually in their late twenties to early thirties and almost always single. Often they have nurse-practitioner or midwifery training which they put to good use as the sole providers of primary care at the community level. Cases requiring hospitalization, consultation or surgical intervention are evacuated by air to the hospital in Yellowknife. Antenatal care is provided to all women except primagravidas, grand multiparas and those with histories of obstetrical risk factors who are sent to Yellowknife for delivery in a local hospital. Theoretically, psychological counselling is also the responsibility of the nurses, but as I have argued elsewhere, in practice, this is very much a function of individual personalities (O'Neil, 1981). The clinic has a staff of three Inuit who provide maintenance, housekeeping, clerical and interpreting services. Other health services such as dental

and ophthalmological care are available through occasional visits from specialists and paramedics touring the region.

As I mentioned above, the other federal presence usually found in Inuit villages is an R.C.M.P. detachment. Its absence in Sanctuary Bay is significant for several reasons. The R.C.M.P. are Canada's elite law enforcement officers. They receive the best training, are paid more, and have greater responsibility than any other police force in the country. A tour of duty in the Northwest Territories is considered one aspect of a career that might include customs work at an international airport, undercover narcotics work in a metropolitan area, counter-intelligence work, and general police work in isolated rural areas. In some respects, they combine elements of the American F.B.I., C.I.A., and state trooper. And they are also an integral facet of Canada's northern history, having worked alongside the trader and missionary during the early period of exploration and discovery. They are almost exclusively White, although some effort is made to train Inuit constables.

Although the people of Sanctuary Bay are fully aware of the R.C.M.P.'s function, their immediate absence means that local social control follows more natural and traditional patterns; gossip and social ostracism continue to inhibit social transgressions. In addition, the Hamlet Council has appointed a young Inuk to act as the By-law Officer, whose duty it is to report any flagrant infractions of village laws. For example, several young men brought a large quantity of booze into town following a period away working in a mine, and the By-law Officer made lists of people drinking at the ensuing parties. He gave this list to Council, which, following a heated debate, asked the R.C.M.P. to come and make a full investigation. There are as well, two Inuit who have been appointed Justices of the Peace by the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories. They have the power to hear cases involving local by-law infractions and levy fines accordingly. Their appointments have different histories. The first was regarded by Whites as the most astute and modern of local Inuit and was appointed without any local consultation. The second was appointed

when Council began to express dissatisfaction with this first person's marginality and recommended their own candidate. In actual practice, the first continues to hear most cases.

Outside this modern institutional structure there are other important social features which have little to do with the White world. The entire central coast region from Coppermine in the west to Repulse Bay in the east was traditionally inhabited by nearly 30 different bands or "miut" groups who occupied separate hunting territories, and to some extent had distinctive cultural traditions and language dialects (cf., Brice-Bennett, 1976; Rasmussen, 1931). [2] Linguistic and cultural similarities between bands meant that several bands can be considered as constituting one of the eight or nine "tribes" that traditionally occupied the region. Historical evidence suggests these tribes expanded and contracted territorially in response to trading opportunities, game migrations, and aggression from other tribes. The tribes generally maintained well-defined ethnic boundaries, marriages were usually endogamous, and there is evidence that relations between tribes were sometimes filled with suspicion and ridicule. Special partnerships often were established across both band and tribal boundaries between individual hunters to provide some security for families who found themselves, for one reason or another, in another group's territory (cf., Guemple, 1976; Brody, 1976).

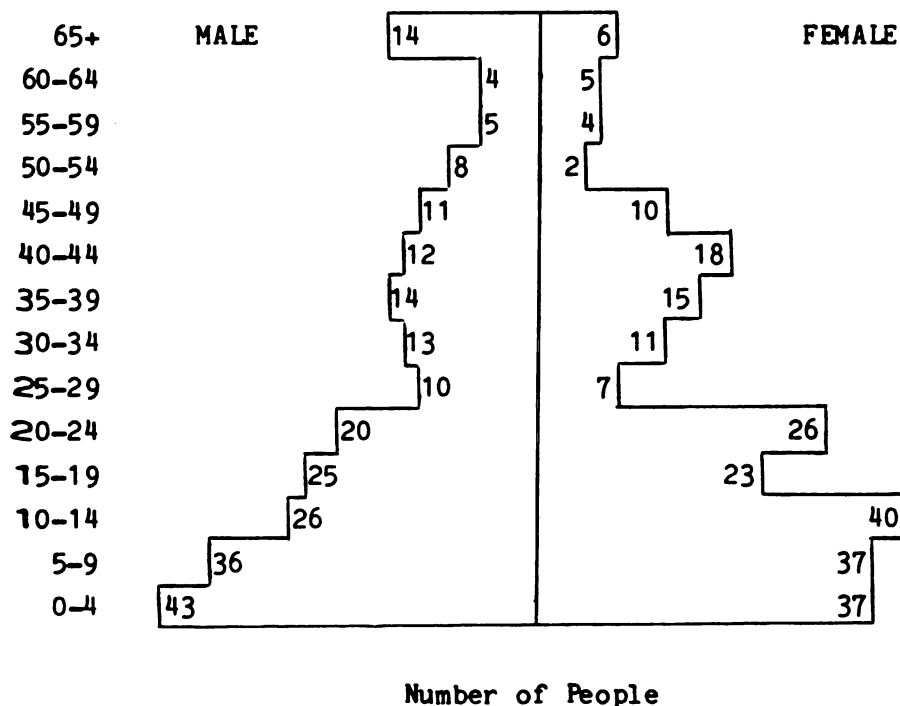
The original trading posts and eventual villages paid scant attention to these traditional territorial occupations. Often a trading-post would be equi-distant from the heart of several band territories, or, conversely, a band would be able to use several posts equally. The result was that each village is now a mixture of people from perhaps four or five different bands, and each band has relocated to four or five different villages.

[2] "Miut" translates approximately as "the ones at [the place]": for example, Netsilingmiut (the ones at [the place] where there are seals). "Miut" groups were the largest unit of traditional social organization (cf., Guemple, 1976).

Sanctuary Bay is an outstanding example of this pattern. There are now families from 10 different regional band affiliations, plus a few families from outside the region. Demographically, the unusually large number of band affiliations means that no one group is predominant. In addition, religious affiliations tend to cross-cut tribal affiliation and intermarriage has been occurring with increasing frequency, particularly in response to the devastation wrought by the disease epidemics of the fifties. Nevertheless, personal identity continues to reflect tribal affiliations and these ethnic boundaries continue to influence interactional patterns and attitudes in contemporary life.

The modern population is young, similar to other Inuit villages. Fifty percent of the population is under the age of 25. The pyramid below illustrates this phenomenon:

Figure 3.1
 INUIT POPULATION PYRAMID FOR SANCTUARY BAY, 1981



Source: Statistics Bureau, Northwest Territories Government, 1981.

These figures do not necessarily correspond to sample sizes for age cohorts used later in the text. My cohorts were drawn as of January 1, 1982 and many of those included in the 20-24 age group above, for instance, would be included in my 25-29 age cohort. Also, census counts by the Territorial Government are often approximations and/or projections and should not be taken literally. The sample sizes used elsewhere represent those who were surveyed and not necessarily the entire cohort.

There are two features of this demographic profile that require a brief explanation. The effects of the disease epidemics are indicated most clearly in the 50-65 age group and in their childrens generation -- the 25-29 group -- who would have been infants during the worst of the epidemic period. The mid-fifties was also a time of starvation for many of the bands which eventually moved to Sanctuary Bay which would have also decreased the numbers in this generation.

The tremendous disparity in the male/female ratio in the 10-14 age group is undoubtedly going to have significant social consequences in about five years. Its occurrence could not be explained by anyone in the village and I hesitate to speculate as to its causes. Migration does not account for it, nor were there any cultural practices such as infanticide or circumcision that might have contributed to a higher infant mortality rate for males. Traditionally, (i.e., pre-contact), Inuit occasionally practised female infanticide during periods of nutritional stress and to assure that families would have sufficient numbers of young hunters. Schrire and Steiger (1981) have convincingly argued that female infanticide has been overestimated by most researchers and should not be considered institutional or systematic. Therefore, it is also unlikely that the large number of 10 to 14 year old girls is related in any way to female infanticide, or its sudden disappearance. People told me they simply "had more girls" at that time, and the explanation may be no more complicated than that.

A summary of the economic elements in the institutional description provides the following picture. There are 65 full-time jobs available, 24 of which are held by Whites, and of the remaining 41, 29 are held by men and 12 by women. Of the jobs held by men, only five are held by men under 30 years of age. The potential work force consists of 234 men and women between 15 and 60 years of age, which gives us an unemployment figure of 83 percent. This figure is of course somewhat absurd given local cultural conditions, but even if we consider only half the women between 20 and 40, and only men between 20 and 50 as interested in work, the unemployment rate is still 60 percent.

This economic slack is filled to some extent by seasonal work, hunting, fishing, trapping, carving and social assistance. Exact statistics on these sectors of the local economy are difficult to obtain and are often misleading. For example, published data on fur harvesting indicates that in 1980/1981, \$94,000 came into Sanctuary Bay and was distributed among 29 people who indicated they were full-time trappers. [3] My fieldnotes however, indicate that three trappers earned in excess of \$15,000. Fur prices fluctuate tremendously according to international market conditions and the cyclical breeding patterns of the fox. In order to earn \$15,000 in the five month trapping season, a man would need to earn on average \$30 per pelt and harvest 100 animals per month. In an average year, at least 250 traps would probably be needed to achieve such a harvest -- a trapline of sufficient size to require constant attention. There are only a handful of trappers who operate at this level. Most maintain less than 50 traps and must supplement trapping income with money from other sources.

Sealskins used to be a primary source of seasonal income but with international pressure on the sealskin market, prices have fallen to the point where seals are now harvested mainly for personal clothing and meat. The pelts of polar bears (\$800-\$1200), musk-oxen (\$200-\$400), wolves (\$50-\$100), and wolverine (\$250-\$300) are also valuable renewable resources but

[3] Source: N.W.T. Data Book, Outcrop Publishers, Yellowknife.

legal quotas, a local demand for clothing, and the relative scarcity of some, render them relatively insignificant in economic terms (with some exceptions as I will describe later).

Some commercial fishing occurs during the summer months, although in Sanctuary Bay, this potential has not been fully exploited. Some men travel to other towns in the region during the summer where commercial fishing is more established. Otherwise, hunting is an activity primarily for subsistence. In some parts of the Canadian Arctic, meat products are being exchanged for cash, but as yet, Sanctuary Bay hunters provide meat exclusively for the major portion of their families' diets.

A good soapstone carving (\$300) can take 60 hours to produce. A good wall-hanging or tapestry (\$100) can require 50 hours of labor. Around these means, there is tremendous variation; people make and sell everything from bone rings (\$5), to sculptured works of art (\$1000). Most craft production takes place in the fall and winter; once the nicer weather arrives, most men are too busy preparing for land travel to continue carving. There is nothing inherently complementary between carving and trapping, although some of the more productive carvers supplement their carving income with traplines. Indeed, it is often the full-time wage workers who are also the most productive carvers; artistic skill (i.e., an ability to make commercially valuable products) does not seem to correlate with "traditional" lifestyles. Nonetheless, the quality (i.e., saleability) of carving in Sanctuary Bay has improved significantly over the past few years and it has become an increasingly important activity, both economically and symbolically, similar to other Arctic regions (cf., Graburn, 1978).

Seasonal construction projects and occasional supplementary labor for some of the institutions described above are another source of income. In 1980/81 there were 20 people claiming unemployment benefits, most of them

in the late summer and early fall. [4] In order to receive these benefits in Canada, a person must have worked at least 12 out of the past 52 weeks, so this is a rough indicator of the number of substantial seasonal jobs. In 1981/82 these jobs included construction of a new airstrip, expansion of the fuel tank farm, rehabilitation of old houses, rotational shift work in the construction of the Polaris Mine on Little Cornwallis Island, and improvements to the health clinic and school. There are always short-term or part-time jobs available as well which usually pay very low wages and last only a few days to a few weeks.

The final important source of income is social assistance. This includes such universal payments as old-age pensions and family allowances, as well as direct welfare payments to needy families. Direct welfare payments in 1981/82 amounted to approximately \$250,000. [5] This money is distributed primarily amongst thirty-five households and provided them an average monthly income of \$575.

Total income distribution to the village can be illustrated approximately from the household income summaries that the Housing Association must compile each year in order to calculate rents. Technically, these summaries indicate the gross total incomes for an entire household from all sources. In 1981/82, these reports indicated a mean yearly household income of \$11,517 with a range from \$3,000 to more than \$50,000. These data require some qualification however. These are before tax incomes, and in most households, there are two or three wage earners. For example, the household income summary for the house I lived in included my own wages, the old people's pension cheques, the gross incomes of the two young men working full-time for the government, the part-time wages of one of the younger women, and the family allowance. People also tend to underreport income from trapping and craft production. Household incomes vary fairly uniformly with nearly equal numbers of households at

[4] Source: N.W.T. Department of Statistics.

[5] Source: Commissioners Report, Government of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife, 1981.

every income level. For the central Arctic region, experience suggests the mean household income of \$11,000 should be considered the poverty line, below which it is extremely difficult to finance a lifestyle which coherently integrates land activities and village needs. This means that half the households in Sanctuary Bay effectively live below the poverty line.

However, possibly the most significant feature of the village environment, and an element that distinguishes Sanctuary Bay from many other Inuit villages, is a local by-law which prohibits the possession, sale, or consumption of any alcoholic beverage within the boundaries of the village. This by-law took effect in 1978 after a community plebiscite voted overwhelmingly in its favor. This by-law is a local option for any community which votes for it, and there are now eight Inuit villages in the Canadian North which prohibit alcohol completely. In Sanctuary Bay, as I have already suggested, it is enforced largely through social pressure because law enforcement officers are absent from the local context (For a more detailed discussion of this recent Northern phenomenon see O'Neil 1981, n.d.).

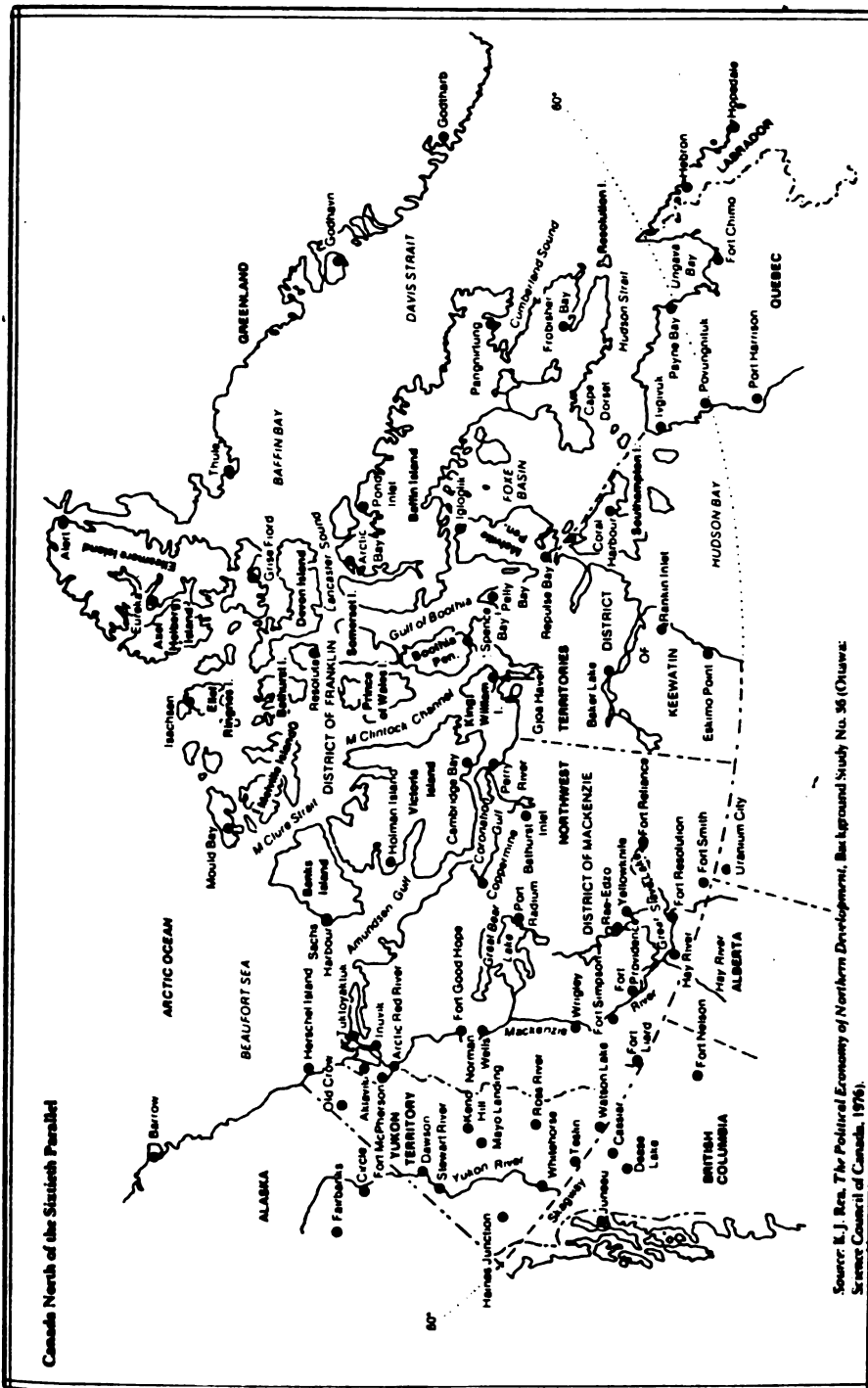
3.3 The Outside

Thus far we have examined the land and the village that constitute the most significant dimensions of the everyday context with which young Inuit cope. There is also a context beyond these local arenas which both influences young lives directly and structures local situations. This larger context makes its presence felt in both an interactional sense -- from people travelling out of and through Sanctuary Bay -- and in a strictly symbolic sense, when issues are expressed in locally available media. The issues involved are enormous.

As I suggested in the introduction, the lands of indigenous peoples can best be considered internal colonies vis a vis their respective nation-states (cf., Hechter, 1975; Graburn, 1981). Gurston Dacks (1981:208) uses this

Map 3.1

NORTHERN CANADA



Source: R. J. Bess, *The Political Economy of Northern Development*, Background Study No. 36 (Ottawa: Senate Council of Canada, 1976).

model as the framework for his analysis of the Northern political economy in his book A Choice of Futures:

The North can be studied as a society — actually a set of several societies — but it can only be understood as a colony. Basically a society is colonial to the extent that major decisions affecting it are made outside it. Colonialism is weakness and dependence.

Much of the summary that follows borrows heavily from Dack's scholarship and I am indebted to him.

The Canadian North includes the Yukon and Northwest Territories, and parts of northern Quebec and Labrador, an area of 7 million sq. kilometres of which 2.6 million lie North of the treeline. This area is about one sixth of a total circumpolar area of 41 million sq. kilometres (about eight percent of the planet's surface), which includes -- in addition to Canada -- Alaska, Greenland, and parts of northern Europe and the U.S.S.R. Since the Canadian population in this vast region is about 60,000 people, all of whom would fit nicely into an average sized American football stadium, it would be easy to draw the false conclusion that most of the area is uninhabited. In reality, the northern population of Canada is scattered across this immense area like random drops of paint from an artist's brush. The distance from the most westerly Inuit settlement of Aklavik to the most easterly settlements in Labrador is about 4,000 km. From Resolute Bay in the North to Sanikiluaq in southern Hudson Bay is about 2,400 km. And the three major cities of Inuvik, Yellowknife, and Frobisher Bay are separated by distances of 1,200 km. and 2,400 km. respectively. (From Los Angeles to New York is about 3,700 km.)

Milan (1980) sets the worldwide Inuit population at 91,014 in 1971, which, given certain demographic indicators, has probably grown to about 110,000 in 1982. In Canada, 14,485 Inuit now reside in the Northwest Territories, with an additional 4,800 in northern Quebec and Labrador, and approximately 500 now living south of the treeline.

Since most Canadian Inuit are administratively part of the Northwest Territories , this discussion will concentrate there. [6] The Northwest Territories itself is over 3 million sq. kilometres and has a total population of 46,400 people. It is divided in half diagonally by the treeline with the bulk of the non-Inuit population living south and west of this natural boundary. There are about 21,000 Whites and 9,700 Indians and Metis "crowded" into this latter region. North of the treeline the Inuit live in thirty-two settlements ranging in size from 30 people in Bathurst Inlet to about 2,500 in Frobisher Bay. Most villages fall between 350 and 800 people.

Possibly the most significant aspect of these vast distances and isolated pockets of human habitation is the transportation and communication problems that result. The North is serviced from the three major Canadian cities of Edmonton, Winnipeg and Montreal, but with the exception of Edmonton, no roads run North into the Territories from these centres. Air travel is the principal means of transportation, although freight is brought into most settlements by barge in the summer. Air transportation is exorbitantly expensive. For example, round trip air fare from Edmonton to Sanctuary Bay (a regularly flown and straightforward route), cost more than \$1,000 (or about the price of a budget ticket to circumnavigate the globe!). Travelling from west to east on the other hand is nearly impossible. To get from Sanctuary Bay to Cape Dorset on Baffin Island (where some people have relatives), a distance of about 1,100 kilometres, can require three or four days, cost several thousand dollars, and involve stopovers in Edmonton and Montreal; i.e., the same as if someone travelling from New Orleans to Dallas had to stop over in Chicago and San Francisco en route.

[6] The literature on Canadian Inuit and northern development very seldom refers to both the N.W.T. and northern Quebec in the same discussion. This is an unfortunate consequence of the literatures being in two languages and makes coherent statements about Canadian Inuit difficult.

The colonial nature of Canada's northern areas is immediately apparent when one considers the political economy. The struggle for control over development in the region has three principal actors, or more accurately, groups of actors, whose interests are usually opposed. The foremost power in the North is the federal government and the various national and multinational resource corporations who view the minerals, gas and oil in the North as a source of untapped wealth and the solution to many of Canada's economic woes, and who, together, would prefer to maintain the North in its present colonial status as the most profitable way to exploit these resources. Opposing these interests is the Territorial Government (or in the case of Quebec, the Provincial Government), which is struggling to increase its power in the determination of revenue flow from resource development so that Northern interests are better served. To be fair, this level of government tries to balance the anticipated economic benefits of large-scale resource development with the human and environmental interests of its northern constituency. Finally, the various Native political organizations such as Inuit Tapirisat, the Dene Nation, and the Metis Association, form the third corner of the triangle.

In recent years, the alliance between the Territorial Government and the Native political organizations has been strengthened substantially because the Territorial Legislature is now nearly 2/3 Native (and nearly 1/2 Inuit). This solidarity has been given recent expression by the Territorial Government's support for the inclusion of an aboriginal rights clause in the new Canadian Constitution (which was opposed by provincial interests worried about the cost of land claims settlements), and the current Territorial support for the political division of the N.W.T. into two separate regions reflecting Native constituencies. On the other hand, Native groups receive their funding from Federal sources and consider the Federal Government as their main negotiating partner. The Territorial government also receive 80% of their annual operating budget from Federal sources.

A good example of the overall economic relationship of northern regions with the rest of Canada is described in Gerein (1980). In 1975/76, 168 million dollars were spent in the N.W.T., of which 27.5 million were from territorial taxes and revenues and 141.5 million were from operating and cost-sharing grants from the Federal government. In 1974, the Federal Government managed to collect 66 million dollars in personal and corporate taxes and royalties from northern sources.

This current subsidization of the North by the rest of Canada is, however, underwritten both historically by the fur trade (cf., Phillips, 1961) and in anticipation of the vast enormous economic potential of its non-renewable resources. The North currently produces all of Canada's tungsten, 44 percent of its lead, 26 percent of its zinc, 20 percent of its silver and 13 percent of its gold. In 1979, seven mines in the N.W.T. produced \$437 million worth of these metals. Uranium reserves are thought to be the largest in the world. And the Arctic islands and Beaufort Sea are estimated to hold about 10 billion barrels of oil and 4 trillion cubic metres of natural gas.

This wealth is, however, subject to international economic pressures and remains enormously expensive to develop. The current worldwide depression has led to production cutbacks in Cominco's two northernmost mines, and closings elsewhere. Dome Petroleum, a leading figure in oil and gas exploration and development, verged on bankruptcy throughout 1981, and was salvaged only with the aid of enormous federally guaranteed loans.

The central issue in this development program are the Native Claims proposals. The Inuit Tapirisat and the Dene Nation have laid claim to essentially the entire Northwest Territories and they remain committed to a political and economic solution. They are not interested in relinquishing aboriginal title for so many acres of land and so many dollars, as happened in Alaska, and northern Quebec, but insist a settlement must include the creation of Native controlled territories.

The Inuit Tapirisat's Nunavut proposal spells these principles out succinctly and is summarized below:

The creation of Nunavut Territory, in respect to which through numbers and voting power, the Inuit will have control for the foreseeable future.

The Inuit holding surface title to at least 250 thousand square miles.

The Inuit receiving royalties from development.

No cash transfers from the Government are asked for as compensation in the settlement. Any monetary compensation or benefits will come through royalties arising from development. The Inuit will share fully in the risks in respect to the benefits of development.

The Inuit do not want handouts.

Quite naturally, the Federal Government under pressure from its multinational partners, is reluctant to grant Native organizations political control over resource development -- and is particularly loathe to provide them with the power to levy taxes and set royalty levels. However, in 1982, a Territorial plebiscite supported the creation of Nunavut Territory and with the support of the Territorial Government, negotiations are now seriously underway to make this a political reality. The Federal Government is interested primarily in creating another northern colony which it will continue to administer from Ottawa and is attempting to divorce the land claims issue from what they see as a strictly political solution to Territorial administrative problems.

In a more interpersonal sense, the towns of Inuvik, Yellowknife and Frobisher Bay are meeting grounds for everyone involved in regional activities -- be they political meetings, sporting events, post-primary education, health care, or employment. Population figures for these centres are summarized in the table below and indicate their pluralist nature:

Table 3.1
URBAN POPULATION COMPOSITION IN NORTHERN CANADA, 1981

	INUIT	INDIAN	OTHER	TOTAL
Inuvik	609	237	2,301	3,147
Yellowknife	95	906	8,482	9,483
Frobisher Bay	1,562	-	771	2,333

Source: Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories, 1981.

These towns have all the favorable and unfavorable amenities of any urban centre -- movie theatres, liquor stores, bars, drug traffic, libraries, stores, hotels, prostitution, etc. — and all are hubs of transportation for a very large and generally high spending transient population. Relations on the street between the different ethnic groups range from an uneasy avoidance to mutual suspicion and hostility. Actual violence occurs most often between Indians and Inuit.

Outside the North, Inuit also travel to the major Canadian cities of Edmonton, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Ottawa, and Montreal. The most important reason for these trips is health-related -- tertiary level care is only available in the south -- but politics, education, and tourism are also important.

Each of these cities has a tiny Inuit population but Inuit are often mistaken for, and treated as, Indians. In some cities, Inuit hostels make life a little easier. Ottawa has a sizeable group of young Inuit leaders working for the Inuit Tapirisat and related publications and organizations. The Federal Member of Parliament for the Northwest Territories is an Inuk who recently crossed the floor from the N.D.P. (Canada's socialist party) to become a special minister in charge of constitutional reform in the Prime Minister's Cabinet.

Contact with Inuit in other countries is on the increase; conferences and meetings are held every year to bring together leaders from the various circumpolar regions and the international Inuit political organization -- Inuit Circumpolar Conference (I.C.C.) -- was recently granted non-voting membership in the United Nations. Contact with Greenland is becoming particularly important since Home Rule came into effect, and Greenland began to look to Canada rather than Denmark as a trading partner. These past few years have witnessed frequent exchanges between Inuit in Frobisher Bay and Greenland for education, sporting events, and political affairs.

The World Assembly of First Nations held in Regina in the summer of 1982 was the most recent expression of the growing solidarity amongst indigenous peoples who constitute the Fourth World (cf., Manuel and Poslums, 1974; Graburn, 1981). An Inuit delegation attended the conference and participated in meetings and cultural events with Indians from all over the Americas, and Aborigines and Maoris from Australia and New Zealand. Announcements for the conference were in every Inuit publication and local interest in Sanctuary Bay was evident.

Electronic and print media also play a powerful role in the contemporary North. Every Inuit village over 150 people now receives, via satellite, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's radio and television service. In addition to the window on world affairs that this provides, Inuit and northern content, particularly on radio, is increasing constantly. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, with studios in Frobisher Bay and Eskimo Point, is producing documentaries and dramas related to Inuit concerns. Radio broadcasts in Inuktitut about northern and world issues occur several times a day. During the constitutional crisis in the autumn of 1981, when the Federal Government, under pressure from several provinces, decided to delete the aboriginal rights clause from the new Canadian constitution, Inuit of all ages across the North were aware of the negotiations and decisions as soon as they occurred and participated fully in the mobilization of support that forced the government to

reconsider and reinstate the clause. These events occurred in the space of several weeks; three or four years ago the deletion could have been quietly transacted with little Northern backlash.

Inuit publications in Inuktitut and English also contribute to this expanding communication field. Inuit Today, the principal organ of the Inuit Tapirisat, publishes everything from myths to old peoples' life histories, to important political issues, to recipes for preparing caribou stew. Inuit newspapers out of Frobisher Bay and northern Quebec, as well as regional newsletters, keep people informed about national, regional and local events elsewhere. And Inuit publications are now reprinting articles about Guatemalan Indians and Australian Aborigines which illustrate the common problems and identity indigenous peoples share.

With this broad context in mind then, we will return to Sanctuary Bay in the next chapter and describe in detail the Inuit youth who act on this fascinating stage.

4. INUIT YOUTH

"For it is through their ideology that social systems enter the fibre of the next generation and attempt to absorb into their lifeblood the rejuvenative power of youth. Adolescence is thus a vital regeneration in the process of social evolution, for youth can offer its loyalties and energies both to the conservation of that which continues to feel true and to the revolutionary correction of that which has lost its significance"

(Erik Erikson, Identity Youth and Crisis)

"The young people today love luxury. They have bad manners, they scoff at authority and lack respect for their elders."

(Socrates)

"As compared with later eras then, early adulthood is distinguished by its fullness of energy, capability, and potential, as well as external pressure. In it, personal drives and societal requirements are powerfully intermeshed, at times reinforcing each other and at times in stark contradiction."

(Daniel J. Levinson, Seasons of a Man's Life)

4.1 Introduction

Youth, as both a social phenomenon, and a psycho-social process, has become a major subject for analysis in the social and behavioural sciences. This interest is related in part to the youth movements that have swept the world in the past few decades, and in part is the natural outcome of a theoretical interest in human development and social transformation. Given this broad interest, it has been necessary to search through the literatures of anthropology, sociology and psychology to find models and concepts appropriate for the analysis of psycho-social process and pattern in a group of young Inuit coping in the contemporary world.

The anthropological literature is generally disappointing. Anthropologists have been less than enthusiastic about youth issues -- or more generally about the significance of age in social organization (Foner

and Kertzer, 1978; Stewart, 1977). There are of course the classic and largely British interests in age grading and rites of initiation (Allen, 1967; Baxter and Almagor, 1978; Stewart, 1977; Wilson, 1977). These interests provide richly descriptive understandings of the fascinating age structure of East African tribal societies and the exotic and sometimes horrifying rituals of male initiation into adult society -- particularly in Melanesia and Australia where practices such as subincision have been documented. Even the work of Goody (1958) and Fortes (1958) on domestic transformational processes in East Africa, which attempts a more sophisticated -- albeit structural-functional -- analysis of the relationship between generations and the changing structure of the wider society, failed to inspire systematic theoretical development. Their work does however point to the inherent tension in age-determined status passages where control over scarce resources must be renegotiated to facilitate the incorporation of newly adult members into the political economy. It is a significant problem for all societies and requires elaborate ceremonial investment to control overt conflict. They suggest that the formation of peer groups -- or age-sets in the more classic literature -- is a temporary phenomenon useful for socializing children into adult roles, but usually of no further significance once the transition is complete. Eisenstadt (1956) also argues that age groups appear as "interlinking spheres" between the family and the wider society when the particularistic mode of kin relationship does not provide adequate preparation for the more universalistic demands of the adult world. However, the structural-functional bias in this anthropological literature with its emphasis on equilibrium and conflict resolution, limits its value in our present analysis of young adult strategic behaviour, at least some of which is calculated intentionally to enhance rather than resolve conflict.

Anthropology also alerts us to the native concepts used to arrange and order aspects of age in society. Inuit in Sanctuary Bay describe a young person(s) as Inuusuuqtuq(it). This word was always translated for me as "young person", "teenager", or "youth". However, when the term is analysed

Semantically, its literal meaning is "those who resemble, or are becoming, people". The root of the term is Inu(k), "a person" + u, "to be, is" + suuq, "seeming, resembles" + tuq(it), "it/those".

There are no references to this term in any of the ethnographies for the region, which at first struck me as puzzling. The socialization of boys into men has been described as a process where a nutaruq "boy", became an angut "man" once he had caught his first seal which usually occurred in his mid-teens. While certain rituals were observed regarding the distribution of the catch, there were no formal ceremonies or rites of passage. Marriages were consummated when the young man was in his late teens and the transition from boy to man was negotiated without the moratorium from social life which we now associate with adolescence, and which may be implied in the term inuusuqtuq (at least in its contemporary usage.) Young men were, however, required to perform extended hunter's apprenticeships under the strict supervision of their fathers for five or six years past puberty before they could assume the responsibilities of husband and father (Balicki,1970).

With this background in mind, I was initially tempted to interpret inuusuqtuq as a recent construction describing late adolescence in the modern era, and suspected at first that it might imply, in a slightly derogatory manner, that young people were somehow not really Inuit, that they had picked up so many behavioural characteristics from Whites that their elders found it hard to recognize them as "The People".

However, when I searched through some of the older English-Inuktitut dictionaries, I changed my mind. Thibert's (1958) dictionary for the Keewatin dialect lists inuosuktok "young man", and makoktut "youth". Schneider's (1966) Ungava dictionary lists inuoshuktoq "adolescents or nearly adult people", and makoktoq "he is young". Schultz-Lorentzen's (1927) Greenlandic dictionary lists inusuqpoq "is young", inusuqtut "young people", and inusuik "youth", but has no listing for anything resembling makoktuq. Peacock (1974) lists inuusuktuuvuk "our young people" in his

Labrador coast dictionary. And Spaulding (1979) lists makkuktuq "youth or young person" in his modern Baffin Island word list but nothing resembling inuusuuqtuq. Graburn (personal communication) says that Inuit in Nouveau-Quebec used uvikaak to describe young people but I could find no further reference to this usage in other regions.

The key to the puzzle came when I realized that the second u was verbalizing the nominal root Inuk which when combined with suuq "resembles", can be best understood as "becoming like, or about to be". This also means that Inuk should not be glossed superficially into English as merely "person", but is better understood as a "person possessing the qualities that entitle him/her to the ethnic status of being of the Inuit". Since adulthood is implied as being one of these qualities, the qualities also include being able to support a family from the land.

Inuusuuqtuq is also interesting because it seems to describe a social category rather than behaviour. In discussions with older people about youth, other words were used as well. They were nutarunik "like a boy, or boyhood", nutarunniq "no longer a boy", isumataaqtuq "a person who has just begun to use his reason or sense", innanik "like an adult", innaq "an adult", and innammarik "a real or genuine adult". But all of these words were used to describe behaviour, never phases of social development, categories of people, or individuals (although the typical behaviour of certain off-time individuals would be described as "like a boy" or "like a real adult"). In one discussion, an old man ventured to suggest that nutarunik should be finished by the age of puberty (13-15), and a person usually could not be described as innammarik until he was at least 30 and fully able to support his family and participate in community life (although I suspect this upper age marker has shifted considerably over the past few years in the context of village life).

The upper boundary for Inuusuuqtuq was, however, very clear in people's minds, and indeed was under negotiation by youth who would have preferred a longer period before innaqtuq "adulthood" was assumed. These same young

people also preferred the English "youth" with its less restrictive age connotations, to "teenager" which clearly terminates at 19. This conflict was illustrated when I became the mediator in negotiations between the Junior Team and Council to form a Youth Club:

Terry Ittinuaq had been back in Sanctuary Bay about a month, during which time he rallied the support of the Junior Team because of his basketball abilities and his "cool" demeanor -- he could talk about rock concerts, fast cars, and drug deals which impressed (at least initially) the teenage cohort.

After some discussion about the idea of forming a Youth Club with his peers, he approached the White secretary for the Hamlet Council to inquire about funding, meeting space etc. I happened to be in the Council office at the time and the Secretary told him I was "his man". He explained that I was "researching young people" and had Council's support to deal with youth issues, and while Terry was obviously suspicious and defensive, he came over to my house to discuss the idea. I did not intend to become involved in the actual organization of a Club but I was very interested in the formative process and felt I could offer advice if necessary. After further discussion with Terry and other youth, I was coaxed into approaching Council with the idea. (Although 31 years old, I was very obviously being defined as a youth by young Inuit at this point.)

At the Council meeting, I explained that I thought a Youth Club might be a good idea because it would provide recreational opportunities and more importantly, a forum where young people could begin to think and act politically. I stressed that if I was involved, I would emphasise community development, and working to assist Council, as major themes.

Councillors were unanimously enthusiastic about the idea. They were already concerned that teenagers were sleeping too much, and hoped a Youth Club might encourage them to focus their energy and ideas and begin to think about the community. They passed a resolution supporting the formation of a Club and were about to pass on to other business when, out of curiosity (scientific of course), I asked if they felt there should be any age limit to Club membership.

They did not hesitate. With the exception of the two youngest Councillors, everyone emphatically indicated 19 as the absolute cut-off age. They were less worried about a lower age limit -- they felt anyone under 15 would probably be uninterested -- but they insisted no one over 19 be allowed to participate. They

argued that people over 19 were already able to vote and could express themselves through any of the other village organizations, and that Inuusuuqtuit would be intimidated by people in their early twenties and therefore would not benefit from the "political" objective of the Club.

Since many of the youth who were interested in forming a Club were over 19 — Terry was 21 — I was somewhat dismayed. I mentioned this and several of the older Councilors became even more insistent that 19 be strictly observed as the upper age limit. The two youngest Councilors, and the Mayor, were more concerned that the idea might collapse if anyone interested was prohibited, and argued in favor of a more flexible age boundary. The outcome was that 19 would be indicated as the boundary in publicity about the Club, but that Council would consider the issue again if the idea failed

When I reported the Council decision to Terry and the others, they were upset. I had by this point decided that my involvement was coming dangerously close to unethical conduct, and while I sympathized with the older youth, I encouraged them to try and observe Council's wishes. They became very anti-Council, and felt that a Youth Club should be none of Council's business. I became increasingly worried because this was not the intention — to increase age conflict -- at all.

They decided to go ahead and have a meeting ignoring Council's age restrictions. On the night of the meeting, a senior Council member, who also headed the Recreation Committee, and who had opposed the Youth Club idea the most, scheduled a martial arts movie for the same time in the Community Hall, where the meeting was supposed to be held. (Martial arts films are a favorite form of entertainment among young people.)

The Youth Club organizers responded by finding another meeting place and posting announcements all over the village. Every member of the Junior Team, several teenagers who never played basketball, and about a half dozen young men in their early twenties (including one of the very active hunters) attended the meeting and ignored the film. They unanimously elected Terry Ittinuaq as President and the other older youth as an Executive. They wanted me to be the "Executive Advisor" but I declined. I had decided if they were going to effectively challenge Council, their actions were likely to be viewed more favorably if a qalunaaq (even a favored one) was not involved.

I advised Terry that he should not consider Council as "The Man", but should indicate clearly that the Club was going to try and do things with Council, and then I disassociated myself

from the organization. No one ever went back to Council to discuss the problem and after one meeting to hold a cribbage tournament, the Youth Club idea died, for reasons I cannot detail here but which will emerge later in the thesis.

As the thesis will indicate, the efforts by some young people to renegotiate the boundary between young person and adult is a source of great stress. Nineteen is a clearly expected and indicated transitional age in contemporary village life, but as yet there are no ritual or ceremonial markers to distinguish it. For many Inuusuuqtuit in their eighteenth and nineteenth years, accomplishing this transition is regarded with great apprehension.

Sociology has taken a more active interest than anthropology in youth as a social phenomenon, and several theoretical approaches have emerged. Brake (1980) and D.M. Smith (1981) have reviewed the field and suggest there are two (or three) major themes. Brake (ibid) argues that the predominant theme in American thinking has been generational, as originally expressed in the work of Mannheim (1952) who argued that generational differences and conflict were a key factor in social change. Brake (ibid) is critical of later interpreters of Mannheim's ideas who have moved away from an interest in conflict and change and have become overly functionalistic in their concern with effective socialization of young adults into society. The so-called generation gap is considered a dysfunction of poor socialization, and youth policy has largely been based on this victim-blaming model (Woods, 1977).

Brake (ibid) identifies the second theme as the British structural bias, strongly influenced by Marxist theory, which proposes class as the key factor for understanding generational response to the wider structural elements of society. Smith (ibid), on the other hand, argues that the structural-functional paradigm includes both of Brake's themes and instead contends that the Marxist approach stands as an alternative to both the structural-functional and the social-psychological understanding of youth cultures as legitimate sub-cultures. This latter perspective is a product of the Chicago school of naturalistic urban sociology and is best

represented in the work of both sociologists and anthropologists such as Cashmore (1979), Thrasher (1927), Liebow (1967), Keiser (1969), and Whyte (1943), all of whom described urban youth sub-cultures. Marxists, Smith (ibid) argues, reject the idea that generational consciousness is a motivating factor in social change and in fact consider it a dangerous sidetrack to the more productive analysis of class relations. Brake (ibid) on the other hand, argues that the sub-cultural (or social-psychological) approach is perfectly compatible with Marxist arguments because youth sub-cultures should be considered as social and and psychological responses to the conditions of dominance and exploitation that exist in industrial societies. Such a combination of perspectives, he argues, inform recent developments in British criminology where planners are committed to the abolition of wealth and power differentials in society. This policy model is opposed to the traditional "correctionalist" approach that has been theoretically supported by the generational interests of American sociology where the emphasis is on socializing the young into traditional normative social roles.

In an Inuit village where ethnicity and other cultural diacritica are paramount, where class is at best incipient, but where the political economy has a caste-like quality (cf., Graburn, 1978), this combination of Marxist and social-psychological perspectives has much to offer. Generational conflict, and the new definitions of reality that Inuit youth are constructing, must be understood on one level as an response to northern political and economic inequalities, and as an attempt on the part of youth to change those inequalities.

The recent interest of developmental psychology in young adult development (defined roughly as post-puberty or beyond the ages 12-15) by Piaget (1972), Kohlberg (1981), Erikson (1968) Fromm (1955) and Levinson (1978), is complicated by the internal debates that rage over the the degree of structure, and the number and sequence of stages that delineate young adult cognitive development (Baltes, Reese and Lipsitt, 1983; Broughton, 1981).

Erikson (1968) and Fromm (1955) are less wedded to cognitive structure (Fromm less so than Erikson) and view adult development as a phase process where the existential needs of individuality, love, community, productivity, and national philosophy (Fromm) or identity, intimacy, generativity, and integrity (Erikson) are either successfully achieved or inhibited by interaction between the individual and society. [1]

Kohlberg (1981), a leading contemporary figure in this area, has devised a Piagetian schema which proposes that at age fifteen, cognitive development shifts from logical (Piaget) to moral stages where adult identity is focused on moral change. During the first adult stage, morality is based on an obedience to authority; in the next stage (mid to late teens) morality has a conscience orientation (i.e., a desire not to hurt others); and in the final stage, morality achieves a universal principled outlook. Aside from the many internal debates amongst Kohlbergian disciples, the orientation is still largely theoretical with little empirical evidence and can be easily criticized as ethnocentric and indeed elitist (Gibbs, 1979).

A more salient theoretical development for our purposes has emerged in the recent work of life-span developmentalists (Baltes, Reese and Lipsitt, 1983). They argue that while the work cited above is inspirational, the focus on formal age-related stages is misdirected. We should instead examine different phases in the life-cycle with an eye to eliciting alternate ways of organizing and construing reality — an approach which is infinitely more compatible with the symbolic interactionist theme implicit in the sub-cultural sociological approach and with the general theoretical orientation of this thesis outlined in Chapter 2.

[1] Psychological stress is derivative of the relative success/failure ratio in these strivings. In this regard the Leighton (1959) model of blocked sentiment striving and resultant psychopathology should be mentioned here.

This perspective has grown out of descriptive interests in the lives of old people in contemporary society and as Keith (1980) argues, it is a perspective which has contributed to an emerging interdisciplinary theoretical interest in age as a principle of social organization which parallels similar developments in the study of ethnicity and gender. Keith (ibid) argues that issues such as symbolic markers of age boundaries, situational age presentations, socially negotiated timing agendas, age-appropriate behavioural evaluations, and age-related innovation, all need to be reconsidered from a generative, interactional perspective similar to the approach that now frames our understanding of ethnicity (e.g., Barth, 1969). To this end, the work of Nydegger (1981), Eckert (1978), and Rosow (1978), which addresses the confusion surrounding the timing and cohort concepts, is valuable. These authors distinguish; 1) historical experience, (cohort), 2) psychological age (timing and generation), and 3) contextual factors, in the analysis of human behaviour at a specific age. Nydegger (ibid) particularly argues against the development of rigid timetables of psychological development based on biological age and suggests a meaning centred approach to timing where transitional boundaries are subject to ongoing negotiations dependent on cohort experience and situational factors.

As the rest of this chapter will illustrate, Nydegger's (ibid) suggestions are particularly relevant. Within a span of fifteen years, three cohorts of Inuit youth can be distinguished who have not only had different historical experiences which have helped to shape their present identity and world view, but these cohorts have each negotiated separate timing agendas within the larger society and further define different social realities with which to cope in their respective phases of their own timetables. I have defined these three cohorts under the descriptive labels of 1) Junior Team (16-19), 2) Polar Bear Hunters (20-24), and 3) Managers (25-30). In the remainder of the thesis I will describe how the stresses of both status transitions and social order are defined differently by each cohort. I will argue that the current experiences of the Polar Bear Hunters will not necessarily become the experiences of the

Junior Team after a similar age transition, nor were they the experiences of the Managers at an earlier age. The cohort concept is further useful because as an analytical tool, it does not necessarily require the existence of an age consciousness (which is implied in the concept of sub-culture) in order to describe a particular social group as a corporate unit.

I should however caution the reader that the labels Junior Team, Polar Bear Hunter, and Manager are not labels used by Inuit youth to define themselves in the way "hippy", "Dread", or "punker" are used by other youth groups. At the moment there are no emically defined labels, in either Inuktitut or English, used by Inuit youth to symbolize cohort consciousness. These labels are merely useful descriptive tools to distinguish the more obvious aspects of lifestyle focus among the different age groups.

I will begin this description in this chapter by presenting a series of life histories that illustrate the range of experiences, social milieus, and coping tactics, strategies, and styles in each of the three cohorts. I will then briefly describe each cohort in very general terms -- more detailed discussion will be confined to subsequent chapters. Finally, I will include a brief comparative survey of the major historical and contemporary differences between the cohorts.

4.2 Peer Models and Marginals

4.2.1 The Junior Team (16-19)

Pauloosie Kiviug (19) -- Volleyball Star

Known as "Mr. Spike" to his teammates, (a reference to his above average height and extraordinary ability to "spike" volleyballs and thereby win games), and described by his many friends as a person with a clear and strong mind, Pauloosie

would probably win the most votes in a contest to elect the young man "most likely to succeed in life" if such a contest had any relevance in Inuit culture. His name was mentioned most often by other members of the Junior Team cohort in response to a questionnaire item to list people considered friends, and he was favored by Whites. He is a kind, easy-going, thoughtful young man, soft-spoken and reticent in his interactions with peers and obviously attentive and observant.

At 19, he was the youngest "married" man in Sanctuary Bay; his grandfather had arranged for him to marry the daughter of a cousin when he was seventeen. His wife was expecting their first child but Pauloosie was determined to deny the formality of his marriage. He continued to act like a single man: He spent most of his time in the company of his peers and often attended teen dances without his wife, seeking the company of other young women.

Nevertheless, he continued to live with his betrothed in his grandparents' home. His grandparents, who had adopted him as the firstborn son of their eldest daughter when he was an infant, had moved to Sanctuary Bay three years previously from a nearby village. He had been raised with an older step-brother, the youngest natural offspring of his grandparents, who was now living in Yellowknife with a White woman, the sister of a local teacher. This step-brother had left Sanctuary Bay the previous spring in the midst of a scandal involving a local White nurse which had apparently contributed to his divorce from his own arranged marriage. His step-brother had more formal education than he did, and a long employment record as a maintenance man, teacher and welfare officer.

Pauloosie had several younger sisters, one of whom was also in an arranged marriage. He had many uncles, aunts, and cousins in Sanctuary Bay, and many relatives in most of the other eastern Kitikmeot villages and in several Keewatin settlements. This extended family encompassed several of the major tribal identifications and both of the religious affiliations.

His grandfather was a man of great spiritual wisdom and reputed shamanistic power. As a young man, he had worked on the construction of the DEW line and had travelled across the Arctic as an interpreter with the R.C.M.P. He apparently spoke English quite well but avoided any current use of the language except, as Pauloosie told me, to tease the unilingual young men in town. His grandparents, although nominally Anglican, rarely attended church, although Pauloosie explained this was due to their inability to walk the distance to the church in winter. His older step-brother had become Catholic as a result of an

arranged marriage to a Catholic woman, and had introduced Pauloosie to the Catholic church. For a teenager, Pauloosie attended quite regularly.

Pauloosie had been born and raised in a village, spending several months each summer in camp with his grandparents. Most of his schooling had been in the nearby village of Hamilton Bay, but he had completed the last two years of his education in Sanctuary Bay. His grandparents actively discouraged him from going to Yellowknife for secondary education, arguing that his older step-brother's education had caused nothing but problems and preferred that Pauloosie become a good hunter. His grandfather had bought him his first snowmobile when he was seventeen. He indicated he enjoyed his status as a hunter and showed little interest in adult education classes or trade training programs. Several of his previous teachers in Sanctuary Bay were very disappointed with this turn of events because they considered Pauloosie their brightest pupil, a natural leader, and most likely to succeed in the White world. (They felt strongly that community development depended on young men like Pauloosie assuming administrative responsibilities from Whites and argued that that traditional influences -- his arranged marriage and grandparental pressure to hunt -- were responsible for the current underdeveloped state of the Kitikmeot region.)

His fluency in both Inuktitut and English was better than many of his peers and he indicated his thoughts were mostly in Inuktitut, particularly when he was alone on the land. He said he spoke to his wife exclusively in English, sometimes joked with friends in Inuktitut, but tried to speak to his younger siblings in Inuktitut.

He had held several jobs in the past few years, the first two as a stockboy for a couple of weeks in each of the two local stores, and the most recent as a carpenter, renovating several local buildings. He had applied for work at the Polaris Mine on Little Cornwallis Island in order to earn enough money to buy his grandfather an electric-start snowmachine. While working as a carpenter, he bought his grandmother a vacuum cleaner and often gave money to his younger siblings for pop and candy. His ambition was to find more work as a carpenter on a seasonal basis. He was very conscious of his grandparent's generosity and wanted to repay their kindnesses.

He had thirteen traps of his own that winter and the previous winter had helped his wife's father on his trapline. He described at least ten trips onto the land in the previous year to hunt caribou and seal and to fish. In the winter he usually made these trips with uncles and cousins, but had gone caribou

hunting in the fall once on his own and had made several bird-hunting trips with his friends in the spring. He had most of his own equipment, given to him by his grandfather who was too old to hunt, and he estimated he had caught thirty caribou and six seals in the previous year. He was somewhat embarrassed to admit he had not caught a polar bear or musk-ox as yet.

His HOS score was fairly high (27) but his medical chart indicated few complaints. There was one entry for drunkenness at age fifteen. He smoked five or six cigarettes per day, and had been since he was thirteen. His diet was predominantly country food but he drank a lot of coffee in addition to the ubiquitous tea and admitted to enjoying frequent candy bars and soda pop. He was candid about experimenting with marijuana and hashish several times, both in Sanctuary Bay and elsewhere, but had no knowledge of either hallucinogens or narcotics and denied ever sniffing gasoline or glue.

In town he dressed the picture of modern fashion; laceless snowboots, tight blue jeans, and a snug-fitting, down-filled, wolf-trimmed flight jacket over a t-shirt. On the land, however, he wore caribou clothing and he had several pairs of stylish sealskin boots for occasional wear around town. He played basketball and volleyball every night during the winter. He attended every weekly dance and enjoyed heavy metal rock music the most. He said I was the only White person he ever visited.

Joe Nanook (18) -- Trapper

Nanook does not play basketball or any other modern sport and attends dances rarely. He is in superb physical condition but his heavier, stronger, and less agile physique contrasts with the coordinated deftness of his basketball playing peers. He spends most of his time with boys several years younger than himself and none of the Junior Team members listed him as a friend. He also spends a lot of time visiting older relatives -- particularly his uncles. He speaks Inuktitut very well and uses English only with White people.

He spent the first six years of his life in camp on the mainland before his family moved into the village so that he could attend school. As his mother's firstborn son he was adopted by his grandfather, an old man still respected and feared for his spiritual power in Sanctuary Bay. He has one older step-brother and several younger brothers and sisters.

His extended family is still to a large extent tribally homogenous and although nominally Anglican, few of the men ever attend church. Several of his uncles established an outpost camp

over a hundred miles from town in 1982 where they intend to live year round with their wives and children.

His grandfather arranged for him to live with a young woman in 1981 but after several weeks, she returned to her family. He rarely attended dances and was otherwise uninvolved with young women.

His experience with life outside Sanctuary Bay was limited to two visits to nearby towns -- both by snowmobile and both to visit relatives. He had never been on an aircraft. He had finished grade seven in the local school but had no interest in going to Yellowknife for further education -- he had appreciated his grandfather's wish for him to stay home and hunt. However, he had been one of the most regular students in the Adult Education classes during the previous year and had impressed his teacher with his diligence. (His elementary school teachers were not impressed with his cognitive skills and had suggested he might be "slow".) The White Adult Education teacher had used his influence the previous summer to arrange a high paying job for him as a driver on a summer construction crew. He was the crew's youngest member and had impressed the crew with his punctuality and steady, determined efforts.

With the money he earned, he bought a new snowmachine -- his second -- and a television set for his mother. His old snowmachine was still running and he used it around town, reserving the new one for trips onto the land.

He was a superb hunter and the youngest trapper in the village. He maintained ninety traps stretched over a hundred miles along the coast parallel to the traplines of his uncles. He estimated he had caught more than a dozen caribou and several seals in the previous year, and had also caught two musk-oxen. He used his grandfather's equipment but he had several rifles of his own.

He was also the youngest elected member to any of the political organizations in town. He had been elected to the Recreation Committee which had given him the responsibility of supervising dances. Since the dances were organized by the members of the Junior Team, he found this responsibility difficult to carry out because it put him in conflict with peers that he was already estranged from. He coped by spending more time on the land. He also attended community meetings with some regularity and was always the youngest attentive person present. He watched television news frequently but read only comic books. He owned about thirty records -- most of them rock, but he listened to them infrequently.

His HOS score was high (32) and his medical chart showed frequent visits for minor medical problems such as headaches, skin inflammations, colds, and pains in the joints. He seemed to have few injuries -- a bit surprising since most young people who go out frequently require medical attention for frostbite. He did not smoke cigarettes, had never tried alcohol anywhere, and did not know anything about other drugs. His diet was predominantly country food, but he ate a lot of candy and pop.

He was a frequent visitor in my house but he usually left quickly when other teenagers were present, and he also visited several of the White teachers in town. He was one of the few teenagers I could visit in the morning -- he slept at night like older people.

The Junior Teamers are the first cohort to have spent their entire lives as villagers. Born in the early sixties shortly before the opening of the first school in Sanctuary Bay, their families were among the first permanent residents in the new villages. Generally, their parents were more interested in wage work than trapping, and were much involved in the construction of the new village. Some of the older political leaders are the fathers of the youngest members of this cohort, and some of them also are the oldest English speakers with educational experience.

They were also usually the oldest offspring in a new generation of families that grew rapidly with the introduction of modern medicine in the early sixties that had improved both infant and parental survival rates after the disastrous impact of infectious diseases. They often have more than five brothers and sisters, and although many are adopted, step-relationships are rare (which usually indicates the death of a parent).

They are the first cohort to have been educated entirely in the village, and are the first to reach the legal leaving age without having to attend boarding school. Only those few wishing to finish high school have had boarding school experience in larger urban centres. They have had little contact with Inuit, young or old, from other villages until their late teens, and only now through sporting events. They experienced the pre-prohibition "stress" years as young adolescents. They were also adolescents when their parents first began to exert control over various

village institutions. They are also the first snowmobile generation. They were at the age when boys begin to accompany their fathers hunting after most of their fathers had made the transition to snowmobiles and thus have had little experience with dogteams.

While they are more uniformly bilingual than any previous cohort, they are also less able to function as interpreters because they are uniformly poor in both languages. They began to experience the breadth of White institutional culture almost from the day they were born. They spend their days asleep, their evenings in the school gym, and their nights watching television and playing cards. They wear their hair long, their blue jeans are stylishly faded, and they speak in a modified sixties argot -- everything is cool.

4.2.2 The Polar Bear Hunters (20-24)

Tuvak Alooktook (22) -- Carpenter/Hunter

Tuvak is an agile little man with a serious disposition and a curious mind. He has a tenaciously independent spirit and a critical intelligence.

He was born in camp about 500 miles east of Sanctuary Bay where he lived for two years with his parents before moving to a nearby town. At the age of five he was sent to a Catholic boarding school on the Hudson's Bay coast, and that same year his father died. He returned to live with his mother and much older step-father (a man who was to become one of the most respected Catholic elders in the region) and they moved to two more towns for periods of five years each before finally settling in Sanctuary Bay when he was fifteen years old. He had finished eight years of elementary education before moving to Sanctuary Bay, but decided not to continue his schooling because he was very shy. He had wanted to stay behind on his own in the previous village but his step-father insisted he accompany the family to Sanctuary Bay. Most of his kindred is in the region where he grew up - he has no uncles or cousins in town, just older brothers and brothers-in-law.

His step-father, in addition to his religious status, is very active politically on many local committees, and is usually the most senior elected member. He travels extensively throughout

the North in various political capacities, but does not speak any English and is considered one of the best sources of traditional knowledge. He is too old to work or hunt and trap but still camps for long periods in the spring and summer. Tuvak's oldest step-brother is a Catholic catechist, his oldest brother distributes social assistance and his other older brother is a carpenter/hunter.

His father-in-law is considered the town's best carpenter and works full-time in house construction and maintenance. Most of his other in-laws also work full-time and together they are one of the wealthiest families in the village. His wife works full-time as a local secretary and has recently accepted a managerial position. She is also a superb sewer and Tuvak proudly wears the sealskin boots she made for him.

He lives presently with his wife's parents. Although he and his wife lived independently the previous year, they decided they would have a better chance of being allocated a new house (with running water) if they were living in overcrowded conditions. He and his wife started living together when he was 19 but his step-father told them they should stay together at least a year before considering marriage or having children. They were married when they were twenty and had their first daughter a year later, and Tuvak insisted their marriage was their own choice and not arranged. It seemed problem-free and very romantic, and they spent a great deal of time together. They were avoiding more children for a few years while his wife pursued her career.

He had not sought any further education or training beyond elementary school but was able to get work easily as a carpenter on local construction projects. White supervisors considered him a reliable worker -- but he did not return the compliment. He indicated he had quit his job in 1981 because he found the White bosses lazy and careless and frustrating to work with.

He spoke English almost exclusively, except with his parents, and indicated his thoughts were primarily in English. He read very little, only comics, and was embarrassed that he could not read syllabics.

He had earned in excess of \$10,000 the previous year and had used most of it to purchase a snowmobile, rifle with scope, first-class sleeping bag, and a chesterfield, chair, washing machine, dryer and television. He kept his new snowmachine (a Japanese model) in first-rate mechanical condition -- indeed, he taught me most of what I know about snowmobile mechanics -- and the rest of his equipment was in excellent repair. He had

everything necessary for camping and hunting (except a boat for the summer months) and had built his own sled with his step-father's help. His step-father had also made him a snow-knife and harpoon. He estimated he had shot between forty and fifty caribou in the previous year, and about forty seals the previous spring. He shot his first polar bear that winter, a nine and a half foot bear that he described as one of the most exciting events of his life. He had shot a musk-oxen the previous year, and although he had no traps out presently because it was a poor year for fox, he estimated he had earned \$600 the previous year from traps. He had also been carving for one year and enjoyed it in winter when there was little else to do. He carved mostly polar bears out of soapstone and had earned \$3,000 from his efforts in the past three months. When I asked him whether he had ever asked for social assistance, he quite emphatically stated that he never wanted to have anything to do with welfare.

He had visited relatives in nearby towns quite a few times in the past couple of years, always travelling by snowmobile, and usually accompanied by his wife. Otherwise he never travelled outside the region and had not travelled by aircraft since he was a teenager.

As a teenager, he had enjoyed athletics and had travelled to a regional competition to participate in the "Eskimo games". [2] He described himself as a wild and crazy kid when he was younger -- he said he got in trouble a lot for vandalism, but he had never been arrested. He used to go to the school gym every night to work with weights and practice gymnastics but said he now preferred hunting to sports -- and he had to think of his family. He did not enjoy dances but went once in a while to please his wife.

He apparently got drunk for the first time when he was twelve years old and had since been an occasional drinker until prohibition was brought into effect. He was very happy with prohibition and no longer drank at all, even when visiting other villages. He had tried hashish a year previously in Sanctuary Bay but was unimpressed. He had experimented with gasoline sniffing when he was eleven or twelve but otherwise had no knowledge or experience with other drugs.

He smoked nearly a pack of cigarettes per day and had been since he was fifteen. He also chewed a lot of tobacco when travelling on the land. His diet was an almost equal mixture of

[2] See Chapter 5, pages 213-214 for a full description of "Eskimo Games".

country food and store-bought meat and vegetables, and he avoided candy and coffee. His HOS was low (26), and he said the only time he ever worried was when his brother was overdue from a hunting trip. However, he had quite an extensive medical record with a high frequency of visits for stress-related problems, particularly during the teenage years. Headaches, insomnia, colds, sore throats, and skin infections had plagued him and his medical chart showed he had suffered great emotional stress at eighteen after accidentally shooting himself in the shoulder. He had frequent work-related accidents as well.

He indicated that his brothers and brothers-in-law were his only friends, and also suggested that he considered two of the White carpenters and myself as friends as well. He had never been elected to public office and rarely attended public meetings. He tried to attend the Catholic church as often as he was in town, and his wife, who was baptized Anglican, attended with him. There was some conflict between the two families over which church their child would be baptized into.

He rarely watched television, never the news, and enjoyed only the dinner hour comedy shows. He owned few records or tapes, preferred country music to gospel songs, and was able to play a little piano. He visited me often, and indicated the White carpenters used to visit him often when he had his own house.

Terry Ittinuaq (22) — On the Road

Terry returned to Sanctuary Bay in 1981 to live with his older sister after an absence of nearly five years. He had spent the previous year in prison near Yellowknife, on a drug conviction, and prior to that had lived in Montreal and Frobisher Bay. His parents had been divorced for five years, his father lived in an outpost camp near Sanctuary Bay and his mother lived in a southern city. His older sisters were scattered throughout the North and his younger brothers were at school in Yellowknife.

He spent the first two years of his life alone in a hospital in Edmonton where his mother was being treated for cancer. He then returned to Sanctuary Bay for ten years where his father was a church leader. Aside from his siblings, he had no other relatives in Sanctuary Bay, since his family was originally from outside the region. His father's father was a White trader and he had three White brothers-in-law. His mother worked as an interpreter. His father was now living with another woman who disliked Terry and discouraged him from visiting his father.

He was unmarried and unattached although he thought he had three children in other Northern towns. He had "lived" with eight different women. Many of the young women in Sanctuary Bay seemed afraid of him and it was several months before he had a regular girlfriend. He first had intercourse at thirteen years of age, and that same year he shot his first polar bear. He talked often of becoming friendly with the single White women in town but rarely visited them.

He had completed his secondary education, as had all of his siblings, the last six years of which were spent living in residences in Inuvik, Cambridge Bay, and Yellowknife. He had completed three months of a Heavy Equipment Operators course but was expelled for causing an accident while under the influence of drugs. He had also apprenticed for periods of four and three months respectively as a Power House Engineer and a Legal Assistant while in Frobisher Bay. He spoke English almost exclusively in Sanctuary Bay but indicated he could speak Inuktitut if necessary. He had never worked in Sanctuary Bay before but had a long record of part-time jobs in other Northern towns and cities.

He was very bitter that of the four major drug dealers in Frobisher Bay, of whom he was the only Inuk, he had also been the only one arrested. He had spent a total of twenty-eight months in various northern prisons, where the populations were predominantly Indian and White, and he spoke often of the six and a half total months he had to spend in solitary confinement because he was always fighting. His drug conviction was the most recent of eight arrests for theft, breaking and entering, contempt of court, threatening a witness, property damage, and three drug charges. He was still awaiting trial for another drug charge and anticipated another jail term. He claimed not to mind prison but during his previous incarceration, had tried to commit suicide by smashing his head against the wall of his cell.

In the year when I knew him in Sanctuary Bay, he travelled onto the land twice; once as a passenger for a trip to a nearby village to play basketball, and once in the spring on an old snowmachine of his sister's to help his father move back to camp. He claimed to have a full outfit for hunting and camping in Frobisher Bay, including several snowmobiles, but he had nothing in Sanctuary Bay. He had very little cold-weather clothing and received little help from his father. He often talked of hunting trips he had made as a young teenager before he left Sanctuary Bay and described a tremendous variety of land experiences from whale hunting off Baffin Island to being shipwrecked near Cambridge Bay. He often wore a t-shirt with Inummarik stenciled

on it. [3]

As soon as he returned to Sanctuary Bay, he began to play skillful basketball and volleyball every night in the gym and was appointed president of the Sports Committee -- which meant he had responsibility for the key to the gym. He never missed a teen dance, and often brought the records, of which he owned hundreds. His favorite bands were Jeff Beck, Led Zeppelin, and Genesis.

He was instrumental in the organization of the Youth Club, and was unanimously elected president by the other teenagers. He always associated with teenagers -- he complained that his old buddies were all "shacked up" and no longer available, and during his first months back in Sanctuary Bay he seemed to be very popular with the teenagers. However, his quick temper and assertive demeanor got him into several fights and a dispute with the high school principal -- which led to the gym being closed for several days -- led to his eventual ostracism by the Junior Team.

He rarely visited Whites in town, most of whom were openly hostile because of his background as a "convicted drug dealer". However, he visited me nearly every day. The Junior Team and older Inuit teased him about being a qallunaaq which upset him deeply.

Midway through the winter he was hired as a managerial trainee but was soon embroiled in a dispute with the White manager whom he accused of stealing money from Inuit accounts. He was eventually arrested for threatening the manager but charges were dropped when the Inuit Board fired both of them.

He smoked a pack of cigarettes per day, and had started when he was thirteen. He ate primarily store-bought food and rarely ate frozen food, although he often argued meat tasted best that way. He had been drinking alcohol regularly since he was fourteen and talked often of getting drunk. He was usually involved in any illegal drinking that occurred in town but never initiated it. Nor was he responsible for bringing any drugs into town despite many references to plans to that effect. He had been smoking pot regularly for several years and had

[3] Inummarik "a genuine or real Inuk" describes a person who still lives close to the land and to traditional values. As I will argue in this thesis, the term now symbolizes Inuit identity and is used by young people to identify coping tactics which they feel are in harmony with real Inuit values.

experimented with hallucinogens and narcotics. He had once tried sniffing gasoline to get high but was very much against both it and glue-sniffing, fully realizing their dangers as compared with "establishment" drugs.

He was extremely fit, and although small and slight, very strong. He exercised regularly and took up long distance running in the summer. He was never sick - he had not visited a doctor or a Nursing Station (except for venereal disease) in three years. His HOS score was fairly high (28) and he had nervous habits such as tapping fingers and facial tics. He had a very quick temper and made little effort to disguise it.

The Polar Bear Hunters think of little else except hunting. They are invariably married and usually have one or two infant children, and devote all their energy to earning enough money to purchase the necessary equipment to hunt and feed their families.

Most were born in camp but moved into villages within a few years. Many lived in several villages, but few had boarding school experience as children.

Their fathers are usually unilingual and without formal schooling, and subsist primarily by trapping and occasional labor. Some worked on the construction of the DEW line where they learned some English and carpentry skills.

In their early adolescence (10-14), their fathers were making the difficult transition from dogteams to snowmobiles -- and consequently they had few opportunities to "learn the land" during this crucial period.

They were entering late adolescence when alcohol abuse was at its peak in the village, and the gasoline sniffing epidemic centred on them during this period. As teenagers, they experienced the most alienation of any youth cohort in Sanctuary Bay. Some were seeking further education and training in the south while some were staying behind in the village and there was little in the way of peer group consciousness or support. Most experimented with alcohol and drugs in

their late teenage years and appeared to reject their parents' world totally.

They now reside with either their in-laws, or their parents, and contribute substantially to the subsistence requirements of both families. They rarely play sports, gamble or go to dances, and dress as hunters even in the village -- old patched parkas, windpants, sealskin boots and trucker's caps. They work primarily on construction projects and occasionally travel to other villages for work, but earning money is important mostly to purchase snowmachines and finance hunting trips -- particularly for polar bears and musk-oxen.

4.2.3 The Managers (25-29)

Richard Panigoniak (26) -- Last of the Middlemen

Richard has been married for four years and has three children, a boy and two girls. His wife is five years younger and from a larger town elsewhere in the region. Their marriage was their own choice but he indicated he had asked his grandfather for permission before bringing his girlfriend home to live with him. She has two older brothers, one of whom traps out of Sanctuary Bay and both of whom are well known in regional politics and administration.

They currently rent their own house in his wife's home town where Richard recently accepted a regional administrative position with the territorial government. Until late in 1982, however, they lived in Sanctuary Bay with Richard's grandparents, who had adopted him as an infant. They also shared this house with his sister's family and myself.

Two of Richard's ancestors were White and his physical appearance suggests this. His ancestry and kinship is further complicated by his indication that he continues to acknowledge three fathers. His natal father, who also acknowledges the relationship, has lived and worked in southern Canada, and has had a senior administrative job in Sanctuary Bay for a decade. His mother's husband, who considers him a step-son, is one of the village's foremost trappers but avoids any participation in community affairs. His adopted father, his mother's mother's husband, gave him all ten of his names at his birth and is the

oldest still active hunter in the village, as well as being active in village politics. In terms of extended kindred, this complicated heritage means he is related to nearly everyone in town.

His relationship with his adopted father (his grandfather) is profound. In addition to his grandfather's ten names, people in town often use the same affectionate nickname with him that they tease his grandfather with. Legally, he now uses his mother's husband's name for a surname, but during his early twenties, various public records had him listed differently by all three of his various fathers' surnames, and often compounded the problem with different spellings of each of these names. He is the only man in the Kitikmeot region with Richard as a Christian name and everyone, Inuit and White use it or a nickname in reference to him. He is intensely proud of this name and many of his possessions, including his snowmachine are prominently labelled with it, something no one else does.

He had been born and raised entirely in Sanctuary Bay except for several summers in camp and two years as a teenager at school in Inuvik and Cambridge Bay. He had completed grade nine in Inuvik and had wanted to complete his secondary education in Yellowknife but deferred to his grandfather's request that he get a job in Sanctuary Bay instead. He had little difficulty in finding a job as a teacher's aide in the local school and he worked there for four years.

Before leaving Sanctuary Bay for his new regional job he was the Manager of a local agency for three years and he had also been a member of the Council for two years, where he had been appointed Deputy Mayor. He had also been instrumental in organizing a Regional Inuit Board in an attempt to wrest more local authority from the agency he worked for. His managerial job meant that he administered one of the major conduits of money in and out of the village, and his political support was an indication that he had been handling this responsibility well. He had been hired for the regional job because his local work was considered a model for the entire region and he was expected to develop training programs for young Inuit managers in other villages. (For an extended discussion of Richard's managerial role see Chapter 6.)

When I first met Richard in 1977, he had the longest hair of any young man in the village. At that time he was the disc jockey for the community dances, and played basketball and volleyball nightly in the school gym. He also played guitar in a shortlived rock band with several other Inuit youth. He is no longer interested in any of these activities and instead spends his

evenings visiting with relatives, and his weekends on the land. He has become increasingly involved with the Anglican church and was teaching a Sunday school class for adolescent boys.

He attends community meetings regularly and often serves as an informal interpreter (i.e., he is not paid to interpret but is called upon to explain difficult qallunaat ideas in Inuktitut). He read very little but watched television news avidly. When we visited, discussions often ranged over local, regional, national and international political and economic affairs, and he was an outspoken supporter of Inuit self-determination.

He earned more money than nearly anyone else in town, including many of the Whites. Together with two older relatives, both active trappers, he had opened the first private business in Sanctuary Bay to market Japanese snowmachines, which are considered superior to their Canadian competition by hunters and trappers, but which neither of the local stores would sell.

Despite these large economic and political responsibilities, he was a regular weekend hunter, and he estimated he had caught thirty caribou in the previous year. He was apologetic and slightly embarrassed however to admit he had not caught any seals or done much fishing, and he had never caught a polar bear or a musk-oxen.

He had all his own equipment, including a new twenty-four foot boat and motor, and he maintained a dozen traps near the village. He had never carved anything for money.

He spoke fluent Inuktitut proudly, and was linguistically aggressive with peers and younger men who tried to speak English with him. Needless to say he was one of the best English speakers in the village but he was concerned that too many young people were losing the ability to speak their own language. Unfortunately, his wife spoke very little Inuktitut and he balanced her use of English by speaking Inuktitut exclusively around his children. He rarely interacted with the White community socially, restricting visits to the few Whites who had Inuit wives and children, and he always visited accompanied by his own wife and children.

He occasionally drank alcohol while travelling to other villages for business or politics, but insisted he was never drunk and he was totally in support of local prohibition. He had no experience with any drugs, nor had he ever experimented with solvent use. He drank a lot of coffee and smoked slightly less than a half pack of cigarettes per day. He was sick relatively often with minor problems such as colds, sore throats and aches

and pains. His HOS score was average (26), but he seemed rarely relaxed and relatively tense in public.

Joshua Tattuiniq (25) -- Marrying Away From Home

Joshua is from a village in the Keewatin. Most of his family was still living there -- he had only one cousin in Sanctuary Bay. He came to visit about five years previously, fell in love with a local girl, and stayed to eventually marry her and have three children. His wife is the favorite daughter of an old man feared for his spiritual power, who actively resisted the marriage from the outset. He had arranged another marriage for his daughter and was upset when Joshua interfered in this arrangement. When the young couple first began to live together in her father's house, the old man showed his displeasure by burning all of Joshua's clothes. Hostilities escalated into violence and the couple was forced to move back to Joshua's village to cope with the tension.

Unfortunately, Joshua's relationship with his own family was poor. His father was prominent in the Anglican church and was unhappy with his son's arrest record for drinking and fighting. Joshua's mother had died when he was an infant and he spent three years alone in a southern tuberculosis sanatorium; where he forgot how to speak Inuktitut. He told me many of his relatives "thought he was garbage and would not talk to him" because of his fighting and drinking habits.

He and his wife stayed in his village for one year, but his wife was very homesick and he found himself drinking too much, so they returned to the dry atmosphere of Sanctuary Bay. They moved into their own house and although his relationship with his father-in-law remained strained, there was no further violence.

His major frustration in 1982 was his inability to secure full-time employment. He had left school after four years because the teachers made him feel stupid. He wanted to start working as a heavy equipment operator like his older brother. He went to Ft. Smith for a six week course in heavy equipment operation and at the age of sixteen had started working at the Alert Bay DEW line station, an all-White installation. He had tried to find work in both his Keewatin village and Sanctuary Bay but had been largely unsuccessful. He claimed other Inuit were against him, and blamed the White adult education teacher for turning potential White employers against him in Sanctuary Bay. He had finally accepted a job at the Polaris Mine several hundred miles north of Sanctuary Bay where he worked for six months on a rotational shift basis. (For an extended discussion

of rotational shift work see Chapter 6.) Although he enjoyed the mine work, he had developed allergies which forced him to quit the job. He had been living on unemployment insurance for seven months.

He had very little camping or hunting gear and seldom went onto the land. Although he was very anxious to learn land skills, he was nervous at the prospect because he had so little previous experience. In the first week of my return to Sanctuary Bay he took me seal hunting three times in a boat borrowed from his brother-in-law. He had gone caribou hunting several times in the past year but had failed to catch anything. He caught his first seal that summer and his wife made his first pair of sealskin boots which he wore proudly. He began to travel with his father-in-law during this period of unemployment and although his respect for the old man grew, he was very anxious about demands made that he did not understand.

His days however centred around gym sports and poker games. Joshua lost most of his unemployment cheques at poker games. His participation in gym sports was resented by the Junior Team and although he enjoyed the games because he was able to work off some of the tension he said he felt constantly, he found himself being pushed into fights. He worried about fighting in Sanctuary Bay because he was not sure who he was related to and he knew people were always ready to criticize anything he did. He attended nearly every dance, rarely with his wife, and was one of the more expressive dancers. He indicated dances were one of the few places he felt relaxed. Although his father was a minister, he never attended church.

His HOS score was surprizingly moderate (28), but he was a frequent visitor to the Nursing Station for his allergy problems. He was allergic to any processed foods (practically everything sold from the stores) and was on constant medication for this problem. Medical personnel suggested his problems were "psychosomatic" -- and argued that he was only sick in order to avoid work. He did not smoke cigarettes because of his tuberculosis history. He was afraid he might be an alcoholic and indicated his move to Sanctuary bay had largely been to get away from alcohol. He had been arrested four times for liquor related offences. Despite his attempt to stay away from booze, his last offence was for drinking in a prohibited area. He had tried pot many times when he was younger but had never smoked it since moving to Sanctuary Bay.

He had no friends and people visited his house rarely. He said I was one of the few people who ever visited him and he visited me often, although he rarely visited other Whites who he

felt disliked him. He was deeply in debt at the Bay and Coop stores and his financial worries were largely responsible for a severe depression that culminated in a number of suicidal gestures. He was fortunate to receive about \$1500 in unemployment cheques at this time and I helped him to negotiate the purchase of a used snowmachine from a teacher before the money disappeared into poker games. It was his first machine and his mood improved tremendously over the next few weeks as he started to hunt and travel in the spring weather.

The Managers are the smallest cohort but they show the most diversity. Some of this is diversity in coping styles and some of it is diversity of experience.

Almost all the administrative positions in the village not occupied by Whites are occupied by members of this cohort (a few are occupied by young women). Those that are not working as "managers", however, rely on social assistance for financial support. Those that work, hunt only on weekends and holidays, those that do not work rarely go onto the land.

Most have at least two children of pre-school age and most live in their own homes. Since young people must accept whatever is left over in the annual housing allocation, most live in older, poorly constructed houses without running water or sewage facilities. However, since many of the oldest houses have been rehabilitated into modern two-bedroom units -- too small for large families -- some are now living in the best local housing. Although uniformly experienced in White culture, their living conditions range from fully furnished and carpeted with televisions and stereos to old plywood benches and broken transistor radios.

Most spent a good proportion of their childhoods living in camp and some had several years of boarding school experience as children. Many had attended boarding schools as teenagers while finishing their secondary education.

Half of the fathers of this cohort are dead; those alive are either too old to work or they are exclusively hunters and trappers. They were still using dogteams when the Managers were learning to hunt.

Since many of the Managers were teenagers at boarding school in large urban centres during the mid-seventies, they picked up many of the trappings of southern pop culture and many speak an English that is more similar to White English than either of the two younger cohorts. However, they also speak better Inuktitut than either of the younger cohorts (several are excellent translators) although few had any formal instruction in Inuktitut in the schools.

They were negotiating marriages when alcohol was at its peak in the village and many have experienced divorce or remained single until late in their twenties. As a group, they express White identifications more strongly and they interact with Whites more socially than any other cohort in the village. However, some are becoming overtly radical, rejecting White identifications, adopting the personal styles of village leaders, and generating movements for Inuit autonomy and independence.

4.3 Cohort Differences

In this section a series of tables will be presented which illustrate variation among a range of variables. Each number represents a percentage of the total cohort sample (shown in brackets).

4.3.1 Historical/Biographical Factors

VARIABLE	JUNIOR TEAM (20)	POLAR BEAR HUNTERS (17)	MANAGERS (14)
1. Born in or near Sanctuary Bay.	59	44	39
2. Lived in Sanctuary Bay entire life.	52	33	11
3. Lived part of life outside Kitikmiut region.	19	22	61
4. Related to Whites by descent or marriage.	32	39	34
5. Had experience with Boarding School as a child.	0	17	33
6. Parents encouraged education.	77	44	22
7. Have no secondary education.	11	7	59
8. Completed secondary education.	6	7	12
9. Able to work as a translator.	10	17	22
10. Prefer English to Inuktitut in everyday conversation.	81	61	33

There has been a steady increase from the Managers to the Junior Team of people being born in Sanctuary Bay and having lived there all their lives. Whereas many Managers have lived not only outside Sanctuary Bay but outside the Kitikmeot Region, this experience is negligible for the Junior Team. There has been little change in the proportion of each cohort related to Whites (approximately a third). The Boarding School experience (i.e., spending the winters away from families in a residential school in

related to Whites (approximately a third). The Boarding School experience (i.e., spending the winters away from families in a residential school in an urban area during childhood) has only been significant for the Managers. While there has been a substantial increase in parental encouragement for young men to pursue higher education, there has in fact been a slight drop in the proportion of the younger cohorts completing high school, although the overall level of education has increased in the younger cohorts. And although the younger cohorts show an increasing preference for using English in everyday conversation, there has also been a slight decrease in the proportion who can work as translators.

4.3.2 Domestic Context

VARIABLE	JUNIOR TEAM (20)	POLAR BEAR HUNTERS (17)	MANAGERS (14)
1. Majority of kindred lives in Sanctuary Bay.	55	72	33
2. Currently residing with older relatives.	90	78	11
3. Father still alive.	82	89	44
4. Father is very active hunter/trapper.	43	50	21
5. Father has full-time employment.	32	22	25
6. Had first sexual experience younger than fifteen.	20	41	23
7. Marriage was arranged by parents.	N/A	31	45
8. Wife is from another village.	N/A	39	33
9. Child(ren) adopted by older relative.	N/A	40	53

The Polar Bear Hunters have the most localized kindreds with the Managers showing the greatest distribution of kin through other villages (and probably the greatest migration during their lives). Young people do not usually assume independent residence until they are 25, although all are married by the time they are 20. Both the Junior Team and Polar Bear Hunters have fathers still alive, half of whom are active hunter/trappers. The Polar Bear Hunters' fathers appear to be even more land-oriented than the Managers'. Early experience with sex was more prevalent with the Polar Bear Hunters but has diminished for the Junior Team. Arranged marriages have decreased slightly in frequency and finding marital partners in other villages seems to be on the increase. The adoption of children continues to be important for both the Polar Bear Hunters and Managers.

4.3.3 Contemporary Coping Behaviour

VARIABLE	JUNIOR TEAM (20)	POLAR BEAR HUNTERS (17)	MANAGERS (14)
1. Only travel is to nearby villages by snowmobile.	20	40	22
2. Have travelled out of Kitikmeot in past two years.	80	60	78
3. Have visited at least four different villages in past two years.	73	40	35
4. Go onto the land at least twice per month.	57	73	56
5. Never attend church.	57	56	45
6. Earned more than \$10,000 in 1981.	0	50	57
7. Had a full-time job in 1981	14	39	56
8. Enjoy indoor jobs the most.	31	14	35
9. Worked only in indoor jobs in 1981.	43	11	33
10. Earned more than \$250 carving in 1981.	11	23	42
11. Have been elected to political office.	5	47	31
12. Watch television news almost every night.	47	25	33
13. Go to the gym almost every night.	75	22	23
14. Go to almost every dance.	76	45	63

The Polar Bear Hunters are the most active cohort on the land: more of them travel by snowmachine to other villages and more hunt. Both the Managers and the Junior Team travel out of the region frequently, but the Junior Team makes more trips to different places. There has been little change in the proportion of each cohort who do not attend church (about half). Polar Bear Hunters work mostly outdoors and generally earn as much as the Managers (as a group). Carving appears to be important only to the

half). Polar Bear Hunters work mostly outdoors and generally earn as much as the Managers (as a group). Carving appears to be important only to the Managers. More of the Polar Bear Hunters have been elected to political office than Managers, but the Junior Team are most interested in world events. Gym activities are only significant for the Junior Team, but dances are important to all three cohorts with the Polar Bear Hunters showing the least interest.

4.3.4 Health Behaviour

VARIABLE	JUNIOR TEAM (20)	POLAR BEAR HUNTERS (17)	MANAGERS (14)
1. Started smoking cigarettes younger than fourteen.	69	33	7
2. Smoke at least half package of cigarettes per day.	85	69	88
3. Do not drink any alcohol.	70	41	39
4. Occasionally use alcohol illegally.	5	12	22
5. HOS score higher than 30 (at risk for psychiatric problems).	53	14	0
6. Frequent visitor to Nursing Station as a teenager.	27	46	44
7. More than 1/3 of visits to Nursing Station in past two years are stress-related.	6	14	29
8. More than 1/2 of visits to Nursing Station in past two years are minor injuries.	38	14	0

The Polar Bear Hunters are the healthiest cohort. They smoke fewer cigarettes than either of the other two cohorts, drink less alcohol than the Managers, and are reasonably free of psychopathological problems. The Junior Team experienced the most psychopathology, are heavy cigarette smokers, but rarely use alcohol. The Junior Team relies least on the Nursing Station for health problems but has a higher prevalence of minor injuries (most of which are sports related). Surprisingly, psychopathology is rare among Managers, but illegal use of alcohol is quite high.

4.4 Summary

The foregoing illustrates conclusively that Inuit young adults are in fact three quite different generations or cohorts who have had different historical/biographical experiences, and are at three different stages of biopsychological development and have three meaningfully different

historical/biographical experiences, and are at three different stages of biopsychological development and have three meaningfully different context with which to cope.

It also indicates that there is considerable variation within each cohort but this variation decreases in the younger cohorts and the indicators for the Junior Team particularly suggest it may be considered a sub-culture in the sense that most of its members share similar experiences face the same structural realities and cope in similar ways. The Polar Bear Hunters are reasonably focused as well but as the rest of the thesis will show, exhibit less age consciousness than the Junior Team.

It also seems that the Junior Team suffers from stress the most (although the Managers as well indicate problems in this regard), and that the major issue is their transition at 19 to the coping styles and responsibilities of hunters. The specifics of these general conclusions will be explored in the chapters to follow.

5. HUNTING

"If I am in the settlement for two or three weeks, I feel closed in, because it is in my blood. My ancestors were travellers. Whenever they felt like travelling, they were gone, they were free. I feel the same way. Whenever I stay in a place too long, I feel closed in and I cannot take it, so I have to go out and let myself be myself. When you are out hunting or fishing and camping with a lot of people who hunt, that is, when you really see them as themselves, for what they are, it is an interesting thing. They are totally different from how they would be if you saw them in the settlement. I guess they just sort of release everything that has been pent up for a while."

(Tom Sammurtuk, Chesterfield Inlet, emphasis added)

"Young men he said, wanted to try things the active way. This had always been so, and it was a good thing, because it was by trying new ideas that all were able to learn things and to examine their merits."

(Anonymous Inuk discussing young hunters in McConnel, 1978)

5.1 Preliminaries

For the Inuit, to hunt and to be a man are synonomous. Angunasuktuq "to hunt" is actually a combination of angut "a man" + nasuk "to try" + tuq "he or it; infinitive", hence "he tries to be a man". In actual conversation, the word is not used very often, since it would be a statement of the obvious. Instead, a man hunting caribou would say tuktusiuqtunga which is tuktu "caribou" + siuq "to hunt or search for" + tunga "I", hence, "I hunt caribou". But by far the more usual phrase used by hunters in the Sanctuary Bay region is Aullaniaqtunga "I will go out" (onto the land is understood in this construction -- other infixes would indicate travel to other villages or a permanent departure). The use of this phrase in conversations about hunting trips indicates a more important modern reality. As indicated in Chapter 3, hunting from Sanctuary Bay usually requires at least two or three days; thus, going hunting is also a symbolic

transition from the village context into the land context, which presents a different set of stresses and requires a different set of understandings and coping skills. To use a word indicating a journey or "leaving" thus marks this transition as meaningful in everyday life.

The land and Inuit identity are further integrated in the concept of inummarik "a genuine or real Inuk". Brody's (1975) discussion of inummarik underlines this argument. He describes the importance of camp life, country food -- especially sea mammals -- and trapping to modern notions about traditional Inuit identity. For young people, developing the capacity to be on the land means not only becoming an adult, a man, and a hunter, it can also be a transition from Inusuqtuq to Inummarik; from being not quite a person to becoming a real person.

Our interest here is in the the coping tactics and strategies devised by Inuit boys to make the dual transition of becoming men (or hunters in the sense of self-definition) and to develop the confidence to cross this village/land boundary easily. These transitions should be understood as the product of various coping tactics, described below, that enable Inuit youth to manage the various constraints that impinge on the successful negotiation of adult hunter status. This chapter will describe the stresses associated with going out, how going out relates to stresses in other areas of life, and how going out contributes to the generation of social and personal identity and reality construction.

The transition of Inuit boys into adult hunters, I will argue, begins around fifteen years of age and is not complete until they are nearly thirty. This extended period is the result of various factors which will be described in detail in the text of this chapter. The transition involves a move from dependence to independence, a shift from riding a father's sled and performing tasks according to his father's directions and example, to travelling alone or in the company of similar age hunters; to taking his family into camp with either other young families or with his extended kindred. It involves the ultimate demonstration of

independent self-competency over a range of resources, geographical locations, and seasonal changes.

The pubertal years of 11 to 14 are the years when Inuit boys normally catch their first caribou -- an achievement which marks the beginning of the transition into manhood (Saladin d'Anglure, 1978). In the modern period, approximately 70 percent of both the Junior Team and the Polar Bear Hunter cohorts indicated their first catch occurred between the ages of 11 and 14, but the Managerial cohort had a slightly different experience. Fully 20 percent of the Managers indicated they caught their first caribou in their late teens but another 30 percent reported catching one before they were 10. Managers reached puberty during a period of massive relocation and were thus faced with the most severe disruptions to normal maturational processes.

First catches in Sanctuary Bay were invariably reported as caribou (at ages 10-11) with first seals a little later (ages 12-13). The emphasis on caribou in the modern era represents a shift from the traditional emphasis on seals for most of the people in this region. Caribou are not only easier to catch with modern technology but are also the preferred year-round dietary staple. Rules governing the distribution of a young man's first catch are the only formal dimension to this rite of passage in the maturation of Inuit youth, and the ritual is so much an aspect of everyday life that many young men could not remember anything special about their first catch.

Most commonly, the catch is brought back to the village and given to the grandparents, if they are alive, or to another older relative. Today, the grandmother will announce the young man's success over the CB radio to the entire village, praising his manliness and inviting anyone to visit and share in the catch. The old taboo forbidding the young man to eat any of his first catch is generally observed, and the lesson -- that a hunter is responsible for old people's well-being -- is understood. Many young hunters indicated they always gave part of their catch to elderly

relatives and "any other old people who need something".

With this initial event in mind then, I will now describe the transition to independent hunter -- a person capable of exploiting all resources in any location in any season, and able to look after not only himself but his wife and children -- as a series of ten overlapping and often interdependent strategies.

5.2 Travelling With Peers (Ages 17-19)

Moving off a father's sledge and onto a snowmachine for the first independent excursions in winter-like conditions is a major challenge. Travelling in and of itself is difficult and serious accidents can occur anywhere at any time. Finding opportunities to travel in peer groups over short distances becomes very important as the following case illustrates:

In mid-April, the members of the Junior Team travelled 80km by snowmachine to Hamilton Bay (a pseudonym), to spend the weekend playing basketball with the youth from that village. The trip was to be financed by a grant from the Sports Committee and the teenagers had held several dances to raise money. Since very few have any financial resources at this age for any independent travel, this sort of trip was to be the first opportunity for many to travel away from the supervision (and expected obediency) of their fathers -- and they were obviously excited about the prospect. Anticipation was keen for weeks before the trip. Two of the Junior Teamers had their own snowmobiles -- older second-hand machines inherited from their fathers -- which were ordinarily used for little else than cruising around town. They were in poor mechanical condition and understood to be unreliable. But they were all the Junior Team had available and they would have to transport the eight or ten players who were eager to make the trip. In spite of misgivings about travelling 80km in late winter conditions with inexperienced companions, I volunteered myself and my equipment for the trip to ease some of this pressure. Everyone else in town generally considered the trip a waste of time, as I discovered when I tried to swap sleds with an old man -- my small one for his larger one -- only to be told the trip was not worth the risk of

damage to his equipment. [1]

This excursion was the seasonal forerunner of what becomes a fairly regular pattern of visiting between villages. By late May, the track joining the villages resembles a highway, worn smooth and wide by the numerous snowmachines and sledges speeding back and forth. Eighty kilometres is really a short distance by Arctic travelling standards, it does not require an overnight camp, the route is well-known even to teenagers, and the knowledge of a warm house (rather than a cold tent or snowhouse) at journey's end makes normal preparations and precautions unnecessary. All these factors contribute to it being a favorite challenge for teenagers and other young men who try to set speed records -- the ultimate challenge being able to say one went to Hamilton Bay for tea and returned the same day!

Nevertheless, any winter travel in Arctic conditions is a test of strength and skill, and as our trip was to illustrate, even April weather can be devastating. On the morning we were to leave, a blizzard was blowing out of the northeast, visibility was nil, and the temperature (ignoring the even more severe wind chill factor) was hovering around -25°C. The enthusiasm of the past few weeks cooled considerably -- the Junior Team were ill-prepared and little anxious to cope with such severe weather conditions. However, an older hunter and two young men in their early twenties had decided the day before to make the trip as well, and they continued to plan their departure. The old man had decided he would take his grand-nephew and several other of the youngest Junior Team members himself because he had little faith in the survival skills of a couple of teenagers and a qallunaaq, and he was trying to reach Hamilton Bay by telephone for a weather report. The older teenagers, who had privately indicated to me they did not intend to travel with the old man because "those older guys travel too slowly" were now, in the face of very severe weather, content to follow his lead.

Word came that Hamilton Bay had better weather than us -- and it was moving our way -- so we scrambled to pack sledges and assemble on the edge of town. One of the teenagers was advised by his father to wait for the weather to clear completely, leaving myself and Pauloosie as the two "Junior Team" drivers with four teenage passengers between us. Half way to Hamilton Bay the weather cleared and my passengers, when they took their turns driving, began to pull away from the rest of the party.

[1] On previous occasions, this old man, my adopted father, had been happy to exchange sleds when he required a smaller sled to check fish nets or for other food-related trips.

This tendency for teenagers to travel fast can be contrasted to the travelling style of older hunters who protect themselves and their machines by travelling slowly and steadily, stopping often for tea, and winding their way carefully through rough conditions. For teenagers, however, snowmachine driving is vitally important to emerging ideas about manliness. Manhandling a snowmachine rapidly through the ridges and hummocks of winter sea ice requires enormous physical strength, endurance, and agility. Its closest parallel would be cross-country motorcycle racing -- with the added disadvantage of sub-zero temperatures. In normal hunting circumstances, rapid travel is reserved for the last few hundred yards in pursuit of caribou or a polar bear heading for open water.

For teenagers, however, testing oneself against machines and the land is achieved by extending these few dangerous minutes into hours of endurance. Travelling slowly with old people is considered "too boring". As I sat clinging to my airborne sled, watching sometimes four or five feet of space appear between my snowmobile and the ground beneath it, I wondered ruefully whether it had been a mistake to participate in this particular coping strategy. When my sledge disintegrated about five miles out from our destination, the lesson was even more obvious.

There is another important dimension associated with this desire to travel quickly. The faster one travels, the less the likelihood of having to camp for the night -- or at least this is the teenage theory. Camping competency, with its attendant skills for snowhouse construction and starting of frozen snowmachines is not a simple corollary of being able to steer a snowmachine rapidly across the land. Even tea-breaks require self-confidence in the face of blizzards. On another occasion a few weeks later, several teenagers were returning from Hamilton Bay in a similar fashion during another storm when their machine broke down and they were faced with walking about 40km or camping until someone came along to pick them up. Apparently one young man panicked slightly, and although poorly dressed and poorly informed about the direction of the village, convinced the others that walking was the better solution. Fortunately, they were

picked up before they had walked very far (although already off the trail) and several of the youth were very upset about their companion's fear of camping that had nearly caused a disaster. Teenagers generally avoid these more difficult tests by relying on their physical endurance to sustain them through a punishing few hours. However, older hunters rarely have frostbite: my two companions on the trip to Hamilton Bay were so severely frozen, their faces were blistered for weeks.

Nevertheless, this first land strategy can be considered an important developmental coping skill because it is an initial exercise in seasonal independence. Teenagers gain confidence for travel under winter-like conditions, because they know they are risking little when it is difficult to get lost on such a well-travelled trail, and when rescue is readily available. The fact that the trip occurs in the context of a basketball tournament should not be construed in negative terms. Learning to travel is important under any circumstances.

5.3 Bird-Hunting in the Spring (17-19)

Bird-hunting in the spring, when enormous flocks of ducks, geese, swans, and other waterfowl return to the Arctic coastline to lay eggs and raise their young, is illegal by Canadian wildlife law. But everyone does it. On one weekend, the local Inuk justice of the peace and his family shot over sixty birds for the deep-freeze -- to provide dietary variety in the months to come. The flagrant disregard for this law is most evident in Sanctuary Bay where there are no permanently stationed R.C.M.P. officers, but the appointment of an Inuk wildlife officer in 1982 will complicate the persistence of this practice. Its importance as an opportunity for teenagers to develop independent hunting confidence as well as escape the pressures of village life cannot be overstated. Even the youth at school in Yellowknife spoke longingly of missing this important opportunity. As the following case illustrates, bird-hunting is perhaps the singlemost important coping strategy in teenage repertoires:

One beautifully sunny Saturday afternoon in late May, I encountered Idluk (18), at the Co-op store where he was buying shotgun shells and bemoaning his broken-down old skiddoo. He told me that two of his friends, Pauloosie Kiviuk (19) and Charlie Smith (18), were camped about five miles from town and he wanted desperately to join them. I had spare gasoline, so we threw some gear onto my sledge and set off to find his friends.

Idluk, Pauloosie and Charlie were teammates, but otherwise from very different backgrounds. Idluk's family had a different traditional tribal affiliation than Pauloosie's, and Charlie was descended from White traders and whalers. Idluk was also Anglican while the other two were both Catholic. Idluk thought he and Pauloosie might be cousins, but he knew Charlie was not related to either of them. Idluk's father was an old trapper, Charlie's was prominent in the Co-op movement, and Pauloosie lived with his elderly grandparents.

Spring is the best season for Arctic travel. The sea is still frozen and much of the land is covered with snow, but the sun shines most of the day, temperatures are starting to rise above freezing, and the softening snow means tracks are smooth and fast -- an absolute joy after the arduous travel of winter. Our moods were buoyant as we skirted the coastline, looking for Pauloosie's camp and listening for tell-tale shot-gun blasts. About five miles out, I turned around to see Idluk gesturing frantically from my sled. Pauloosie had told him his camp would be near a certain hill which he named in Inuktitut, and which I have forgotten, and which he pointed to rising in the distance several miles inland. He was obviously pleased to have recognized a feature of the landscape. He told me quickly that there were the remains of Tuniit camps near this particular hill and we wondered together for a moment about the strength and courage of his ancestors.

I suggested he drive the rest of the way and we proceeded slowly and carefully from one patch of snow to another, avoiding rocks and gravel in a fashion that suggested older hunters and not reckless teenagers. Idluk's sudden stop and scramble for the sled confused me until I realized a large flock of geese were heading directly for us. Idluk managed to get his shotgun loaded and pointed in seconds and we crouched beside the sledge in anticipation. I could hear some odd noises coming from the crest of the hill beside us and my curiosity was resolved when Idluk started to make similar high-pitched squeakings. The geese veered directly for us.

We remained stationary until the geese had nearly passed us and I wondered why Idluk was not shooting. Suddenly a barrage of

gunfire erupted from the hill beside us and simultaneously, Idluk emptied both barrels. Two geese plummeted to the ground and Idluk turned to me with a huge grin. We left our gear and ran up the slope of the hill to where Pauloosie's tent sat perched in a small area of open tundra where the snow had melted. They greeted us cordially and immediately set to making tea -- a gesture of hospitality so in accordance with the behaviour of older hunters, I was momentarily taken aback. (In passing, I realized Idluk had delayed firing out of deference to his two friends who were not only better positioned but had established themselves territorially.)

These excursions by teenagers out bird-hunting in spring occurred whenever they could scrape together enough money for gasoline and shotgun shells. For grub they begged a little tea and sugar from their families but otherwise ate nothing but boiled duck and goose. The boost to self-esteem when they returned from these trips with a dozen or so birds for the family larder was tangible. The chance to travel, hunt and camp -- to complete the full "going out" cycle -- independent of older relatives under favorable climatic conditions occurred only once in the year for a few brief weeks before treacherous melting sea ice ended the season. The season also coincided with the closing of the school gymnasium for the summer holiday -- a loss that is potentially very stressful as I will argue in a subsequent chapter.

The fellowship and self-reliance evident in the camp that afternoon was remarkable. The easy confidence about disparate elements of their ever-changing understandings was made dramatically apparent when Charlie put everyone into hysterical giggles with a carefully timed joke. The so-called Falkland Islands crisis was dominating the news broadcasts at the time, and Charlie's off-the-cuff "Here come the Argentinians" in response to a sighting of several dozen low-flying swans sparked hilarity and a barrage of "anti-aircraft" fire in response.

This prompted a discussion about Whites and the paradox of laws prohibiting the shooting of birds while people killed each other in wars all over the world. While the concept of murder was certainly not unknown to Inuit traditionally, for these young men it is an intangible idea

because they have been raised entirely in the Christian era when violence against other people has been strongly tabooed. Thus their first real encounter with people killing people (the Falklands war was the first "television war" they had seen) was a subject for serious reflection. They deeply resented wildlife laws that threatened to cut them off from a situation considered vitally important to their maturation as Inuit hunters, and wondered at the hypocrisy of Whites who could televise (and seemingly celebrate) the murder of human beings. Their ability to verbalize these conflicts in camp is by no means insignificant. The anti-aircraft joke initiated a discussion that would never have occurred in the village context.

5.4 Helping Fathers Trap in Winter (18-20)

In the modern context, Inuit children gain little experience with winter conditions on the land until their mid to late teens. The Junior Team's camping experience has been limited to spring, summer, and fall -- thus the challenge for a young man to incorporate winter travel into his life is a large one. For the Polar Bear Hunters and Managers who usually spent their first two or three years in camp before moving into the village, the challenge was perhaps not as serious. Opportunities are best when the teenager's father has a trapline. As I suggested in Chapter 3, January and February are trapper's months. Very little hunting occurs during this period because larders are usually well stocked from the fall. In Sanctuary Bay, the number of traplines vary from year to year, but in 1981/82, a particularly bad year for fox, there were only four or five teenagers learning how to cope with winter cold away from the village with any regularity.

Winter conditions permit little room for error, and demand concentration and attentiveness from the hunter. Subtle aspects of travelling and camping that can be overlooked in other seasons are essential survival skills in winter. Damp boots improperly dried during

the evening can mean frozen feet the next day. Parking a snowmachine sideways to the wind, or forgetting to bring a can of oil inside to warm (to facilitate viscosity), can mean a long walk home in the morning. And of course, learning to build a snowhouse quickly, is a central feature of winter travel. Canvas tents heated with propane stoves are adequate in any other season but winter.

Coping with the cold is thus fundamentally important for young men but equally, can be a source of great stress if they are unable to achieve this competency in a context of security. In any other season, riding a father's sledge can mean, for teenagers, a threat to self-esteem. But in winter, it can ensure confidence that his efforts to master winter conditions will be supported by someone who is fundamentally concerned with his welfare.

In winter as well, even the most experienced hunter must rely on his companions, no matter how young and inexperienced they may be. A young man may be expected to cut snowblocks, load and unload the sledge and keep the stove replenished with fuel. But these obvious and more substantial tasks conceal the many personal elements of winter survival that must also be learned. Simple things like beating the snow from a parka before putting it away for the night, or skillfully slicing pieces of frozen fish into your mouth with the knife moving only millimetres from your nose, are essential features of winter behaviour that contribute to survival. Learning these simple skills also contributes to a young man's feeling of continuity with the past, since strategies of personal maintenance have changed very little.

Learning to travel in the winter also has a substantial effect on a young man's emotional life. Teenagers recently returned from a trip in the dead of winter always seemed to project a sense of humble satisfaction. Whereas those who stay in town through the winter project an assertive, cocky, but slightly anxious persona, winter travellers had an air of quiet superiority, even in interactions with Whites. At the risk of projecting my own feelings into Inuit youth, I always found winter travel to be

immensely relaxing in an odd sort of way. The conditions demand total attention to the moment, all energy and thought had to be focused constantly on the problems at hand, leaving little time for reflection about past or future worries and concerns. Teenagers returning from a winter trip never boasted about their experiences or affected an air of bravado. But their body movements seemed more self-assured and their demeanor generally more confident, particularly in contexts of interaction with peers who lacked the experience.

5.5 Hunting With Other Relatives (19-21)

This phase in the transition from adolescent to adult hunter is characterized by frequent trips in the company of uncles, older brothers, brothers-in-law, or cousins. It is only possible when a young man has regular access to a snowmobile. Purchasing his first snowmobile is of paramount importance at this age. They are expensive -- \$1,800 to \$5,000 -- and require the accumulation of capital for at least seventy-five percent of the purchase price. Machines may be gifts from parents or grandparents (e.g., one old man who received ten years of old age pension payments all at once promptly bought both his sons new snowmachines), or they may be purchased after a young man has worked for a few months on a construction project or in a mine, or they may be a combination of gift and self-purchase, as in the case of a teenager who with his father's assistance caught his first polar bear and with the thousand dollars from the sale of the pelt, made a down payment on a machine which his father then finished paying for.

Young men at this stage rarely have much equipment of their own, and must rely on their fathers or grandfathers for equipment. Thus outfitted, they begin to accompany older relatives on hunting trips. Travelling with these relatives means that he will be looked after and protected, but also expected to act independently and contribute to the various chores of camp. While seniority is still the principle of leadership, decision-

making is more consensual. In other words, whereas young people travelling with fathers may be given specific tasks to do and otherwise ignored as if they were still boys, other older relatives will expect and encourage the young man to try new things and do his share of the work around the camp. The following case illustrates this encouragement of independence, and equally important, tolerance of error:

In 1982, the caribou migration came quite close to the coastline and, assisted by faster and more dependable snowmachines, Sanctuary Bay hunters were making previously unheard of one day hunting trips. Richard Panigoniak (26) and I had planned such a trip and at the last minute, Richard asked his favorite younger cousin to come with us. Robert (19) hesitated, but when I offered to let him drive my snowmobile, he quickly agreed. Robert had not had many opportunities to go out -- his father had died when he was very young, his mother lived in Yellowknife and he had been raised by a sickly old man -- and his inexperience was apparent. Despite very poor visibility we found a small herd and Richard managed to dispatch one before they started to run. He and Robert chased them for a short distance but Richard gave up quickly and returned to the sledges where I sat waiting.. Robert, however, disappeared into the rapidly deteriorating weather and had still not reappeared a half hour later when Richard had finished butchering his catch. Richard said nothing critical about his cousin while we waited another half hour, but he indicated he was worried Robert might have gotten lost or broken down. We finally decided to follow his trail which turned out to be a difficult and arduous task. The trail followed the caribou straight over hills through very soft snow and we were forced to unload much of our gear in order to continue. Richard remained even-tempered and his only emotion was increasing worry as time passed and weather conditions deteriorated. We had to detour around several hills and he was afraid we might miss the trail or Robert in the developing storm. His only comment was self-critical: he felt he should have told Robert not to chase the caribou.

Eventually, we met Robert returning along his trail, dragging a caribou carcass behind him. He said he had tried to come straight back to us but got lost and had retraced his trail. I expected Richard to lecture his cousin for his foolish behaviour, but I was amazed when he said nothing about our worry and only commented on Robert's successful kill. He helped him dress it out and together we retrieved our other gear and headed for the village. During one of the tea breaks, Robert volunteered that he probably shouldn't have chased the caribou

so far and Richard merely raised his eyebrows in affirmation.

I will explore the idea of social support more fully in Chapter 8; but should note here the important difference in the quality of the relationships between young men and their fathers, and with other male relatives. Damas (1975) and Wenzel (1981) have discussed the important balancing effect which ungayuk "ties of affection and cooperation" between young men and other male relatives have on the nalartuq "ties of respect and obedience" bond between a young man and his father. This shift in relational context is crucially important for young men attempting to assert their independence as hunters.

5.6 Exploration (20-22)

This next stage is perhaps the most critically important in the development of hunting skills and often absorbs all of a young man's time and energy. As a symbol of his growing independence, a young man at this age will receive his own sledge from his father, a grandfather or possibly a favorite uncle, and he will have inherited and accumulated the basic necessities for travelling and camping on his own. He will also purchase his first snowmachine if he has not already done so. With a few notable exceptions, every young man in this age group was going out onto the land at every opportunity, in every season, in every direction, and for every kind of game. A great deal of this activity was still in the company of older brothers, brothers-in-law, cousins or uncles -- particularly in the winter months -- but increasingly, trips are made with one or two "friends" -- often same age relatives and frequently favorite cousins. And "going out alone" becomes the paramount test of emerging self-reliance and independence.

The urge to travel independently has led to tremendous innovative behaviour in the area of technology. "Trappers radios", very powerful and reliable short-wave radios, were introduced to the North several years ago initially to allow outpost camps to keep in touch with villages. Nick

Panigoniak (22) -- Richard's younger brother -- purchased one for himself (at a cost of \$1500) in order to increase his independence and facilitate travelling alone. He also carried topographic survey maps rolled up in a piece of plastic pipe which enabled him to travel into areas he was unfamiliar with.

Nick frequently expressed his admiration for his ancestor's ability to live off the land before there were villages. He wanted to test himself in a similar way and planned to spend six months alone on the mainland through the spring, summer, and fall. He thought he would take only what he could carry on his back and try to survive without any contact with other people or the village. His dream was put aside when he began living with a young woman who had two children, but he did spend most of the summer in camp with his extended family.

Nick and I went polar bear hunting together in December and we were able to travel anywhere we chose and for as long as we had gasoline because Nick was able to assure his mother over the radio every night that we were in no difficulty. Without it we would have had to specify exactly where we intended to travel and the intended day of return in order to assure rescue if machinery had failed.

On another occasion, I went fishing with Tuvak in March in an area where he had never travelled. Aside from general orientation problems, we needed to know where the good fishing holes were and where dangerous river ice was located. Tuvak spent the week before the trip visiting with older hunters who had once lived in the area, and then visiting my house to study my maps. Once in the region, Tuvak had little difficulty finding his way around and he told me the maps were of great assistance. Whites with their own equipment are sometimes favored as travelling companions during this period because they provide the security of another snowmachine and at the same time give these young men an opportunity to look after another person. This is a critical transition from relying on others to having others rely on you, and Whites are considered safe learning material. This

tactic also enables Inuit youth to demonstrate skills that Whites cannot claim to be better at, and this experience nourishes emerging feelings of Inuitness and contributes to self-esteem.

Polar bear hunting for young men at this age has become a mark of true hunter's status. Each village is allowed to catch a set quota of bears each year by government permit (in Sanctuary Bay they are allowed 15). Since the bear hunting season is from the beginning of December until the end of March -- the coldest months of the year -- it is normally the men who make their living primarily from trapping who use these permits. Increasingly, young men at this stage of development are given first opportunity to use the permits; if they are unsuccessful, older hunters will then use them. Of the fifteen bears taken in Sanctuary Bay in 1981/82, seven were shot by young men in their early twenties.

Polar bears are considered dangerous animals, and hunting trips are always replete with many stories of cases where the hunter became the hunted. Snowhouses and tents have been invaded in the night, hunters surprized from behind, and a wounded and enraged bear can do a lot of damage before it dies. On the trip I made with Nick, he took a dog along in a box on his sledge to warn us of bears in the night. We slept with our snowknives under our pillows, Nick's harpoon by the doorway, and our rifles were left loaded and within easy reach outside the tent. (Moisture would freeze them if they were brought inside the tent and taken out again, rendering them useless.)

It is a dangerous period for other reasons as well. Some of the boyish carelessness that characterizes late teenage years is still evident at this stage, and young men have rarely had to cope with any kind of crisis. They are inclined to purposely take chances, travel into unknown areas without established trails, and push themselves beyond normal levels of endurance. One young man refused to take a tent or thermos on these trips, insisting that it was better to be forced to build a snowhouse and boil water beside the trail in any weather conditions since these were

difficult but essential skills. No doubt he learned faster but in an emergency such as going through the ice, taking an hour to build a shelter might have cost him his life. On another occasion, a rather poorly constructed snowhouse and carelessness with stove fuel resulted in cases of gas poisoning for both myself and my young companion -- which could have killed us both.

But the self-confidence and esteem that these young men derive and display after successfully staging this coping strategy stands in marked contrast to the anxious displays of peers unable to accomplish it. One winter hunt alone, seems to be an informal, but generally recognized ritual demarking real adults from Inuusuuqtuit.

5.7 Family Camping (22-24)

This important coping strategy marks the beginning of a young man's career as a provider for his own family. As I will discuss in further detail in a subsequent chapter, young men usually have a wife and perhaps two infant children by their mid-twenties. In late April and May, when temperatures are approaching zero, the sun is up, and storms are less prevalent, groups of young families travel across the sea ice to the mainland to fish through holes in frozen lakes and rivers and to hunt birds. Or they travel to nearby villages to visit relatives. These parties are often comprised of several brothers, brothers-in law, or cousins of similar ages.

Everyone looks forward to these outings with great excitement. The season is still cold enough to require skill and caution in travel and camping, and is embraced by both young men and young women as an opportunity to demonstrate their "Inuitness" -- and to establish in particular their ties as a family to the land:

Tuvak and his two older brothers, Joseph (24) and Peter (26), invited me to go fishing with them in late April. They planned to take their wives and children and their parents also intended

to spend a few days with us. Two White women, one of whom worked with Peter's wife, were also asked to join us. For several weeks prior to the trip, the brothers had been working on their sledges in order to provide warm and comfortable travelling conditions for their infant children. Both Tuvak and Joseph worked as carpenters and had access to large quantities of scrap lumber. The hunters of Sanctuary Bay had, for several years, been building coffin-like, lidless boxes onto their sledges in the spring to provide shelter for their children when travelling en famille. In recent years, these boxes have become wonderfully elaborate structures approximately eight feet long, three feet wide and five feet high in the front. The boxes have started to resemble motor caravans. Plastic windows were installed in the front (so the snowmobile driver could communicate with his passengers), and canvas roofs were stretched over the top. The sides of the boxes were cut in a step-like fashion to the rear so that the box had a back porch, open to the elements. Inside, caribou skins and blankets provided a warm and comfortable nest for the young man's family. As we assembled on the sea ice in front of the village -- four snowmobiles, their drivers dressed in caribou parkas, with these caravan-like structures trailing twenty feet behind, where women and children also dressed in caribou skins were crowding to climb aboard - my understandings of traditional and modern images were challenged once again.

We left the village late on a Friday afternoon, after Peter and his wife had finished work, and travelled thirty miles across to the mainland where each family pitched a tent for the night. We were to travel another fifty miles the next day to the fishing lakes, where we would be met by the brothers' parents, who, according to Tuvak, believed with many other old people that trips onto the land should only be started in the early morning. The brothers, however, were anxious to spend as many nights in camp as possible, and were particularly anxious because for two of them, this was to be their first experience with their families on the land in near winter conditions.

We travelled slowly and carefully, stopping often while the brothers checked to make sure their children were not cold. The women produced tea and snacks whenever we stopped, and the children were quiet and rarely complained. Joseph's little boy always cried whenever he caught sight of my bewhiskered face and mirrored sunglasses, but his father assured me that he was afraid of all qallunaat, not just me!

In addition to the opportunity to observe young men in the context of their families on the land, this was also the first and only time I ever travelled with other Whites. I had noticed on other occasions that the quality of relations between people

on the land always seemed much clearer, freer of tension, and less ambiguous than when the same people were interacting in town. This observation was strengthened by the interactions between the brothers and their wives. Concern for the comfort of their infant children seemed to promote extremely clear understandings about what each expected of the other and they divided various labors in a straightforward manner, without argument or negotiation. Essentially, the men drove the snowmachines, erected the shelters, chopped the fishing holes, and maintained equipment while the women looked after the children, made the tea and other meals, arranged the interior of the tents and did the fishing. However, this simplistic description belies the interdependence and emotional equality that also characterized their interactions. Each set of tasks required equal strength, intelligence, and confidence. Men cuddled and nuzzled their children whenever they had the opportunity, and there was no evidence that they considered their own tasks inherently superior to the women's, or somehow more ego-enhancing or difficult. They never criticized their wives for any failures, nor issued instructions if they felt something needed doing.

For Peter and his wife who had been experiencing marital discord in town, the clarity and peace of life in camp seemed to be easing their tensions considerably. However, they were in this instance, forced to consider the different understandings that Whites hold about male and female roles because their White companions felt it necessary to play out several feminist themes, irrespective of the context. Both of the women with me were single, in their late twenties, world travelled and well-educated, and committed careerists. One of them was driving her own snowmachine, and both insisted on trying to perform all the usual male tasks of cutting snow blocks, chopping fishing holes, fixing snowmobile engines, etc. Further, they were not at all inhibited from talking and joking with the brothers in an outspoken and assertive fashion, in quite remarkable contrast to the relatively shy and reserved demeanor of the brother's wives. Only Peter's wife seemed to find them easy company and this threatened Peter. On several occasions, he commented that if they had children, their attitudes and behaviour would be different.

It was also evident that Whites who are used to leadership and authority in town, and are accustomed to being the dominant partner in their interactions with most Inuit, find the subordinate status and dependency of land travel difficult to accept. My own usually comfortable relationship with hunters, and particularly young hunters, had always been facilitated on my easy acceptance of this subordinate role, and I realized my

usual self-effacing presentation while on the land was quite different from both other Whites and also from my own demeanor in the company of Whites in town. Thus I experienced, and I think Tuvak and his brothers experienced, a sense of separateness and a more profound understanding of the ethnic boundary between us, than any of us had on other hunting trips. When I was alone with Inuit, the distinctions between us usually blurred; while sharing a tent with two outspoken and assertive White women who were not particularly self-conscious about the effects of their actions, I could not disguise my own Whiteness nearly as well and our Inuit companions seemed to assume an even deeper Inuit identity than usual.

The presence of Tuvak's parents in the case described above is also notable. Coping tactics designed to reestablish bonds of respect, identification, and obligation with older relatives from whom they may have been alienated during their teenage years, become increasingly important at this phase of development.

I remember Tuvak's father coming to visit me in 1977, and describing the tension in his home between his sons and himself. He advised me then that I should "research" the youth problem. Four years later, Tuvak and his brothers were listening intently while their father recounted past experiences with fishing, April weather, and travelling with infants. They were deferential towards him and attentive to their mother's needs. They spoke fluently in Inuktitut around their parents and shared frozen meat and tea with them in their tent. And they were being treated as independent hunters, not boys. They were informed when and where their father planned to hunt, but not expected to follow his lead unless they chose to.

This coping strategy is thus a very important one in the developmental career of a young man. I witnessed many occasions when young men at this age showed great interest in camping as an extended family group. Family camping continues on into the summer and often culminates when several brothers, their wives and children, and their parents and grandparents will camp together in an area where the older members of the family once lived on a year-round basis. It is a stage when feelings of self-competency and pride in his Inuitness flourish, and marriages often

crystallize in a way that may never happen in the tensions and strains of village life. Self-respect is greatly enhanced for both marriage partners in a context where skills are both important and obvious.

And it is also during this stage that some young men make their first forays into community life. Young men who have been previously uninterested in village politics, who have avoided community meetings and failed to vote, begin to attend the occasional meeting of the Hunters and Trappers Association, where they sit quietly in a small group at the back of the room, and listen intently to the discussion in Inuktitut. Needless to say, failure to make this transition and adopt this coping strategy can be very stressfull.

5.8 Weekending (23-26)

In order to successfully sustain their identity and proficiency as hunters, young men in their middle to late twenties must develop the capacity to hunt, trap and fish on weekends. Weekending is necessary when a young man assumes the responsibilities of a full-time job, which usually occurs in his late twenties, and which I will discuss in depth in the next chapter.

In order to hunt successfully on weekends, a young Inuk must have the confidence to travel alone or with anyone who happens to be travelling in the same direction at the same time (and they must have confidence in him). Since weather conditions are always unpredictable, firm plans about weekend trips are impossible. A young man must feel assured that if the weather looks reasonable on Friday morning, he will be able to purchase gasoline and grub at some point during the day and load his sledge quickly after work. This may sound easy. But it means his snowmachine must be reasonably new and in excellent working condition, and the rest of his equipment and clothing must be complete, in good condition, and easily accessible. Since his life may depend on the preparations he makes prior to a hunting trip, this confidence is essential when preparations have to

be made hurriedly.

During visits with other hunters during the week, he must have gained a sense of where game might be located and where other hunters will be most likely to travel. Although experienced hunters rarely travel alone in winter (for fear of mechanical breakdown), weekend trips are arranged informally and at the last minute. Formal commitments and obligations for assistance between hunters who travel together, are rarely made and young men particularly have to demonstrate their independent competence before other hunters, and particularly non-relatives, will be willing to enter into any agreement that involves mutual interdependence.

If a young man is fortunate, he will have brothers or brothers-in-law, uncles, or cousins who are also working and who are interested in weekend trips. Relatives are preferred hunting companions because mutual assistance is assured. However, because weekend trips are so unpredictable and require last minute decisions, it is not always possible to travel with relatives.

Failure to demonstrate one's competence to the community of hunters, and thus be unable to negotiate the weekending strategy easily, can be a source of tremendous stress to young men in managerial positions. Weekend hunting, as well as providing food for his family and reinforcing his identity as a hunter, provides an escape from the tensions of managerial jobs that I will describe in the next chapter. These escapes only work if the weekend trip is accomplished easily. Work tensions are compounded if weekending is difficult. The following case illustrates the problem:

James Paluqaq (26), who was working as the Assistant Manager in the Co-op store, had recently moved to Sanctuary Bay to marry an old girlfriend after several years spent in Yellowknife and southern Canada. Part of this period was spent in prison after a conviction for assaulting a police officer, which he justified on the grounds that his family was being harassed for their drinking behaviour.

He had few relatives in Sanctuary Bay -- one estranged uncle and a few cousins -- and his in-laws were few in number,

alienated from the larger community, and not very happy about the marriage in the first place. Despite some reservations related to his rule-breaking past, the Co-op Board of Directors felt he was the best qualified young person for the Assistant Manager's job and decided to hire him.

He was unable, however, to reestablish himself as a hunter on weekends, and was intensely unhappy as a result. He had very little equipment of his own -- everything he had accumulated before going south had been redistributed among relatives in his home village. Shortly after arriving in Sanctuary Bay he built himself a sledge which deservedly earned him praise from the other hunters. But it eventually symbolized his frustration because it sat in front of his house unused. He bought a second-hand snowmachine which he knew to be in poor condition, and he managed to accumulate some other equipment. Because of his assault conviction, he was refused a firearms licence from the R.C.M.P., and his wife had to buy a rifle for him. While this might seem trivial, ownership of hunting equipment is defined explicitly and he always indicated he would have to borrow his wife's gun, a situation he found embarrassing.

On Fridays, the Co-op store is a scene of much activity because hunters come to purchase gasoline and snowmobile parts, and discuss planned weekend excursions. James' job ensured that he was always aware of the opportunities for weekend hunting trips. When he pressed other hunters about planned routes and departure times, they remained non-committal and vague. Everyone knew his snowmachine was in poor shape and his equipment meagre, and no one appeared willing to accept responsibility for his safe return to the village.

On weekends when I stayed in town and visited him, he would reminisce about previous hunting trips. He talked of starting an outpost trapping camp. His dream was to move north with his wife and child to an area rich in fur and game resources but too far away from villages to be presently hunted or trapped. (He had picked a location -- it was an area once occupied by his ancestors before a trading post had forced them to abandon it.) He planned to trap through the winter and purchase a condominium and a Porsche in California to occupy his summers. But he had little hope he would be able to hold things together long enough to achieve it. His frustration was tangible -- he became increasingly depressed, and tension arose in his marriage, particularly on weekends. Although he suggested several times that he and I go out together, he was more interested in establishing himself with other Inuit hunters. When we did go out together one weekend his skidoo engine blew up, putting an end to any further travel. Eventually, in the height of the

spring hunting season when nearly every adult male was on the land, he was involved with several teenagers in the theft of some alcohol which nearly cost him his job and his marriage, and certainly cost him much of the town's gradually developing respect.

Although I will discuss work in more depth in the next chapter, it is significant to note here that working seems meaningful for young men at this age only as a means to sustain hunter activity and identity. Those young men who apparently worked enthusiastically and rarely hunted, were in fact very uncomfortable about this situation and would have had it otherwise if they could. In the formal interviews, those young men in their mid to late twenties who rarely hunted were acutely embarrassed and anxious about their negative responses to hunting questions.

5.9 Traplines and Outpost Camps (18-26)

This strategy blends with the others and can either be one element in a more general lifestyle or can expand to become a specialized focus of activity in the mid to late twenties. Its ultimate expression is the establishment of an outpost camp.

Outpost camps are generally understood to be the response of older Inuit to dissatisfactions with village life. The Territorial Government provides capital grants to assist trappers who wish to move back to the land with their families. The grants enable them to purchase equipment and supplies and build a small house. At present there are two operating outpost camps near Sanctuary Bay, one of which was recently started by three brothers in their thirties. The contemporary interest of youth in outpost camps is quite extraordinary since many have never lived anywhere but villages and their interest cannot be interpreted as a desire to "return" to the land.

Most young men in their early twenties, when they begin to travel independently on the land, maintain a dozen or so traps near the village

that can be easily checked in a few hours. The income from these traps pays for little more than the gasoline used to check them, but they provide an important reason for "going out". For young men in the Manager cohort, this "trapline" provides an excuse to go out onto the land for a few hours on Saturdays in the winter which reinforces their sense of Inuit identity and eases some of the work-related tension.

However, for a limited number of Inuit youth, this coping tactic has become the central feature of a lifestyle oriented around land activity that may lead ultimately to establishing an outpost camp:

Joe Nanook (18), and his older step-brother John (24) are good examples of young men who are pursuing this goal. Nanook and John were both born in camp and Nanook was seven before the family moved into the village. Nanook had been adopted by his grandfather, John's father, a powerful old man who with his surviving older brothers, was a patriarch in one of the largest and most land-oriented kindreds in the village. Three of Nanook and John's older cousins had recently established an outpost camp and Nanook often accompanied them along their trapline where he had approximately one hundred traps of his own. John had also applied for a grant to start another camp together with an older step-brother.

Both of these young men were experiencing considerable stress in their relations with women. Since Nanook was somewhat marginal to the general lifestyle of his cohort, he found himself excluded from the contexts of courtship: the dances and sporting activities which I will describe in a subsequent chapter. His parents had attempted to arrange a marriage for him but the young woman had been unhappy with the situation and had moved back to her parents. John had been living in a Keewatin village for several years with a young woman, and they had produced a son. The boy was adopted by John's mother -- to some extent against the young woman's wishes -- and John had brought his wife back to Sanctuary Bay in 1982 to be nearer her baby. However, she was very homesick and returned after several months to her parents' village, leaving John behind.

John had been working as a carpenter for several years and felt he was very good at his job. He frequently experienced conflict with White bosses, however, because he liked to take extended breaks for hunting. He was also the main wage earner in his family and he felt tremendous pressure to be successful in both arenas. When his marriage broke up, he felt an outpost camp

would be the best escape from the stress of village life. The difficulty for both these young men of course is that the idea of an outpost camp without a family — wife and children -- involved is certainly outside both Inuit and White definitions.

Trapping then, has several levels of commitment, from a dozen traps near the village, to an outpost camp with several hundred traps, and the two extremes offer different challenges to young men maturing through their twenties. Maintaining a dozen traps facilitates the learning of trapping skills, is a source of supplemental income for otherwise impoverished young men, provides an opportunity to escape from the stresses of village life -- particularly for the Managerial cohort, nourishes young men's sense of Inuit identity and enables them to demonstrate their respect for traditional life, and keeps more intensive full-time trapping options open should features of village life become intolerable. Joe Nanook's election to several local political bodies was a reflection of the value accorded by the wider community to his efforts to establish himself according to inunmarik standards. As more and more outpost camps are established in the coming years, this trapping option will be available to increasing numbers of young men who may find sports and jobs unsatisfactory.

5.10 Buying a Boat (25-29)

This last coping strategy marks the final transition for a young man from apprentice hunter to fully independent hunter status. The short summer period when the water is open is also a critical period for re-establishing family relations in the context of the land. Without a boat (and motor obviously) a young man may be forced to rely on his parents or in-laws and this dependence can threaten his self-esteem. But if he has his own boat, he and his family will often camp together with parents, in-laws, or other relatives. Indeed, it is an interesting paradox that as soon as young men are able to

demonstrate their independence by using their own equipment to take their own families onto the land, they seldom do so but instead travel and camp with parents, parents-in-law, and other older relatives.

Boats and motors are very expensive and are usually the last piece of equipment that a young man purchases. In addition to summer camping with his family, a boat enables him to set his own fish nets and hunt for seals in the open water -- both important strategies to round out his role as provider for his family.

It is also during this final stage that a new interest and respect for old people's knowledge of the land re-emerges. Having demonstrated their independent competence through a great deal of effort and innovative behaviour, Inuit men in their mid to late twenties finally acknowledge how little they really know and the depth of old people's knowledge. Part of this paradox is due to the importance of snowmobiles in modern hunting strategies, because old people are often incompetent in this area. But their rich and subtle knowledge about animal behaviour and weather conditions, and their encyclopedic ability to remember place names and locations for good hunting and fishing, is suddenly a valuable resource to be tapped. Particularly as growing responsibility in other areas of life restricts the amount of time and energy they have available for land exploration and innovative behaviour, young men begin to seek the wisdom of their elders in order to accomplish land objectives more efficiently.

One young man in his mid-twenties who had been seriously estranged from his elderly father-in-law for several years, had started taking the old man out hunting. He told me that when he was travelling alone in a strange area, he felt as if he already knew the region because his father-in-law had told him so much about it. He also indicated that he felt more secure in crisis situations because his father-in-

law had told him many stories about crises in his own life.

This renewed interest in old people's knowledge is also contributing to a tentative interest in traditional spirituality. This interest is partly a response to the effects of a cosmopolitan education, and is also influenced by the ungayuq "affectionate" relationship young men have with people in their grandparent's generation. I am including mention of it here because old people rarely discuss pre-Christian religious matters in the village but will occasionally discuss them in camp. Stories of spirits and shamans, to some extent considered nonsense by teenagers and young men in their early twenties, are increasingly of interest to young men in their mid twenties, and these interests are often expressed in soapstone carvings of spirits. At the moment these interests are still cautious because they still experience conflict with church doctrine (the ideology of their parents). I suspect, however, that as the young men in the Polar Bear Hunter's cohort move into their late twenties, this interest will mushroom because of their profound interest in the land and tradition and because the church seems to exert less influence on them than on their older friends and relatives.

5.11 Summary

Significant aspects of land-related elements of young adult lifestyles are summarized below under the headings of stress, coping and identity:

<u>STRESS</u>	<u>COPING</u>	<u>IDENTITY</u>
1. Obedience, riding father's sledge.	1. Drive snowmobile fast.	1. Become hunter/man/father/person.
2. Buying gear.	2. Visit villages overland.	2. Endurance/courage.
3. Wildlife laws.	3. Ignore pain.	3. Being Conscientious.
4. "Camping"	4. Travel for sports.	4. Listening and Learning.
5. COLD	5. Birds as Beasts.	5. Continuity/Embeddedness/Solidarity.
6. Becoming a real family.	6. "Friends"	6. "Can't get cold"
7. Innovating	7. Act like old men.	7. Snowmobiler.
8. Alone	8. Polar bear pelts.	8. Trapper.
	9. <u>Ungayuq</u> ing.	9. Self-reliant.
	10. Taking out a <u>qallunaag</u> .	10. Broad-minded/Integrated.
	11. Snow-knife only.	11. "Raw meat" eater.
	12. "Mapping"	12. Becoming a son again.
	13. "Traplins"	
	14. En famille	
	15. Build a sledge.	
	16. Buy a boat.	
	17. Talk to old people.	

The meaning of these features should be self-evident from the foregoing discussion. The land is physically and climatically a challenge, but its more significant threat is the knowledge that to become a real man/father/person -- to integrate aspects of social identity generally into an articulated conception of self -- means that while these identities may be performed in other contexts (i.e.,

the village), they must at some point be constructed on the land.

Failure to do so is a threat to health. Teenagers' high HOS scores (53 percent at risk) may be related to their apprehension about the challenge confronting them. Those in each cohort who abuse alcohol are also those who go onto the land the least (.230 [.05]). This is true for Managers particularly; out of eight who went onto the land rarely, seven either drank illegally, or had histories of alcohol abuse. For Managers, the higher rates of stress visits to the Nursing Station (see Table 4.3.4) may be a combination of poor nutrition (i.e., less country food in the diet) and feelings of being unconnected to the land.

Obviously, these stresses and health problems are also related to the other contexts of everyday life and will be pursued in each of the subsequent chapters.

6. WORKING

"And it would be much better for my children and the children of all Inuit to learn to hunt and live off the land, and to work part-time as a means of providing for their families in both ways. I am aware that ammunition and other supplies are expensive, and that prices are going up higher still. It will be much easier for a man, for anyone, to work and hunt, using both as a way of living, for this generation and the generation to come."

(Napatchie, Frobisher Bay)

6.1 Preliminaries

For most young people in Inuit villages, unemployment is nearly absolute. As indicated in Chapter 3, jobs are scarce for everyone; and any work available is usually taken by older men with families to support. Teenagers rarely have skills or training beyond that of middle-aged men, and must be content with occasional poorly paid, part-time work on construction projects, government funded civil works projects, or in one of the stores. For example, in 1981/82 two teenagers found regular work as stock clerks in each of the two stores, several were employed each spring by Council to clean up after the snow melted, several more worked for a few weeks while the school was being renovated, and the rest earned no money.

These conditions also obtain to some extent for young men in their twenties. Although Polar Bear Hunters are, as I will argue, uninterested in full-time jobs because of their commitment to the land, the competition for occasional and part-time work is stiff, and they must compete not only with their peers, but with the members of their father's generation as well.

However, before we enter too far into this discussion of unemployment, a word of caution is necessary. Unemployment cannot be interpreted as having

the same meaning in every context, for every age or gender group, nor for different groups in the same context. Particularly when we address the issue of the stress of unemployment, this caution must be taken into consideration. The media speaks of the "tragedy of unemployment" in industrial nations where unemployment rates among young people may be as high as eighty percent, and link high rates of unemployment to increasing rates of suicide, substance abuse, and criminal activity. However, the stress of unemployment for Inuit youth is an interpretive question; that is, we must first understand the meaning of work to young Inuit at different ages before we can assume that unemployment is a contributing factor in stress-related problems. In a context where male activity centres on the land, occupational identities and aspirations will have vastly different meanings.

Wage labor, carving, trapping and hunting are all male activities that occupy time and energy and contribute to economic self-sufficiency; but each of these activities has a constellation of understandings that connote separate "realities" that the terms "employment" and "unemployment" simply do not capture. As I will argue shortly, there are also meaningful differences within each activity related to age, context, role relationships, etc. that make it even more difficult to ascertain the stress of "unemployment".

6.2 The Junior Team

Before we consider the meaning of employment, however, we must first discuss education as it relates to teenage concerns. Perhaps the most surprising finding noted in Chapter 4 was the slight decline in educational achievement from the Managers to the Junior Team (see Table 4.3.1). Although the numbers are too small to be statistically significant, the decline from twelve to seven percent of the cohort having completed secondary education is particularly meaningful against the expectation that improvements in northern education over the past ten years should

have yielded a substantial increase in the proportion completing secondary education. The reasons for this decline are complex.

At the heart of the issue are the mixed messages about education that Inuit youth receive in interaction with peers, parents and Whites in the context of the village. They are told by the White establishment (through teachers) that higher education leads to employment, but most of the locally preferred jobs do not require a formal education and people are hired for a variety of social and political reasons that rarely have anything to do with educational records. They are told that education enables Inuit to participate as full partners in the White world, but they are witness to the debilitating alienation that often accompanies such participation and they are influenced by the emerging ideology of segregation and ethnicization that characterizes everyday household conversations (i.e., Inuit who act "White" are disesteemed by other members of the Inuit community). And they hear that education provides the skills to take over those jobs currently held by Whites, but they are aware of the extent to which Inuit who work in "trainee" positions are marginalized by Whites who have no intention of "working themselves out of jobs" and who are able to perpetuate the caste-like nature of northern occupational inequality through the careful presentation of superior education and training, and who direct occupational role criticism onto the Inuit trainees (cf., Ogbu 1974 for a detailed examination of similar problems amongst urban youth). [1]

Consequently, education is becoming defined as an end in itself, rather than as a means to an economic or political objective. For teenagers, it offers little beyond escape from the boring routine of village life during a period when other activity options are attenuated; but it is also

[1] It is a myth that Whites are "trying to work themselves out of jobs" in the North. With the nationwide economic slump and improved northern living and working conditions, the northern White turnover rate is decreasing drastically and many Whites show all the indications of having settled into village life permanently.

understood to isolate and alienate a person from his family and culture. Those few youth who do complete their secondary education, as a group, are the most marginal and alienated from village life, and as peer models, serve as excellent arguments against the pursuit of higher education. Every village has the Terry Ittinuaqs whose stories are not likely to encourage teenage Inuit to run similar risks by continuing their education. I stress village life here because they may not be marginal to the wider northern sociopolitical context. The problem is that few teenage Inuit are ready to shift their identifications and aspirations to this wider context at such a young age.

Most teenagers finish level nine locally (equivalent to approximately grade seven by southern Canadian standards) at the age of sixteen, and then have two choices: they can move to the cosmopolitan urban atmosphere of Yellowknife to complete their secondary education, or they can drop out of school and perhaps attempt to upgrade locally through the offices of the adult education program.

To move to Yellowknife means moving into a non-Inuit context for at least three years: in an environment that is as radically different from an Inuit village as Montreal might be to a teenager from a Saskatchewan town. There is a tendency to assume that because Yellowknife is in the N.W.T., it must be culturally "Northern" and therefore a familiar environment for Inuit youth during this critical period in the formation of their identity. But the population is predominantly White and Indian, it is impossible to hunt, and there are few opportunities for speaking Inuktitut or eating Inuit food. The importance of these things was given emphasis during the Annual General Meeting of the Kitikmeot Inuit Association when representatives from many coastal villages endorsed the suggestion of an Inuit House for students in Yellowknife to alleviate the drop-out rate.

For those few youth who brave the move, they must adapt to life in the multi-ethnic residence of Akaitcho Hall. The prevailing sentiment among

those who quit after a few months, was that Akaitcho Hall was a place with too much drinking, fighting, drug use, bad food, and strict rules. The drop-outs were unanimous in citing feelings of loneliness and homesickness as primary reasons for leaving.

To learn to cope with Akaitcho Hall and the wider Yellowknife environment requires a radical revision of definitions and understandings about proper behaviour and human relations. Value is placed on the principles of self-actualization, independence, and aggressive self-assertion -- principles that may enable youth to cope with Yellowknife but which serve only to alienate them further from the sociocultural realities of village life. Young people learn to accept and indeed defend these transformations in understandings if they remain in residence.

For example, in 1982, controversy erupted over the Akaitcho policy of expelling students who are caught drinking or using drugs (Native Press, June 18, page 15). When several youths from Keewatin settlements were sent home after being found drunk at a party, male students, led by a young man from Sanctuary Bay, confronted the Principal over discipline policy. Many felt the school was too strict and did not encourage students to express themselves. In response to complaints from the students' parents, Tagak Curley, an Inuk and their representative in the Territorial Legislature, described the school as a correctional institution which did nothing to encourage student self-expression.

Interestingly, but analytically beyond the scope of this thesis, the female students defended the administration's strict alcohol and drugs policy. For the male students, however, their acceptance of alcohol and drug use (we are not talking about abuse here, merely the occasional and recreational use of socially accepted substances), stands in contrast to their village peers, and their political mobilization and confidence in confronting the White authorities also distances them from their village contemporaries. These new coping tactics may provide an essential developmental base for their eventual successful participation in

regional political and economic processes.

The three teenagers from Sanctuary Bay who have in the past few years gone the Akaitcho route are no longer interested in village life (although returning to camp in the summer still seems important to overall conceptions of self). Instead they looked forward to further education, jobs with the Territorial Government, or with Inuit organizations. But as a recent survey indicated, none of the 1982 high school graduates aspired to be teachers (the preeminent village occupation) which, among other things, is a further indication of the alienation these young people feel towards their home contexts. An example of the just how large a gap may exist between those who go away to school and those who stay behind was illustrated for me one afternoon in my kitchen:

Charlie (19) who had just returned from Yellowknife for the summer after graduating from Grade 12, came to visit with a few of his age-mates. We were sitting drinking tea and watching the activity out the kitchen window. Charlie was talking easily and quickly in English about his future career plans, the state of the Canadian economy, world affairs, and other very sophisticated topics, and his friends were listening silently to his monologue.

In the middle of the ravine in front of my house, a middle-aged woman appeared and seemed to be searching about in the snow, and we stopped talking to watch her. Finally Charlie asked "Who's that?" and although we all knew, we were confused as to how to answer. It happened to be the wife of a man who had died in a snowmobile accident a few days before, and I was aware of the strong taboo among Inuit to never mention the name of a man who has recently died. There is also a strong tendency never to refer to anyone directly by name (people are usually referred to by a referential kin term and in this case the usual reply would have been so and so's wife). Finally one of the boys answered "Jenny's mother".

Charlie immediately said, "Oh yeah, I heard about that. I wonder how she felt when Mark (the man's English pseudonym) was killed.

For a moment there was a stunned silence -- the other young men would never have asked such a question publically and indeed the way most people coped with bereavement was to try and forget

the entire incident as quickly as possible. However, someone made a comment on the events of the accident and it was as if a dam had burst. Each boy in turn voiced his opinion of how the death might have occurred, and expressed their feelings about the tragedy.

The catharsis ended quickly, however, and each boy fell silent until only Charlie was talking. They all looked a little sheepish and embarrassed and made excuses to leave. Later in the day, one of these boys visited me again and told me I should not really listen to Charlie "because he can't stop talking". [2]

The Akaitcho Hall controversy also illustrated a general contradiction that runs through the opinions of everyone concerned about education in the North; from people in the villages to the Territorial Legislature. In interviews with Inuit in Sanctuary Bay, many expressed sentiments similar to the statement below:

When I was a teenager, we had to go to Inuvik to school. Teachers were very strict and would not permit us to speak our own language. They would strap us if we did. And they would sometimes beat us if we were late in the morning. But we really learned lots. We learned English and we learned how to read, which I can now see are very important. When I came back to the village, I couldn't speak my own language anymore. For a while I couldn't even talk to my parents. But eventually I learned how to speak Inuktitut again. But we were able to get good jobs because of our education. We weren't lazy, and we learned how to work hard.

Today teachers are too soft. They just let the kids play all day and they don't make them come to school. The kids don't learn anything and they get lazy to go to school. They just think its boring. I think we worry too much about teaching Inuktitut in the school because our children need to learn how to live in the qallunaat world. I think the teachers should be stricter and teach better English in the school.

In contrast, others supported the following view:

[2] Graburn (personal communication) says that cathartic discussions among adults following tragic deaths occurred occasionally, and provided an important forum for releasing feelings of guilt or sorrow. He agrees, however, that situational factors would play an important role and that the general tendency is to avoid thoughts about the recently deceased.

The main problem with young people is that they cannot listen to their parents anymore. They don't understand Inuktitut very well and most parents cannot speak English. The schools should have better instruction in Inuktitut. Children should learn their own language first.

Some of the teachers lose their tempers too easily. They get angry and yell at the students and kids get scared and will not go to school anymore. A person who gets angry easily is dangerous and weak. We don't need those kind of teachers. The teachers need to be taught how to get along with the Inuit. The Education Society should be running the school.

These two perspectives are almost equally distributed in Sanctuary Bay and surprisingly were often expressed by people of quite different backgrounds and experience. Several older unilingual Inuit expressed the view that teachers were too soft and worried that their children were not learning more English, while some more educated Inuit were concerned with the loss of traditional values and the presence of culturally insensitive teachers, and vice versa. This ambivalence not only reflects a breadth of opinion, but also is an indication that older people are still in the process of deciding what causes problems and what the best solutions are, since occasionally the same person would argue seemingly contradictory positions at different times in different situations.

These views are also typical of widespread conflicting sentiments as evident in the 1982 publication of the Territorial Legislature's "Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories." It recommends, among other things, that the education system should be put into local hands and made relevant to community realities, while at the same time it argues that the present system is academically weak and inadequately prepares students for higher education and employment.

For Inuit youth, this somewhat schizophrenic climate surrounding education only adds to the ambivalence they already feel about its value. Several examples will illustrate the problem further:

One very bright young man from a traditional family was encouraged by his teachers to pursue his education in Yellowknife. His parents wanted him to stay in the village and

learn to hunt, but they accepted the advice of a very modern Inuk who told them they must think of the boy's future; that when they were dead the boy would need an education in order to survive. They reluctantly agreed to let him go but worried that he would be corrupted by living in Yellowknife. They pointed out that other youth who had gone away to school always wound up in trouble or never returned to the village. Their son nevertheless went away to Yellowknife but after two months in Akaitcho Hall, quit and returned to the village. He stated there were too many bullies (a reference to Indians), too much drinking, and life was "too noisy" in Yellowknife. He tried to upgrade in the adult education classes but quit after a few months when he was offered a job as clerk in the Co-op store. He applied for the job of Manager-Trainee, was overlooked as too young, and indicated to me that he would most like a full-time job as a truck driver -- something his father did on a part-time basis.

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Another young man who had some schooling as a child in southern Canada, and whose family were oriented towards education and occupations, was discouraged from going to Yellowknife for high school by the White Principal who did not feel he had the capability to finish high school. His father managed to circumvent the Principal's recommendations and his son finished two years of high school before he was expelled for drinking. His father was upset and felt his family was being treated unfairly by Whites who resented his brokerage role in village affairs, but he succeeded in convincing Council to send his son for technical training for a local position. His son still holds this high-paying job but would prefer a job as a bookkeeper.

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In another case, a young man who was a favorite pupil of several teachers, was prevented from going to Yellowknife by his grandparents who wanted him to stay and hunt. While many young men indicated they preferred to stay and hunt, this young man was disappointed he could not complete his education. However, he obeyed his grandparents and quickly became the best young hunter in the village, travelling alone and often. But he was frequently depressed and occasionally involved in local illegal drinking episodes.

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And finally, the young man who was instrumental in confronting the Akaitcho Hall authorities was the son of a

trapper with an outpost camp who insisted his son return from Yellowknife each spring to spend the summer in camp. Because of ice conditions, this meant he had to return before the school year ended. Local teachers who felt this young man had great academic potential (indeed he indicated he intended to enter university) approached me to see if I would intervene with his father to prevent him missing his year. I suggested instead they convince the authorities that some compromise on his grades be made, and he was ultimately given his year on the basis of his previous exams. He returned happily to Sanctuary Bay and looked forward to the summer in camp.

The alternative to high school in Yellowknife is attending adult education classes locally. And many youth in Sanctuary Bay have attempted to cope with the empty time on their hands by attending these classes, which are intended to upgrade literacy and mathematics to a grade twelve level.

The adult education program, however, suffers from considerable confusion about objectives and priorities and is consistently underfunded. It is the first program to be cut whenever educational budgets are under pressure. Originally intended to teach English to unilingual Inuit, and expanded to include home economics and coordinate trades training programs, it has also become a local "high school" for youth who decide not to go out for secondary education. Prior to 1979, the Adult Educator was an Inuk whose responsibilities did not extend beyond teaching introductory English to older Inuit. In 1979, a White was hired to teach upgrading to the grade twelve level, and to encourage young people to take trades training. The teacher hired had no post-secondary education and no previous experience as a teacher. His sole preparation for the job was having worked in the village as a construction contractor.

His hiring, and indeed the hiring of his replacement -- an elementary school teacher -- reflects a failure on the part of both Whites and Inuit authorities to recognize the difficulty of an Adult Educator's task, and the high level of qualifications necessary to cope with the role effectively. In addition to post secondary education, the Adult Educator

must understand the principles of cross-cultural community development, and be able to design and field a program that meets often ambiguously defined local needs. The job definition should call for people with advanced degrees in either the social sciences and/or education, as well as rich northern experience and ideally, linguistic ability in Inuktitut.

The program as it now stands must be considered a failure for several reasons. Nearly half of the Junior Team cohort attended upgrading classes for periods from several months to two years. Not one knew whether they had achieved any academic advancement. No one had pursued any specialized training and they were uniformly disillusioned with the whole adult education concept. Most quit as soon as they could find any sort of local job. The Adult Educator became a broker for local construction projects and coerced students into attendance by blocking employment possibilities for anyone not registered in his classes (see letter from Joshua Tattuiniq later in this chapter).

The Adult Educator also felt that academic upgrading was not as important as "life skills" learning -- learning how to apply for jobs, manage money, cope with cities, etc. [3] The curriculum materials for the life skills course emphasized values such as independence, assertiveness, and self-actualization. This philosophy is different from the ideals of older Inuit of cooperation, respect for authority and communality that many despaired their young people had lost. One of the religious leaders told me:

Young people have to listen to two philosophies today. The qallunaat way is to follow your own mind. The Inuit way is to listen to the elders for advice about how to live. A person's

[3] The "life skills" approach sounds as though it should fit with the coping perspective of this thesis. Indeed, the "coping skills" business is booming in the south and it is founded on the stress and coping paradigm. However, my approach here, based on the documentation of the tactics and strategies devised by youth to cope with their context, is radically different from an approach which advocates "teaching" coping skills didactically that are derived from other contexts and situations.

life philosophy should come from listening to old people. The conflict between these two philosophies seems to make people hard-headed. They cannot listen to anybody, Qallunaat or Inuit. They think they know more than anybody because they think they are the only ones to live in this world.

The problem with education is not as simple as some people think. Somehow we have to find a way to reconcile these two philosophies and make it easier for young people to listen to others; or they will always be unhappy.

Older Inuit want to see adult education expanded to include "inummarik" programs. Many acknowledged that while they hoped their children would complete their education in the skills needed for full participation in White society, they realized that most young people would be unable to cope with life away from the village. These dropouts needed better preparation in the skills and attitudes needed for a successful village/land life, and not continued instruction and pressure towards ideals and goals they would never realize. At the Annual General Meeting of the Kitikmeot Association, representatives from every village in the region mentioned the need for funds to facilitate teaching Inuktitut and land skills to young adults. These leaders were concerned about and sympathetic towards young people who spoke only children's Inuktitut. They wanted to see advanced classes in Inuktitut as a corrective measure. Many were also concerned that while young people understood the basics of hunting, parents always worried when young people went out alone because they were not prepared for emergencies. As I indicated in Chapter 5, there are many structural impediments in the contemporary context to learning land skills naturally, and more formal strategies may be required to alleviate this situation.

However, since one of the major tasks of coping with the land is making the transition away from the apprentice role to the more cooperative context of independent hunters, structuring "land classes" in a hierarchical manner may be doomed to failure. Equally disastrous would be a situation where White Adult Educators took on the responsibility of delivering "inummarit" programs. This possibility is not as silly as it

sounds. I have heard teachers suggest that older Inuit were not very good at building sledges, butchering game, fixing snowmobile engines, etc., and that classes run by White teachers skilled in carpentry and hunting techniques would better prepare youth for the future.

White teachers also complained that the failure of the educational system is the failure of the parents to encourage their children to complete school. They see this failure as one of ignorance -- they think Inuit parents simply do not understand that a primary school level of education is inadequate to cope effectively with the modern world. They are genuinely frustrated in their attempts to encourage young people to continue their education by what they perceive as the conservative and limiting effects of "tradition". A teacher with five years of Northern teaching experience expressed this frustration to me:

Most Inuit parents feel that their child has enough education as soon as they can interpret for them at the Bay. They think that as long as someone can speak English, they will be able to get a good job -- even to work as a teacher. I do not think we will see any advance in educational aspirations or achievement until another generation has assumed leadership roles. Until people with some education are running things, we will not get anywhere in educating young people.

While this understanding may characterize a few of the oldest and most traditional Inuit, most parents I talked to had very sophisticated and sensitive understandings about the problems of education. Many agreed that ideally, young people should acquire a complete education in both the Qallunaat and Inuit systems. They recognized the poor levels their children were attaining presently, but they felt it unwise to pressure their children to go to Yellowknife if they were afraid of it. They have seen too many cases of young people going south and getting into trouble to push their own children into a similar predicament. Many teenagers corroborated these sentiments when they stated that their parents had wanted them to pursue their education but "didn't push" when they decided not to go. Parents are confronted with the agonizing problem of wanting to encourage education but they must temper their encouragement so their

children do not feel they have failed if they do not have the courage to leave. Parents are also careful to indicate to young people that the hunting option is an equally difficult and valuable challenge and not a second-rate activity suitable only for drop-outs. The failure of Whites to understand this is a source of great frustration. Older Inuit involved with educational planning want inummarik programs supported structurally and fiscally so that young people will also realize it is an important option, and not a second choice for dropouts.

The second important issue to consider here is the matter of occupational preferences and their relationship to economic development. Over the past decade there have been several studies which have attempted to ask young Inuit whether they are interested in modern or traditional ways of earning a living; that is whether they want to become trappers or wage workers (cf., Hobart, Walsh and Associate Consultants Ltd., 1980; D.G. Smith, 1971). These studies often support arguments for non-renewable resource development because they claim few young Inuit are interested in the traditional occupations of hunter or trapper. I disagree with this conclusion but hesitate to challenge their findings because my data come from a small village whereas their studies were conducted in larger towns and cities where understandings about traditional and modern may indeed be different. Also, their data are from the early to mid-seventies when aspirations were perhaps more confused and may have been different. But I do challenge the dichotomization of everyday life into traditional and modern that the occupational interview schedules used in these studies suggest.

Occupational identifications are in the most preliminary stages of definition for Inuit youth today. The prevailing sentiment continues to be money oriented -- any job is suitable as long as it pays well. Careers, trades or vocations as understood by Whites are not yet incorporated into Inuit understandings of occupational identity; and, as I argue here, are taking on forms that bear little relationship to White understandings.

In my interviews, I structured questions so that I first asked people to list their job history, then to indicate which job they had enjoyed most, and then to tell me what sort of job they would prefer given an open choice (and I opened the choice up by suggesting a range of occupations such as doctor, pilot, janitor, carpenter, truck driver, teacher, miner, secretary, etc.). I did not ask them to choose between trapper and other occupations because these categories are semantically unrelated. As I shall argue in another section, trapping should not be considered an occupation, nor is it merely a way to earn money: it is a fundamental dimension of a total lifestyle oriented towards the land that teenagers particularly are not yet qualified to choose. The Polar Bear Hunting cohort, however, can make, and is making this choice.

The meaning of occupational preferences can be explored if they are grouped according to various criteria as in Table 6.1 (next page). These criteria are derived from young Inuit ideas about work. For example, some seemingly indoor trades such as mechanic are defined here as outdoor jobs because for young Inuit, the job means working in unheated buildings or sometimes outdoors, and may require parkas and windpants to be worn to work. Similarly, many jobs which may eventually require some formal training away from the village, initially can be undertaken as local apprenticeships until a person is established and confident enough to leave for the training. It should also be self-evident from the table that all of these jobs can be done locally. Only the two young men at school in Yellowknife showed any inclination to pursue occupations that took them out of the village context.

The prevailing sentiment among teenagers is for work that is physical, outdoor, and can be learned in the village environment. It is also obvious that these jobs require little educational motivation. All of the preferred jobs are presently performed by adult Inuit, many of whom are respected and admired community leaders. And perhaps most significantly, not one teenager indicated they were interested in "White jobs", and indeed, many indicated that if they had a choice they preferred jobs with

Table 6.1

JUNIOR TEAM OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES

	Total Persons	Indoor	Outdoor	Inuit Boss	White Boss	Paperwork	Physical	Need Training	Local Apprentice	Inuit Role Models
Anything	1									
Bay Clerk	1	X			X	X			X	X
Carpenter	3		X		X		X		X	X
Housing Maintainer	1		X	X			X		X	X
Mechanic	1		X	X			X	X		X
Plumber	1		X		X		X	X		X
Teacher's Assistant	1	X			X	X			X	X
Truck Driver	3		X	X			X		X	X
TOTAL (Persons)	12	3	9	5	6	2	9	2	9	11

Inuit bosses over those still administered by Whites. For example, many teenage Inuit indicated they thought driving the water delivery truck would be the most prestigious job in the village. At the time, Council was the water truck driver's boss (there was an Inuk foreman) and the driver happened to be an elder in the Anglican church.

From the perspective of creative coping, these job aspirations do not mean that Inuit youth have "limited occupational aspirations." These jobs are considered important and valuable activities in the context of village life, and reflect the growing respect which Inuit youth have for their parents. Rather than devaluing their parent's work activities as somehow less useful or meaningful than White occupations (which incidentally seems to be the implicit bias in much of the previous research into the subject), Inuit youth are indicating their solidarity with the community through these occupational choices. And in an existential sense, there is no a priori reason why their understandings should not be as valid as the valuations of policy makers, administrators, and researchers. Keeping your neighbours sewage tank empty, or his house warm, or his water tank full, is as honorable and necessary as giving inoculations, teaching children to read, or handing out welfare cheques. And as we shall see shortly, a lot less stressful. It leaves a person free to pursue political and moral responsibilities which are equally important dimensions of Inuit adult identity.

Another interesting coping tactic of the Junior Team cohort is the manner in which they stage their entry into the carving industry. As Graburn (1978) has convincingly argued, the carving of soapstone figures for sale in southern Canadian, and indeed, international markets, is not only a major economic activity in most Inuit villages, but is also an important source of ethnic pride. In Sanctuary Bay, there is a small shack outfitted with benches and power tools for those carvers who do not wish to work at home. Teenagers have started to use this shack after midnight when older carvers have left, and while they rarely produce anything of saleable quality, they use soapstone scraps to develop the techniques

necessary for eventual artistic production.

There is also a Craft Shop in Sanctuary Bay where work is attractively displayed before it is shipped south to various markets. The display is primarily designed to attract local sales from resident and visiting Whites; to my knowledge, no Inuit carvings have ever been bought by Inuit in Sanctuary Bay; but it has also emerged as an art gallery which does attract attention from many local Inuit. Teenagers often wander through in groups of two or three and examine the carvings on display. They seem to be particularly attracted to those depicting hunting scenes and often stand in front of a carving, discussing hunting experiences of their own.

6.3 The Polar Bear Hunters

By this point in their lives, young Inuit have usually held a number of part-time jobs with a range of institutions and, in the process, may have acquired some training and skills. The following employment histories built up over six or seven years are representative illustrations:

Case One (22 yrs. old)

Finished grade eight locally. Was afraid to go to Yellowknife for high school. Worked for one year for Co-op helping to deliver oil (\$500 per month). Worked as stockboy in another store for nearly five years (\$600 per month). Hired as Teacher's Assistant in 1980. Attended two week workshop in Frobisher Bay for teacher's assistants. Presently earning \$1000 per month. Would prefer a job as janitor at the Nursing Station.

Case Two (23 yrs. old)

Left school at the end of grade eight in order to hunt. First job was to clean snow out of Nursing Station attic. Second job as commercial fisherman for the Co-op in another village. Then three separate jobs of approximately three months each as a carpenter on house construction projects (\$550 per month). Worked for Council and telephone company for short periods as laborer. Last two years worked half of each year as carpenter for same White housing contractor. Currently earning \$1600 per month. Likes carpentry work and interested in becoming a contractor.

Case Three (22 yrs. old)

Finished grade eight in local school. Tried to go back to finish another level but told by principal it was against rules. Never thought about going to Yellowknife. First job on spring clean-up crew for Council. Then worked one month as stockboy in store. Then two one month jobs as a laborer on construction projects. Then another month as a stockboy. Hired by Co-op for five months to work as carpenter expanding store (\$550 per month). Worked for three weeks as carpenter for Housing contractor. Moved to another village and hired as Information Officer by Regional Inuit Association for eleven months (\$1100 per month). Moved back to Sanctuary Bay to work as laborer and truck driver building new airstrip for three weeks. Hired as replacement janitor in Nursing Station for one month. Currently working as carpenter for Council renovating community hall. Would like to have a full-time job as a truck driver.

Case Four (22 yrs. old)

Finished grade eight in local school and started hunting. Attended adult education classes over the past two years but unable to pass upgrading exams. First job for the Hunters and Trappers Association in another village as secretary. Then hired as stockboy by the Co-op store for a few weeks. Then worked for the Hunters and Trappers Association building a community freezer. Then contracted by Co-op for six months to pour gasoline (\$350 per month). Took three month heavy equipment operators course in Sanctuary Bay. In spring of 1980 went to work as an operator at the Polaris Mine on Little Cornwallis Island for six weeks (one shift). Earned about \$5,000. Returned to Sanctuary Bay and worked for three months as operator building new airstrip (\$1800 per month). Worked for previous two months as carpenter on school renovations (\$1200 per month). Would like to work for Council as Heavy Equipment Operator.

Case Five (22 yrs. old)

Finished grade eight locally. Wanted to hunt with father. First job as clerk in the Bay store for six months (\$360 per month). Hired by Co-op to drive garbage truck for six months (\$600 per month). Worked for Co-op as carpenter for six months building houses (\$700 per month). Last year worked for White contractor in Cambridge Bay for seven months building houses (\$1200 per month). Went to work last spring at Polaris Mine as laborer and truck driver. Quit after 21 weeks citing "racism" as reason. Earned \$13,000 before quitting. Would prefer to work seasonally as a carpenter. Applied for full-time job as tradesman with Housing Association. Submitted proposal for grant to operate an outpost tourist camp with trapper father.

This material indicates that Polar Bear Hunters are even less equivocal about occupational preferences than the Junior Team. More than half of the fourteen cohort members interviewed indicated they would like to have jobs as carpenters. Of the remainder, three wanted to operate trucks and heavy equipment, two wanted to learn skilled trades (electrician and power house engineer), and one wanted to be a bookkeeper.

Four of them had worked at the Polaris Mine, and despite a unanimous distaste for this work, were interested in additional short periods of work at the mine because it enabled them to accumulate large amounts of capital. Every young man in this cohort who worked at the mine had a new snowmachine and other hunting gear, and many spent most of the following winter engaged in land activities. Building the airstrip provided similar capital opportunities for others who adopted this pattern.

Rotational shift work in mines or in the oil industry is becoming an increasingly important aspect of the Northern economy as population increases outstrip local employment opportunities. The experience of Sanctuary Bay youth with the Polaris Mine was the first time any of them had done this type of work. Sanctuary Bay has had previous experience with men moving elsewhere for work -- many had worked on DEW line construction and several had worked for short periods on a railroad construction project in the south. However, the mine work was considered a young man's opportunity. Of the seven men who eventually worked at the mine, none were over thirty and only two were unmarried (i.e., teenagers). Of these, only the oldest two were interested in continued employment with the mine once it was operational: the rest worked only one, or in one instance, two shifts during the construction phase and all of them hoped to find work locally to avoid more shift work.

Their experience at the mine was characterized by the widespread use of drugs and overt racism -- both ubiquitous aspects of Northern life, but for these youth, previously unknown in the degree to which they were now exposed. Their experience of racist attitudes was so profound that their

stories of White insensitivity circulated quickly, and frankly, seemed to amaze many people back in Sanctuary Bay. The Land Claims Committee was so moved by them that a resolution was passed at the next meeting to look into the problem:

There has been an increase in complaints from workers who have returned from Little Cornwallis Island (Polaris Mine). These complaints were mainly about certain foremen who allowed their personal prejudices to prevail over the job situation. Some of the incidences were said to become unnecessarily physical. We do not profess to have any solution to this problem, but we cannot be passive about it either. As noted, the Polar Gas public relations department had made it a point to say that Inuit would get equal treatment from the company. The company might not be at fault but behaviour portrayed by certain foremen should not be tolerated. The Information Officer is to seek out the people who were at L.C.I. and to find out the facts before writing a letter to the Public Relations department of Polar Gas in Y.K.

(Land Claims Committee Minutes; September 8/81.)

Polar Gas is referred to incorrectly here. The parent company was actually Bechtel Inc. but the confusion reflects the symbolic threat of large multinational corporations to most Inuit villagers. It is also significant that the issue was handled by the Committee least associated with White agencies and bureaucracies.

Nevertheless, many young men indicated they would still like the opportunity to do shift work at the mine. However, they were only interested in accumulating large capital sums on one or at the most two shifts before quitting to concentrate on developing land skills. Once the mine was operating, employment of this sort was no longer available. The mine operators wanted people interested in undertaking training to pursue a career as a miner or other skilled technician. According to mine spokesmen, young Inuit from other regions were prepared to make this commitment so although the mine was in the Sanctuary Bay region, no one else was hired locally.

Since this work phase had essentially ended prior to my return to Sanctuary Bay I am unable to comment on the effect shift work had on family and particularly marital relations. Other researchers have identified marital strain as the most stressful aspect of shift work and I have no reason to doubt that similar problems developed in Sanctuary Bay (Hobart, Walsh and Associate Consultants, 1980). However, I should point out that the young married men who did work at the mine all had marriages already in difficulty before assuming the work. This could be interpreted as an indication that shift work provided an escape from a stressful domestic situation similar to trapping or camping.

Perhaps the most significant dimension of Polar Bear Hunter work patterns and identifications is the emergence of carpentering as a traditionally defined occupation, which to some extent is replacing, but also taking a place alongside the older trapper/hunter identification. Carpentering appeals on a number of levels. For those young Inuit trying to resist the compartmentalization of their lives into new and old categories, carpentering enables them to maintain an integrated conception of self. Rather than working strictly for money to sustain some other land-oriented activity which is more satisfying, they are able to incorporate the occupational aspect of their identity into the "Inuit hunter" self-image. Both aspects feed into each other and strengthen the overall self-concepts. Building houses appeals to gender identifications — it is physical, outdoor work — and it feeds into emerging feelings about looking after families and participating in the community. It is also inherently seasonal and intermittent which provides ample time in all seasons to develop hunting skills. And roofing a house in December conditions, when White co-workers have usually given up and retired to their kitchens, further enhances feelings of coping confidence with weather. Coping with weather (as described in Chapter 5) is also a very important aspect of the admired inummarik identity.

Another important aspect of the carpentering appeal is that it facilitates interaction with Whites considered least distanced from Inuit

understandings. White construction workers are at the bottom of the White-defined local social hierarchy, but this hierarchy is reversed in young Inuit understandings. There are several reasons for this.

White carpenters working in the North today are unlike their predecessors of the sixties and early seventies. They are often affected by some of the value orientations of the anti-establishment sixties (frontiers are some of the few places where "sixties" attitudes still flourish unadulterated by the changing mainstream youth culture values of the seventies and eighties). They are uninterested in institutionally oriented occupations. They are more interested in total lifestyles, in being "Renaissance Men", than in career strategies, and their ethical consciousness is uncomplicated by the self-consciousness that often castrates their professional contemporaries. Their relations with young Inuit are often surprisingly free of the paternalism and overbearance that professional and administrative Whites assume. Although they are "bosses" in the sense they often hold the contracts for various construction projects, in everyday life they interact as equals with young Inuit carpenters who possess comparable skills and motivation.

Relations between the White carpenters and young Inuit in Sanctuary Bay were less structured and friendlier than any other set of White-Inuit relations in the village. Although they lived in the village year-round, they were excluded from most of the White social circles. They "camped" in the unfinished shell of one of the houses they were building, made do with handmade scrap-wood furniture, and did without running water, elaborate kitchens, etc., all of which decreased the distance between them and their Inuit coworkers, many of whom lived in similar conditions. Social visiting between young Inuit and White carpenters occurred quite often; indeed, White carpenters were the only Whites who ever visited young Inuit in the evenings for purely social reasons. And White carpenters often accompanied their youthful coworkers onto the land on weekends, where roles were completely reversed and power relations further decreased. Professional Whites who travel on the land always maintain all their own equipment and

usually expect their Inuit companions (if there are any) to perform as guides rather than as protectors and teachers.

Of fundamental importance to these relations is the issue of morality. As I will describe in the next chapter, drinking, gambling and sexual relations have become the issues of most moral import to Inuit, and they are as well for Whites, but with quite different connotations. Indeed morality in the White community is an example of a profound paradox. As one ascends the White-defined prestige scale (i.e., towards the teachers, administrators and nurses), one encounters an increasing moral concern for protecting, preserving, shielding, and sheltering the Inuit from southern influences considered immoral by high status Whites. Inter-ethnic drinking, drug use and sexual relations fall into this category and various pressures are brought to bear on Whites who exhibit these tendencies. [4]

But illegal drinking, drug use and extra-marital sexuality occurs with considerable frequency at all levels of the White community, and its occurrence is common knowledge to Inuit youth. The administrator who locks his doors every weekend and drinks himself into oblivion, the teacher having the affair with the nurse, and the manager and teacher who come to every public event glassy-eyed and giggling, are objects of many jokes and stories among young people.

But the hypocrisy with which high-status Whites attempt to hide these activities while simultaneously criticizing and rejecting both Whites and Inuit who do not, is particularly offensive to young Inuit. This is not true for their parents who tend to have the same moral scale (with less hypocrisy) as Whites. For youth, however, by associating with Whites they know are considered immoral by the dominant Whites, they express their rejection of the paternalistic and tutelary attitudes of the dominant Whites. And again paradoxically, it is the lower-status Whites who are

[4] For a full discussion of the strategies used by Whites to control the behaviour of fellow Whites, see Brody, 1975 and Paine, 1977.

often the most circumspect in their public behaviour despite stereotypes to the contrary, because they are more open to public scrutiny and opinion than high-status Whites who are able to achieve considerable social distance from the Inuit community. Most high-status Whites assume that construction workers are regularly seducing Inuit girls, and plying young people with drink and drugs, but such is not the case. Low-status Whites feel more vulnerable to legal retribution than high-status Whites: they are quite aware that if the R.C.M.P. were to make an example of White illegal drinking, they would be far more likely to pick on construction workers than the school principal.

Carpentering, then, must be considered as the first Northern occupation where there is a semblance of equality between the two ethnic groups. Both in terms of occupational abilities and associated standards of living (i.e., White carpenters are not provided with luxurious government housing), the members of both ethnic groups have much in common and interaction across the boundary is less structured by the tutelary relationship that characterizes most Inuit-White interaction. This also enhances the positive effects of the carpenter identity because young men are embracing it at a time when they are very conscious of the value attached to ethnicity. As a group, they are rejecting the selection of Whites as an identification reference group, in favor of Inuitness, but they are also conscious of being young men -- particularly in the eyes of their wives -- and feel compelled to compete on equal terms with Whites. Carpentering facilitates this resolution. Tuvak Alooktook, described in Chapter 4, who quit his house construction job because he found his White co-workers lazy and careless to work with provides a good example of this coping strategy.

6.4 The Managers

In Chapter 4 I described Richard Panigoniak as the "last of the middlemen", and I would like to develop that idea here. My understanding of middlemen or "brokers" is based on Paine (1971) and particularly the papers by Briggs and Freeman in that volume. These authors describe Inuit village situations in the mid to late sixties where individual Inuit and halfbreeds (Brigg's term) manipulated their ethnic identity and political status in order to function as go-betweens for White patrons (i.e., priests, traders, police officers) who arbitrarily and idiosyncratically controlled the scarce new resources needed by their Inuit clients. My argument here is that some members of the Managerial cohort are the last people to assume the modern variants of these brokerage roles in Inuit villages. Brody (1975) has argued that all Inuit are simultaneously "qallunaarmiut" and "inummarik"; that is, everyone now lives in, and depends on the settlement but at the same time identify primarily as Inuit. Although I agree with Brody's general identification argument, I would contend that, at least in Sanctuary Bay, there are still a small group of usually young Inuit who, however much they privately identify as Inuit and with the land, are forced to continue manipulating their public performance so that in many situations they appear as White as possible in order to function as brokers for the now diverse set of institutions that structure the village political economy. Indeed, several members of the Managerial cohort who had the education and training to perform managerial functions, preferred to live on welfare in order to escape the pressures of "brokerage" roles in White dominated institutions.

The brokerage positions of "Secretary-Manager", "Manager-Trainee", "Vice-Principal", etc., are positions which entail a complicated role relationship with the larger Northern agency (e.g., Housing Corporation), a local White boss (e.g., Co-op Manager), and locally elected Boards, Societies and Associations of Inuit acting in the interests of the community and achieving increasing administrative control over the actions of these various agencies. In addition, they must also cope with an

Inuit public on such universally contentious issues as rent collection, social assistance payments, credit ratings and employment policies. The meaning of these issues to most Inuit has been described in detail in Brody (1975:173-188) and he illustrates clearly how Inuit attitudes and feelings towards Whites (who used to administer these activities) are negatively coloured by misunderstandings and conflicts in these arenas. As one informant told me, paying rent was like "taking a spear in the gut".

Needless to say, even if this brokerage role was static and clearly defined, with the role expectations of others unambiguous and structured, it would be an extremely stressful position to occupy in village social life. However, it is also an arena where much negotiation towards self-determination also occurs. Understandings about appropriate role performance vary tremendously from White to Inuit administrators, and from Inuit administrators to White and Inuit publics. And the young Inuit "managers" are not passive adaptors to these compelling forces, but are actively trying to extend their own self-sustaining definitions about managerial performance into the interpretive frameworks of their patrons and clients.

I will illustrate this process and its stressful aspects by summarizing the evolution of the local Housing Association over the past four years. This illustration will obviously have some uniquely idiosyncratic features (particularly my own participation in the process), and while I am not suggesting that all other institutions and managerial roles are undergoing a similar transformation, they are, according to specific schedules and priorities, undergoing transformations that have similar effects and outcomes:

In 1977, the Sanctuary Bay Housing Association was using the bathroom of the GNWT Settlement Office as an office. Crowded into this tiny room, where the door would not open if someone sat at the desk, their 25 year old secretary was minimally expected to collect monthly rents and ensure the Inuit maintenance staff were paid every two weeks, and to register these transactions correctly in a set of complicated books. Ideally, the NWT Housing Corporation wanted him to expand his

responsibilities to include everything from evicting tenants in arrears, to designing "culturally appropriate housing", to costing a housing renovation project. His clients, the Inuit living in the rental housing, complained frequently of poor housing standards and high rents, which the more sophisticated simply refused to pay.

The Inuit Board, composed of predominantly unilingual men and women in their forties and fifties, met infrequently to allocate the new housing stock amongst their families, or to listen politely to Housing Corporation visitors who came every few months to exhort the Board "to devise strategies to make delinquent tenants pay their rents". The secretary's immediate White supervisors were in Cambridge Bay, one of whom visited every month to help with the bookkeeping.

However, since the secretary worked out of the Settlement Office toilet, the White Field Service Clerk who at that time administered welfare payments from the next room, also took a paternal interest in the secretary's activities. He devised a system to ensure that families receiving welfare money never saw the money earmarked for house rents -- it was paid directly to the Housing Association -- and he encouraged the secretary to implement tactics such as disconnecting power and heat, or stopping repairs, or forcing families to move into older matchbox houses, if they failed to pay their rents.

An external audit was done on the local books and it was discovered that the secretary had been pocketing a large percentage of the monthly rents. (At the time he was earning about \$300 per month as a "half-time" worker.) The auditor advised the Housing Corporation to close the local office and administer the situation from Cambridge Bay.

About this time I was completing six months of ethnographic fieldwork for a master's degree in anthropology. A central issue in that work was public health and I had discussed the abysmal housing standards extensively with the then chairman of the Housing Association, an Inuk in his early thirties. This man was the youngest of several brothers, very active in local politics. He was fluently bilingual, a full-time wage worker, and also chairman of the Hunters and Trappers Association. And he was trying to expand his political base in competition with his brothers. He did not want to see the Housing Association disbanded.

I had indicated to him and other Inuit friends that I was unhappy to be leaving the settlement after only six months, but could not afford a longer stay. Abraham, the Housing Association

chairman, suggested that I should apply for the secretary's position. His understanding of this suggestion was that a White secretary was necessary for the Inuit Board to be strong and function properly. He argued that since the Board was really the boss, it would be better to have a White secretary who could communicate effectively with the powers in Cambridge and Yellowknife, and "keep the books good". Keeping good books had assumed an almost magical quality in his and other Inuit minds as somehow an intrinsic aspect of being White. Inuit were born to hunt and Whites were born to keep books was how he expressed it. It was also evident that both he and other Board members were determined to attenuate the managerial aspects of the job definition if a White was hired.

Although acutely conscious of the effects such a position might have on my "research relationship" with the village, I agreed to discuss the idea with the Housing Corporation and we worked out a satisfactory arrangement. I would take a five month terminal contract, the first month to be used familiarizing myself with administrative procedures and the remaining four months to train a local Secretary-Manager. My tutelary relationship was distinguishable from most Northern White-Inuit training situations for several important reasons. I was fully committed to returning to academia at the end of the contract -- and thus had no vested interest in "career advancement" and thus no conflict of interest or loyalty. Although the Housing Corporation paid my salary -- and communicated a strong "you're one of us" message -- I had little difficulty ignoring that pressure in favor of a village loyalty. And I was self-conscious about the "settlement manager syndrome" described in Paine (1977) and Brody (1975). I had no intention of slipping into an authoritarian and autocratic role.

My first task was to hire someone for the training position. Four young men and one young woman applied and I found myself thrust into the patron role since most assumed I would make the hiring decisions. The two leading candidates were Richard Panigoniak and James Paluqaq (introduced in chapters 4 and 5), at that time both in their early twenties. In strictly southern terms, James was best suited for the job, and he lobbied to convince me of this. He had completed high school, had worked in both the North and south in various managerial type jobs, and was adept at displaying White mannerisms and speech -- he talked easily of changing this and initiating that. Richard on the other hand had less education, little bookkeeping experience, and had spent most of his life in Sanctuary Bay. And although he looked White physically, and spoke reasonably good English, his demeanor was decidedly Inuit -- he lacked the ability to project an aggressive social persona that I thought might be necessary

to function as a manager.

The Housing Board decided otherwise. In our first formal meeting together they exerted their definition of this situation by resisting my advice and hiring their own preference. I had promised myself I would not try to influence their decision, but found myself making thinly veiled suggestions about the sort of personal qualities I thought were necessary for a successful manager. (I realize now that although I had little loyalty to the Housing Corporation, I definitely wanted the project to succeed and at the beginning at least, these ambitions interfered with my real goals).

The Board listened politely to my arguments and seemed somewhat swayed, although I could detect a sense of defeat in their acceptance. Abraham, who had been having daily discussions with me about plans and ideas for improving the housing situation, and who I thought supported my concerns for program success, then made a convincing speech in Inuktitut, that I did not understand at the time but which I have since had translated:

"We have been elected by the people to be the bosses of the Housing Association. We know what the problems are in this village, and we have to think about the best ways to fix them. I think it is a hard job to be the Housing Secretary. It is hard to collect rent from people who do not have much money. Maybe some people would quit easily if they have a hard time. Some people move around all the time and maybe they would just move away if the job was too hard. I know this qallunaaq is trying to help us fix up the houses in Sanctuary Bay. We have to remember that we are bosses of the Housing Association. We have to do what we think is best for Sanctuary Bay."

I was somewhat surprized when after this, the Board decided to hire Richard. When I asked Abraham later why they had decided against James, he cryptically replied, "He doesn't listen".

It was an important lesson for me. Abraham and the Board had indicated they had no intention of becoming merely a rubber stamp for a White manager's decisions. And they had also indicated the sort of qualities in a young person that they wanted to reward. They obviously felt that an Inuk trained by a White to act as a manager would behave like a qallunaaq if he did not already have a firm grasp on Inuit values. Richard's mixed White and Inuit heritage and White appearance were not nearly as important to their decision as his very Inuit demeanor and thoughtful understanding of village life.

Our training program began to focus on the dual meaning of management. In addition to the clerical skills necessary for running an office, we concentrated on learning how to manage the role of the secretary so that Richard was able to plan and implement new housing programs, but not at the expense of eroding the emerging self-confidence of the Board of Directors. We held an ongoing series of workshops with the Board where Richard would "teach" the concepts and ideas we had discussed during the week. The Board would be offered alternative strategies to achieve ends they had selected in previous meetings, and then Richard would indicate his plans for implementing the strategies.

We also worked on managing his role vis a vis the larger community. I stressed the importance of achieving solidarity with the community so that complaints were directed to the appropriate people and levels in Yellowknife rather than into the local administrative structure. We held a number of public meetings where the Board emphasized that Richard was the people's representative; that he was not responsible for government rental policies, and that he would work together with the Board and try to effect changes in government policy.

We also worked with the maintenance staff, several unilingual middle-aged men with quite advanced technical skills who, because of few supplies and support, had been restricted to repairing broken furnaces. We immediately flew in a large order of supplies so they could effect broader repairs to the houses, which also reinforced the image of Richard working for the community and not White administrators in Yellowknife. We delegated all maintenance responsibility to these men and emphasized the manager's role in facilitating their needs. Two of these men were also church leaders and prominent on Council, so the effects of the training program were radiating out into other important arenas.

And finally, we worked to develop the understanding that Richard was representing the interests of the village and had to satisfy them before his bosses in Cambridge Bay or Yellowknife. When administrators visited, we structured the interactions explicitly to accommodate the village first. We presented long lists of complaints and praised the efforts of the Board and maintenance staff in trying to cope with problems without the resources and support to resolve them. And we ensured that meetings with White visitors were paced and conducted according to Inuit principles; on occasion Whites had to sit quietly for hours while a matter was thoroughly discussed in Inuktitut before a decision was translated. The Whites were made to understand they were here as guests and could not expect

meetings to be conducted to suit their priorities. [5]

Towards the end of the four month period, I also reversed my role with Richard to reinforce the understanding that the bookkeeping dimension of his job was less important than managing himself in interactions with bosses and clients. I began to do all the paperwork while he managed interactions with the parties sketched above. In effect, he became my boss.

When I returned to Sanctuary Bay three years later, Richard was still managing the Housing Association. There had been a 500% increase in the number of houses with running water and sewage facilities, and the Housing Association had designed and built a large office, workshop and warehouse from the remains of the old matchbox houses. They had hired a young woman as a bookkeeper and Richard was concentrating almost entirely on housing policy and planning. He had been instrumental in the organization that year of a Regional Housing Directorate, drawn from the members of the various village Boards, and had been appointed secretary to the new organization. And in the last month of my fieldwork, he accepted a job as regional training coordinator for the Housing Corporation. [6]

The stress of collecting rents over the four years was a little more difficult to determine. In answer to my survey question about friends in the village, he responded that he had few friends because people resented his rent-collecting activities. Indeed, he rarely visited anyone other than close relatives, nor did he hunt with anyone outside the immediate family.

And yet he had been elected to Council in two consecutive elections and had been appointed Deputy Mayor both times. He was younger than all other councillors by at least fifteen years, and although he had a large extended kindred, I doubt whether his election was entirely family based. No one else from his kindred had been elected to Council in the past four or five years. And in an analysis of Housing Association hiring

[5] I should note that the Housing Corporation administrators directly involved with us at the time were particularly supportive of the principles I have outlined above. It is unlikely the program would have been as successful without their support.

[6] As I write this I learned that Richard had left his regional job and returned to Sanctuary Bay, but I have no idea why he left or whether he is still employed. My guess is that without the support of family and community, he found the stresses of life in the more urban location too difficult.

practices and house allocations, I was unable to determine any significant nepotism on his part.

He did, however, display publically a sincere respect for Inuit values and older people. At the Housing Office, he treated older unilingual men and women with deference, and stressed Inuktitut as the working language. If White officials were visiting, they were expected to wait their turn if he was already engaged with an Inuk (not the usual case). If a White was present at a coffee break (including myself) he conversed with the maintenance men in Inuktitut and made no special effort to accomodate the Whites.

He consistently and demonstratively deferred decisions to his Board of Directors and refused to adopt a brokerage role. For example, in his dealings with me, he was careful not to let our friendship, or my previous association with the Housing Association, interfere with his adherence to this coping tactic. When I asked him if I could use some scrap wood to build a desk, he told me I would have to wait till the next Board meeting.

The integrity of this tactic was also reflected in our living arrangement. When I returned to the village, he welcomed me into his house, but when I asked if he had a room to rent, he stated I would have to ask his grandfather, in whose house he was living at the time. The symbolic nature of this arrangement was clarified once when we were talking to some people together and I told them I was staying at "Richards". He gently instructed me later that I should tell people I was staying at Qingnaqtuqtikuni -- at the place of his grandfather('s pseudonym).

And in his dealings with the few local Whites who lived in rental housing, he refused to show them any special consideration. The Board was allocating new houses and renovated houses with running water to old people, sick people, and people who had lived in Sanctuary Bay the longest. Whites were therefore last in line but unbelievably, some would argue that Inuit did not need running water as badly as Whites, since they did not have it in the iglu. They also refused to take the Board decision-making process seriously, and tried to pressure Richard into accomodating their interests on his own. When he deferred them to the Board, they felt he was indulging in reverse prejudice. They thought he delighted in exercising his power over Whites by subjecting them to degrading treatment. In fact, he was dealing with them the same way he dealt with the many Inuit who had moved recently to Sanctuary Bay: and in fact, may have given in to them slightly because immigrant Inuit rarely complained about the hospitality they were shown.

Richard's management of the brokerage role can be contrasted with most of the other managerial roles in the village, which although moving in the direction indicated above, continue to marginalize their occupants. Other young men in similar positions indicated in conversations that they experienced considerable alienation from the community. One described his Inuit clients as deceitful, ignorant con artists. Often their social interaction was severely restricted to immediate family -- wife, siblings and parents -- and they avoided all public meetings where complaints about their particular tasks might be voiced. For example, at a large meeting called to discuss the problem of truancy at the school, none of the Inuit Assistants, or the Vice-Principal, attended. Most Inuit at the meeting were more concerned about the teaching of Inuktitut and voiced concerns that the Assistants were not proficient enough themselves to be given the responsibility to teach the children.

The tendency of these marginalized Managers to adopt the interpretive frameworks of their White supervisors as a means of coping with the community's hostility was illustrated clearly when one young Manager complained that "these Inuit seem to think money grows on trees", then realizing the geographic inappropriateness of his metaphor, rephrased his complaint to "comes out of houses".

Their status as outsiders is a complicated issue. This cohort was the last to experience the alienating effects of spending major portions of their childhood away from their families and villages in boarding schools. And as a cohort, they have also moved from village to village a great deal in search of spouses and work. Indeed, young men hired into managerial roles are often outsiders before the alienating effects of the job have a chance to work on them. (But as I argued with Richard's case, this tendency may have more to do with White ideas about "managerial personalities" than Inuit coping strategies).

Where Inuit Boards are struggling to exert general control over the institution, it is sometimes impossible to incorporate the most

distasteful aspects of bureaucratic praxis (e.g., denying welfare applications) into their ideological restructuring all at once, and thus Whites or marginal young men are left holding these bags until the structural reincorporation is complete. The integrated ideal of the Housing Association is the hoped-for product of these negotiations, but marginal Managers are still necessary where the process is incomplete. Lest the reader gain the wrong impression that I am somehow blaming Inuit leaders for the stress Managers experience, I hasten to point out that the original alienating structure which Inuit leaders are trying to renegotiate is the product of earlier colonial efforts. It is just in the everyday praxis of institutional life in the village, that these larger historical conditions are sometimes overlooked and young Inuit interpret their alienation in terms of older Inuit actions. Herein lies the real tragedy.

A heart-rending example of this confusion is illustrated in a letter written by Joshua Tattuiniq to his representative (an Inuk) in the Territorial Legislative Assembly:

Dear Sir

I have met with one of your friends and had a brief talk with him; I don't exactly know his name but he told me to contact you to see if there was any way that you could help me solve a problem that I might be able to get a job. You see sir, I have no job right now and I can't get any assistance from the welfare office as I tried to get some welfare. Its not because I want money; its because I want to feed my family. The person who gave a wrong opinion of myself; this so-called person being the Adult Education teacher who had somehow managed to hire his own friends and their friends. I would not give his name because it wouldn't be fair for him even though he didn't give me a fair chance to get a good interview.

So please, somehow, would you be so kind and look over this letter. I have had so much hard time with myself trying to get a job. But I couldn't get any jobs; its not that I am not skilled at all -- I am a Heavy Equipment Operator. I was going to get an interview on my own except there was no way I could have had the job because of someone else's opinion of how or what I could do in a job. You see sir, I have moved from Baker Lake to Sanctuary

Bay; my wife is from Sanctuary Bay. We moved to Sanctuary Bay to help my father-in-law; he is a very old man now and I can't help him if I don't have a job.

You see sir, I believe you know how much the price of food cost now a days. I cannot even get welfare so I am depressed and in need of help here. I have approached the Hamlet Council here in Sanctuary Bay to see if I can work for them and they have not given me any jobs. I have applied for work at Little Cornwallis Island but had no success on that either. So therefore, it has come to my attention to look for help from outside Sanctuary Bay to see if there is anyway I can get help. I have so much hard time right now because of lack of work and because I am from Baker Lake there is no help here. It's like a group of families sticking together so no one else can get a job from them. Its not that I want to take it away from them -- I have to feed a family too. I have a Chauffer's Licence; with it I can operate most but not all kinds of equipment. But nobody gives me a chance here to prove myself and help others who are in need the way I am. I am willing to move anywhere to get a job. You see sir, I am on U.I.C. [unemployment insurance] which is my only source of income right now. With the Post Office on strike, I cannot even receive any U.I.C. and I would like to get off U.I.C. and go to work.

I could go on and on because I want you to know why its so hard for me to get a job here. It involves so few people that I couldn't get a job because they hold onto their jobs without giving anyone else a chance to work, not full time, but at least a part time job and if people here could share the work that is available here then there wouldn't be so many people out of work!

I hope you have understood my problem and if there is any way that you could contact the Head office of Social Services in Yellowknife and ask him or her to see if I can get Welfare until I can get a job. I will await your comments and with all my hope for you or anybody else that can help me and others like me in troubles of getting some kind of income for my family.

Thankyou for everything if you can help me. I close this letter and hope I have not inconvenienced you in any way from your work or your time and others of their time.

Thankyou again,
Yours truly,
Joshua Tattuiniq

Joshua's letter illustrates another dimension of Managerial coping tactics. The Inuit political arena is aging. The same people who were first

elected to the new Councils, Boards and Associations back in the early seventies are still being re-elected a decade later. Although many of them were first elected in their mid-twenties, very few men in their twenties today have any political support or indeed, overt interest (Richard's case is the exception that proves the rule). The same phenomenon is also occurring at the national level in various Inuit organizations. Where these organizations originally drew their membership from educated and slightly alienated Inuit youth in their mid to late twenties, the leaders are now largely drawn from the original group, and even older leaders who have graduated from the crucible of village and regional politics. This aging leadership fits better into traditional Inuit ideas about seniority as the essential organizing principle of society -- and will in the long run strengthen the Inuit voice in Northern and national politics -- but it has cut off an option that used to be open to marginal youth. The consequence is an emerging understanding among youth that local Inuit leaders are the "establishment" instead of White bureaucrats. Thus young Inuit lose some of the motivation to incorporate their roles into an integrated institutional presentation because they have little opportunity for entering political life anyway.

For those few like Richard Panigoniak who have been able to manage Managerial performances in an Inuit way, the conflict is different: Should I work for or against "The Man" is the question Richard and others like him are asking. Before he accepted the regional job with the Housing Corporation, Richard was torn by feelings that he would rather work for Council, or the Kitikmeot Inuit Association. The security of income offered by the Housing Corporation, and his occupational confidence, swayed his decision in their favor, but he compensated for this compromise by becoming an outspoken critic of government policy in his role on the Hamlet Council.

6.5 Summary

The foregoing clearly indicates that aspects of the work environment are differently defined by Inuit youth at various ages. These definitions are a combination of historically different experiences as they entered the work force, and of changing ideas about suitable occupations, participation in White institutions, and the relationship of work to the rest of life. Features of the work context are summarized below by cohort:

THE JUNIOR TEAM

Stress

1. Going to Yellowknife for high school.
2. Escaping village boredom.
3. Balancing village and national identities.
4. Living in a residential school.
5. Getting grade 12 without leaving the village.
6. Embarrassment about speaking children's Inuktitut in public.
7. Learning without submission.

Coping

1. Being an Inuk while living and working in White world.
2. Adopting a regional perspective in Yellowknife.
3. Taking adult education classes locally.
4. Apprenticing on village jobs with Inuit workers.
5. Hunting instead of work or education.
6. Using the village at night to escape criticism.

Identity

1. Being a Villager.
2. Being quiet and attentive rather than outspoken and assertive.
3. Being literate.
4. Being an Outdoor Worker.
5. Being a municipal service worker like his father.

POLAR BEAR HUNTERS

Stress

1. Getting job training without leaving for too long.
2. Accumulating capital for equipment purchase.
3. Racism.
4. Supporting a family.
5. White hypocrisy.

Coping

1. Working shifts at mines to accumulate capital.
2. Carpentering.
3. Travelling to other villages for work.
4. Hanging out with White laborers.

Identity

1. Becoming a carver.
2. Being a Carpenter.
3. Doing a bit of everything -- Being a "Renaissance Man".

MANAGERS

Stress

1. Brokering for Inuit and White bosses.
2. Controlling money flow into village.
3. Placating Inuit clients.
4. Achieving Managerial mobility.
5. Working for or against "The Man".

Coping

1. Welfaring -- ignoring work stress.
2. Transferring laterally through Managerial roles.
3. Defining Inuit as boss.
4. Dumping Inuk identity.
5. Marginals finding marginal niches.
6. Using ignorant Whites.

Identity

1. Being a Bookkeeper.
2. Being a Politician.
3. Being a non-Worker.

I think this summary suggests that in the work context, the important transitional point is at the age of 24 or 25 when the worker identity must be consolidated into an integrated sense of self (and not incidentally, young men become more dependent on wage income as their families become larger and they establish independent households). It also suggests that either the late twenties are the most difficult (i.e., the most conflict-ridden) in terms of work activity and identity, or that the Managerial cohort, as a generation, has been affected most severely by historical forces which are not as relevant to younger cohorts.

The most important conclusion is that both employment and unemployment can be stressful, depending on the circumstances. Polar Bear Hunters who worked frequently showed higher alcohol use (.267 [.01]). Higher incomes for both Polar Bear Hunters and Managers were associated with heavier use of alcohol (.435 [.01]). But higher HOS scores were associated across all cohorts with unemployment (.272 [.05]). For Managers, infrequent employment was associated with a greater frequency of stress-related visits to the Nursing Station (.246 [.01]).

Critical to this discussion is the role that worrying about money plays in the experience of stress. When I asked Terry Ittinuaq about the high incidence of suicides in Frobisher Bay among young people (some of whom were friends of his), he told me:

Some young people in Frob have forgotten how to think like Inuit. They've forgotten that Inuit know you can get sick if you worry too much. Those young people in Frob always worry about money. They sit in their houses and worry about how they will pay the rent, or buy gas, or pay their debts, just like a qallunaaq. Then they get depressed and start to think they will never be happy again. I think that's why they kill themselves.

That's why I moved back here. Its too hard to think like an Inuk in Frob. It seems like I was always worrying about money. Here you have to think about money but its like you can survive without it.

7. RECREATING

"Youth should be confined and instructed in the scriptures because they prefer to follow their own evil inclinations than the holy inspiration of God and the charitable advice of their parents."

(Vincent de Paul, 19th century)

"In Igloolik, most people go for ages such as the hall and coffee shop. At the hall you have to be 16 or over to play pool or go to the pool area. You have to be 14 or over to go to the gym. It would be better if there was another gym for the people under 14. You have to be 19 or over to drink booze. If you are under 19 you can't order liquor or the cops would get you for drinking. Wherever you go and whatever you do in Igloolik, watch your age."

(Anonymous Teenager, IGALAAQ, April, 1982:17)

7.1 Preliminaries

In the process of organizing my data into separate areas for analysis, the other chapters on hunting, working, and loving emerged easily. I was puzzled for some time, however, about such seemingly unproductive young adult behaviour as team sports, drinking parties, church activities, community festivals, dances, and gambling. Although some of these activities have obvious features in common (e.g., sports and dances), other shared themes are more difficult to see (e.g., drinking parties and church activities).

I decided to discuss them together under the general rubric of recreation largely because of the dual meaning implicit in the word recreation. The Oxford English Dictionary (1982) defines recreating as the "action of refreshing, reinvigorating, etc." and "the action of recreating (oneself or another) or the fact of being recreated by some pleasant occupation, pastime or amusement." Recreate is defined as "to restore to a good or normal physical condition, to invest with fresh vigour or strength,

to refresh or cheer by giving consolation or encouragement" and "to create anew".

These definitions allow us to consider these aspects of young Inuit life from both functional and meaningful perspectives. On one level, they provide arenas for Inuit youth to diffuse some of the tensions and anxieties that are generated in the other sectors of everyday life. Through physical exercise, humor, group singing, dance and prayer, people are refreshed and reinvigorated and gain renewed coping energy.

Also common to these activities is their public nature. They provide opportunities for the generation and assertion of symbols of identity significant to the community as a whole, or at least to substantial groups within it. Although I will be discussing moral issues associated with each activity, no moral judgement is intended by the structure of the discussion.

The emphasis will continue to be on coping, that is on relationships between participation in various recreational activities, understandings about selves and society, and efforts to change the nature of society and selves in a direction that enhances well-being.

7.2 Sporting

As should be plainly evident from Chapter 4, the Junior Team's everyday life pivots around sporting activity in the school gymnasium. Of the 18 young men in Sanctuary Bay between the ages of 16 and 19, 11 indicated they spent every evening of the week in the school gymnasium playing basketball and volleyball. Two others who were working full-time as store clerks stated they could only play occasionally, two more were at school in Yellowknife (where they actively participated in sporting activities), three suffered from physical or mental handicaps that prevented participation, and two stated they preferred hunting.

The nature of sports activity has changed considerably over the past few years. When I was in Sanctuary Bay in 1977, the school had been open for only two years and evening activity in the gymnasium was less structured and involved men and women from many age groups, and indeed ethnic groups. Men and women up to about the age of 40 would congregate in the gym several evenings per week and basketball and volleyball games would emerge from the general mellee of people tossing balls about. On occasion, a resident or visiting White would join in these informal matches. Scores were rarely kept, rules were poorly understood and skills were basic. Competition was never serious, the purpose of the activity, in the words of even the Inuit, was to get some exercise.

The situation changed when a White teacher, in response to the growing popularity of regional and territorial basketball and volleyball tournaments, began seriously to coach the first Junior Teams (men and women), who were students of his at the time. These students, who now form the nucleus of the Junior Team, were trained to compete in the regional competitions in 1979, and quickly outdistanced the rest of the community in basketball and volleyball skill development. As these youth began to dominate the evening activity, interest from other members of the community fell off.

In September of 1981, shortly after I had returned to Sanctuary Bay, I began to visit the school gym on the advice that if I wanted to talk to young people, that was where I would find them. At first, I indicated that I would like to participate, and was politely included in the selection of teams. But it soon became apparent that these were not casual games and that my participation was inhibiting progress towards some very explicit goals. The calibre of play was excellent -- my own rusty high school skills were definitely inferior -- and there was a seriousness to the competition which while understated, was nevertheless beyond my initial impression that these activities merely filled a large gap in the somewhat empty routine of teenage life. In other words, I was prepared to find teenagers alienated and apathetic, interested only in wasting time in pointless

games -- an attitude I had also detected amongst members of the Inuit Council and local Whites -- and instead I found them enthusiastic and engaged, and seriously preparing themselves for regional and territorial competitions later in the year.

The "gym" season begins in the fall when the classes start. A Sports Committee, consisting of representatives from the Education Society, and a few representatives from the Junior Team, is informally appointed by the Principal and is responsible for "policing" gym activities (i.e., drawing up activity schedules, ensuring opening and closing times, etc.).

Terry Ittinuq (22) was nominated to the Sports Committee by the other players and was appointed President by the other members of the Committee. He was given the key to the gym and invested with the responsibility for ensuring that opening and closing times were obeyed (7pm. to 11pm.). Terry's experience with Whites was fundamental to the Junior Team's nomination because they were in the process of redefining gym sports as an Inuit activity and Terry's brokerage role was considered instrumental to this process.

The political relationship of the school administration to the larger community is significant in this context. The Territorial Government was in the process of relinquishing control over the administration of the school to the local Inuit-dominated Education Society. In typical tutelary fashion, this Society had been functioning in a strictly advisory capacity for several years. However, in concert with recent Territorial efforts to devolve decision-making responsibility over local institutions to local political bodies, the Education Society was in the process of assuming responsibility for everything from curriculum development, to hiring (and firing) teachers and principals, to administering budgets, to deciding when the gym should be open and closed.

There was also a Recreation Committee operating in the village that existed entirely independent of the White administrative structure. This Committee received an operating grant from the Hamlet Council and was

primarily responsible for organizing the Christmas and Easter Games, movies, and dances throughout the year. The Recreation Committee was often the first political organization young people were elected to -- most of its members were in their mid to late twenties -- but it was still controlled by older Inuit prominent on Council and in the Churches. It was also a source for travel funds for sports teams wishing to compete in regional, territorial and indeed, national events, and thus exerted considerable control over teenage activities.

Thus teenage athletics occur in a context over which a number of institutions and individuals exert their influence. The White Principal and his staff, although aware of their theoretical subordination to the Education Society, are nevertheless professionally concerned with the effect on their reputations and careers if the gymnasium is vandalized or misused. And older Inuit on the Education Society and the Recreation Committee attempt to integrate administrative issues with their wider and more personally meaningful concerns with the moral and social life of the village.

To begin with, the Junior Team had no desire to be coached by one of the White teachers, nor did they want any other direct White participation in their activities. When I first started to attend gym evenings, I was asked casually if I was there to coach. Without realizing the implications of the question, I indicated I would coach if they desired, and I was told rather enigmatically, "Its up to you". Nothing came of this rather half-hearted negotiation -- I was not asked again -- and I realized teenagers expect any White who visits the gym regularly to want control the event, which means he or she probably wants to coach. Their offer had been polite but the "up to you" response was typically Inuit - and standard when a person is unhappy about a request but can not turn it down politely.

One of the more fascinating aspects of teenage Inuit athletics in Sanctuary Bay was the apparent transformation in a very short time of a White game which had been taught by White teachers to Inuit youth who had

little cultural experience with any kind of team sport. The whole notion of team sports, and their attendant behavioural specifics, was a new canvas on which to create new understandings. These youth rapidly began to develop a style of play that was distinctively Inuit and simultaneously began to distance themselves from any further White influence on their athletic development. And even more remarkably, at competitions where other Inuit teams from as far away as Baffin Island were competing, the Sanctuary Bay youth recognized and applauded other Inuit teams that played "like Inuit" and indeed used the inummarik concept to describe this stylistic prototype. And they were quick to criticize Inuit teams who played like qallumaat. As one Sanctuary Bay player said rather disgustedly, "Those guys must not even eat meat". Their success at the regional competitions where they defeated teams from larger urban centres, was commented upon later as evidence that "their" style of play was indeed unique.

The distinctiveness of the Sanctuary Bay style of play was dramatically evident during the territorial championships in Yellowknife in January, 1982. In the volleyball final, Sanctuary Bay played the first two matches against Yellowknife and Pine Point -- teams of predominantly White players from urban areas in the southern part of the NWT. The competition was stiff, the scores were close, and the atmosphere in the gymnasium was tense as Inuit youth from all over the north attending school in Yellowknife cheered the Sanctuary Bay team. The White teams won both matches by narrow margins. Throughout, they shouted encouragement to each other, swore when they missed shots, strategically tried to get their best player into position to play winning points, and followed the sometimes obstreperous directions of their coach. The Sanctuary Bay team on the other hand, played with a quiet disciplined intensity. They contained all emotional expression and rotated uniformly through all the positions so that even their weakest player was called on to play difficult spike shots. The young Inuk who was acting as coach remained silent throughout the match. After the match, their impassive faces betrayed little indication of whether they had won or lost, but in the change room later, several

struggled with tears.

Their self-discipline and emotional constraint cannot be attributed to shyness or intimidation in the Yellowknife context however -- although they were indeed threatened by the urban environment -- because their confidence on the playing floor was evident, and their "style" identical to performances at home in the village. And they were full of praise for the team from Pangnirtung who they felt performed "like Inuit" as well.

Sanctuary Bay's second Junior Team was created in the spring of 1982, and the incorporation of team sports into the emerging definition of Inuit identity was developed further. The new Junior Team, composed of 15 and 16 year old boys in their final year at school, were being coached in the evenings by one of the better players on the reigning Junior Team. This young man, although a very competent player, was selected as coach by his teammates not because of any familiarity with Whites. In fact, he had the least interaction of any of his teammates with Whites and was the least White in his demeanor. Although the new Junior Team had been taught basic skills by White teachers during school hours, their preparation for competition was entirely in the hands of older Inuit teenagers. Their debut on the regional stage occurred in the late spring when they travelled by snowmobile to the nearby village of Hamilton Bay for a weekend competition arranged almost exclusively by their older peers (described in Chapter 5).

In addition to this emerging definition of team sports as an Inuit rather than White activity, constant interaction with everyone in their age group was having a rather profound effect on ideas about affiliation and geographic identification.

The Team had a name, which I must disguise here as something like "The Bearded Seals", and the players all had appropriately labelled T-shirts. Being a "Bearded Seal" was a source of pride to these youth. It also meant you were a Sanctuary Bay Bearded Seal. The interest in regional and territorial competition was founded on the idea that they were playing for

Sanctuary Bay. To demonstrate the salience of this identification I am listing below the graffiti I found written on a pair of gloves belonging to one of the team members ([] added):

Number One -- Bearded Seals
Volleyball and Basketball Champs
Sanctuary Bay

Dec.9,1981 was REALLY BORING.
[While they waited to travel to the championships]

I wish to go to Coppermine NOW !
[Where the championships were held]

Number One -- Bearded Seals

Tonight we were all pissed off!
Dec.9,1981.

Another important dimension to sporting activity for teenagers is their mastery of a skill considered important by the larger society and their identification as Youth with membership in a national and international sub-culture. Particularly with the emphasis that television gives to team sports, and with the promotion of the Arctic Winter Games by the Sports North Federation, teenagers derive considerable confidence and self-esteem from their sporting abilities. Young Inuit are acutely aware of the gap separating them from Whites in many other areas of modern life (i.e., work and education skills), but gain much satisfaction from the knowledge that in the arena of basketball and volleyball, they compete on the same level as their White counterparts. They also derive a certain pride from the knowledge that in the context of village life, they are better at this particular activity than any other age, ethnic or gender group. And as they exert increasing control over the administrative and developmental aspects of the game, these feelings of mastery and self-competence will increase. As they mature and begin to participate more in the more stressful work arenas of village life discussed in the previous chapter, this self-confidence may protect them from some of the more debilitating aspects of adult life.

And finally, sporting activity as physical exercise provides a healthy context for the release of energy that might otherwise remain suppressed or channelled into destructive behaviour. There is nothing lethargic about the nightly activity in the gym. There are not enough players for substitutions, and games often continue uninterrupted for several intense hours. As a result, players are in superb physical condition.

Unfortunately, the salubrious quality of sporting activity is to some extent undermined by the anxiety that youth sometimes feel as a result of the criticism, and occasional scorn they attract from older Inuit in the village. Many of their parents expressed a concern with the preoccupation of teenagers with sports which they felt to be a waste of time and indeed destructive to the dynamic continuity of the village. They compared the everyday lifestyle of teenagers to their own youth, when energies were focused on learning how to hunt, and worried that modern youth would never be able to support themselves or their families. Older Inuit indicated that by their definitions, people who played games all the time were lazy, and laziness is considered one of the worst sins in a hunting culture. And they were also worried that the unsupervised interaction between young men and women in the school gym each night was contributing to the breakdown of appropriate patterns of interaction between the sexes, and was particularly worrisome to those who still hoped to arrange suitable marriages for their children. Many Inuit parents considered team sports as yet another White inroad into Inuit life and even more seriously, as an activity which "stole" their young people away from more important activities such as learning to hunt and finding a job. Furthermore they were concerned that if their teenagers continued to travel for sports competitions, they would be corrupted by the immoral influences the elders felt existed in other settlements and cities where alcohol was easily available and people behaved unpredictably and irrationally. To underline this opposition, the Education Society refused to provide travel funds for a planned trip to Hamilton Bay for a practice match, citing their concerns about alcohol, and games being a waste of money and time as their reasons.

The Education Society also decided the gymnasium would be closed for the summer, and several teenagers were upset over this decision. Although, as I argued in Chapter 5, bird-hunting season to some extent compensated for this loss, acts of vandalism (which were often directed at the school) increased, and instances of illegal drinking and soft drug use also started to rise. This coping tactic was not entirely related to the closing of the gym -- youth visiting from other "wet" villages often initiated these activities -- but the loss of the gymnasium meant a large vacuum opened in the lives of many teenagers that was not automatically filled by the hunting activities that Inuit elders hoped for. [1]

In addition to volleyball and basketball, Junior Teamers expressed tremendous interest in "Eskimo Games". These games have a long traditional history, and some of them have been incorporated into the territorial and indeed international (with Alaska), sporting competitions. The most popular are the one and two foot high kicks.

High kicking requires "the flexibility of a top-rate gymnast, the bounce-ability of a high jumper, the concentration of a ballet dancer and the high-kickability of a Radio City Music Hall Rockette." (Inuit Today, Vol.8, No.1, p.34). Obviously, only a handful of young Inuit possess these qualities and it is these few who practice every night in the gym and go on to compete in the regional and territorial games. The object of the game is, from a standing start, to kick a tiny sealskin target suspended about five to eight feet above the floor.

The best high-kicker in Sanctuary Bay was a young man in his early twenties who otherwise had less interest in tradition than any of his peers. He spoke no Inuktitut, never went onto the land, worked full time in a high paying job, and took his family south for holidays. But he and other

[1] I should note here that vandalism, drinking and drug use rarely, if ever, occurred in the context of sports. Teenagers were very conscious of their responsibilities to look after the gym and policed it carefully.

youth considered the high-kick an important aspect of Inuitness and his preoccupation with it compensated for the absence of participation in other activities symbolizing Inuit identity. He and other youth joked with me that I could never be a real Eskimo until I learned how to high kick. This identification was reinforced by the physical separation of the "Eskimo Games" from the rest of the sporting events during territorial competitions. While team sports were held in Yellowknife, the "Eskimo Games" were held in an Inuit village. These competitions also occur in a context of drum dances, traditional singing, and traditional costume shows which attract older Inuit.

The participation of young Inuit over the age of twenty in gym sports is more variable than it is for teenagers. Members of the Polar Bear Hunting and Managerial cohorts have almost all had biographical experience with gym sports, but this experience has been gained in a wider variety of contexts and only rarely has been as pervasive as the experiences of the Junior Team. Many of the older Managerial cohort who received education at boarding schools outside Sanctuary Bay learned to play team sports as children. When they returned to Sanctuary Bay for the latter part of their education in the first village school (which did not have a gym), these skills were not developed. Young Inuit who have moved to Sanctuary Bay from larger villages or villages which have had fully equipped schools longer, are often very familiar with team sports. And the Polar Bear Hunters and younger members of the Managerial cohort played basketball and volleyball often when they were teenagers. But few members of either of these cohorts have experience with the regional and territorial competitions which now define sporting activities.

As the previous chapters have illustrated, the Polar Bear Hunting and Managerial cohorts are focused on hunting and working and have far less interest in gym sports than teenagers. The few young men in their twenties who do participate regularly in gym sports tend to be the most marginal and seriously stressed young men in the village. Their participation is paradoxically, both a further source of interpersonal stress and a haven

from the stresses of life in other arenas. Fighting is rare in Sanctuary Bay in any age group; it used to occur with greater frequency prior to prohibition but now has all but disappeared. Except as in the case of Bobby and Samuel described in Chapter 1, which I must remind the reader is a fictional representation of alcohol-related social conflict, fighting rarely occurred outside the context of gym sports, and even then, only involved older youth. They were most often between older youth or rarely, between older youth and a Junior Teamer who resented the older youth's attempts to dominate or control the games. These fights, however, rarely developed beyond pushing and shoving. And those involved always expressed guilt afterwards -- particularly when the combatants were in any way related.

While most members of the Polar Bear Hunting and Managerial cohorts indicated that they lost interest in gym sports once they were married -- they preferred to spend their evenings with their families visiting relatives -- the few older youth who did participate regularly, clung to gym sports as an essential component of their identity. Whereas the identities of their respective cohorts had undergone transitions incorporating significant features of domestic, hunting and working activities, these marginal youth continued to resist identifications in these sectors and struggled to affirm their self-perceptions as skilled players. In each case this effort was related to the inhibiting structural constraints and pervading feelings of inadequacy that these youth experienced in other sectors of everyday life. Each of them experienced rejection from their families, were cut off materially and developmentally from land activities, and were often forced to migrate elsewhere to secure employment. In the face of these frustrations, they clung to sports as the one sustaining positive feature in their everyday experience.

However, rather than providing the haven these older youth so desperately needed, the Junior Team also reflected the community's ostracism in their interactions with them. While these seniors struggled to reinforce their disintegrating self-concepts by assuming leadership

roles within the context of gym sports, the Junior Team acted to frustrate these efforts. Although these seniors were certainly skilled players, they were criticized by the Junior Team as incompetent. In the heat of competition they were subtly excluded from play — their teammates would avoid passing the ball to them -- and they were always accused of being responsible for team errors or defeats. They were also accused of being ball-hogs, a reference to an individualistic playing style that Junior Teamers felt was White. When the seniors tried to exert personal influence over the games by assuming the role of referee or team captain, they were often ignored. And as I have suggested, the frustration these seniors experienced was directed at each other rather than the Junior Team, who provided their main valuation reference group and whom they were desperately trying not to alienate further. They were intent on disassociating themselves from other seniors in an attempt to maintain their membership, status, and identity on the Junior Team.

It seemed evident that the boundary separating the Junior Team from older players was very clear in the minds of the Junior Team. The Junior Team were aware of the negative value placed by the larger community on real adults playing games all the time, and wanted to diffuse this threat by disassociating themselves from the worst offenders. These marginal seniors were generally considered outsiders by the community and any interaction with them reflected poorly on the context where the interaction occurred. The Junior Team was already sensitive to the negative evaluations of the larger community towards an activity which contributed fundamentally to their self-esteem, and actively resisted any influence or association that might contaminate the positive dimensions of this activity.

The changing nature of Terry Ittinuaq's relationship with the Junior Team provides a good illustration for this argument:

When Terry first returned to Sanctuary Bay, he was rapidly incorporated into the Junior Team sub-culture. His appointment as Sports Committee President reflected this. In conversation, the Junior Team was obviously interested in his wide experience in the southern Youth culture and seemed vicariously impressed

by his talk of drugs and prison. They were attracted to his self-assured attitude and his confidence when dealing with Whites and older Inuit -- he showed no fear. His popularity peaked in mid-winter when he was elected president of the Youth Club.

Terry's problems began when he started to work with the Co-op but failed to make the maturational transition to a hunter/worker at the same time. He continued to try and dominate team sports and in the increasing stress of struggling with two roles in oppositional contexts, he became embroiled in a dispute with the school Principal over gym closing hours. This dispute coincided with his problems with the Co-op manager described in the previous chapter, and he found himself opposed to the entire White community who quickly rallied to the support of the Co-op manager. One teacher accosted him to warn him that he was "being watched" by the R.C.M.P. for suspected drug deals. He refused to be intimidated however, and in the course of several weeks, broke the gym closing rule, whereupon the Principal closed the gym altogether for a week. He then threatened the Co-op manager with bodily harm, and was subsequently put in jail overnight. He was not, however, supported in his rebellious activities by either his peers or older Inuit. Some of his previous supporters on the Junior Team hoped he would stay in Hamilton Bay because his continued participation as a social pariah in their treasured activity was considered threatening. Many started to call him qallunaaq, indicating they were unhappy with his White-like behaviour. He was fired by the Co-op Board of Directors on the recommendation of his father who felt he should return south because he could not fit into the community any longer. When he tried to participate in gym sports he was treated to the same hostility directed at other seniors and he was involved in several fights -- on one occasion with the father of one of the Junior Team players -- before he started to stay away from the gym.

Since the "player" identification is stronger among Junior Teamers than it has been in for any previous cohorts, it may be more difficult for them to relinquish or redefine it as previous cohorts have done, and this junior/senior hostility may either disappear or assume new upper age boundaries.

There are also other sports -- particularly hockey -- which are very popular in other villages but new to Sanctuary Bay. As more sporting activities are added to the village context they are likely to become less

defined as exclusively teenage activities. (Some larger villages now have curling rinks, hockey arenas and swimming pools!) And as sports become increasingly defined as Inuit -- and thus lose some of their present stigma -- some of the boundary and transitional problems cited above may decrease.

7.3 Dancing

A second important dimension to Junior Team recreational activities and associated identifications are the rock dances held at least once per week through the fall, winter and spring. [2] Something of the character of these dances emerged in the introductory story; the late starting hour, the combination of rock and disco music with old-fashioned square dances, the darkened hall, and the cautious courtships of young couples that begin to coalesce in the early morning hours. Again I will assume the reader has a general idea about pop music and its associated dance forms, and I will focus instead on those aspects of northern dances that illustrate local understandings and themes.

There is a new tension in these dances that has been generated recently by the availability of the school gymnasium as an alternative to the community hall where most public functions have been held since the mid-sixties. Indeed, in conversation, people speak of three kinds of dances: the "Teen Dance" which is increasingly associated with the school gymnasium and which is almost exclusively attended by teenagers who dance only to rock and disco music; the "Dance" which is always held in the community hall and while predominantly rock music, darkness and young people, also incorporates square dances and is attended by many older Inuit in their twenties, thirties and early forties, and occasionally resident and visiting Whites; and the "Drum Dance" which is the old people's dance but

[2] I am indebted to discussions with Fredrik Barth for many of the ideas developed in the interpretation below, although its faults and weaknesses are entirely my own.

which is beginning to attract greater interest from young people.

The tension between the first two dances derives from the concerns of various moral interests in the political structure who are resisting the tendency of teenagers to use the town on a shift basis. A teenager's "day" begins around five o'clock in the afternoon and ends in the morning just as the rest of the village is waking up. During the first five or six hours of their shift, they isolate themselves from the rest of the community in the school gymnasium, and return to their homes once everyone else is asleep. The teen dances are organized by Junior Teamers to provide recreation during the night and thus never begin before midnight. There is also considerable pressure to hold dances during the week, which removes them still further from adult everyday life, because weekend dances are the only time when people with full-time employment are able to enjoy late nights.

Resistance to this trend comes from the political organizations sketched above; the Education Society and the Recreation Committee. The Education Society is able to control the use of the school gym and thus limit dances to weekends and insist on early closing times. White administrators associated with the Society are in agreement with Inuit concerns because it is an affront to southern sensibilities for a school to be open all night while young people dance in the darkness to rock music.

The Recreation Committee is also resisting the all-night trend in dances at the community hall. They appointed Joe Nanook, their youngest member, to oversee dances. Nanook's initial election to the committee was because of his "good mind... he shows sense", which he indicated by focusing his attention on learning land skills rather than playing basketball. But he was not particularly representative of the teenage lifestyle and he had only marginal interaction with his peers. Under ordinary circumstances, he rarely attended dances, and was never instrumental in their organization. Nanook's responsibility was to close the community

hall at three in the morning, which happened to coincide with the time most older Inuit left. Although teenagers resented this interference they seemed to recognize that Nanook was not responsible for the constraint. The dances were ended on time for several weeks but Nanook's already marginal relationship with his peers certainly was not improved during this period. He spoke several times with me about his anxiety over the issue. Since he really did not care for dances anyways, he started to avoid the problem by checking his traps on weekends and the early curfew was ignored.

There is also a stylistic element to the emerging split between the Teen Dance and the community hall Dance. [3] The community hall is an old, poorly insulated quonset hut borrowed from an abandoned DEW line site that in winter, is only slightly warmer than the outside temperature. Dancers wear parkas and boots which obviously inhibit the freedom of movement and sensuality that usually is associated with dancing to rock and disco music. This constraint, together with cultural inhibitions against extroverted personal expression, means that community hall dances usually have a relatively solemn quality. The school gym on the other hand, is well-heated and dancers strip to T-shirts and jeans. Interestingly, however, many young people in their twenties who also attend the Teen Dance continue to wear their parkas in the heated gym. It is teenagers with wider southern experience who are attempting to deport themselves more energetically in this new context.

Within both contexts, however, there are elaborate inhibiting understandings about relations between the sexes that contrast dramatically with stereotypes held by many Whites, and also with the fears of many older Inuit, that dances are symbolic of unrestrained promiscuity

[3] As an aid to understanding the "cultural" flavor of the following discussion the reader should try to imagine Rod Stewart's "Do You Think I'm Sexy", or Olivia Newton-John's "Let's Get Physical" playing in the background. (Or ideally, have the records playing in the background.) Both were popular dance tunes in Sanctuary Bay in 1982.

amongst young people. Whites who attend the dances infrequently, often make jokes about what they think teenagers must be doing in the darkened corners. This theme of promiscuity colours White attitudes about young Inuit generally and to the casual observer, dances appear to reinforce these stereotypes.

In actual fact, the situation is quite the opposite because understandings seem to prohibit any overt sexual interest being shown in the context of the dance. I am not suggesting that teenagers are inhibited in a Victorian sense from healthy sexual interest and activity, but public displays or indications of this interest do seem to be discouraged. For example, only married couples sit together between dances or dance together more than once. Unmarried young men and women sit in sexually segregated groups and there is virtually no informal interaction between them other than on the dance floor. They rarely converse together, nor do boys buy drinks for or offer cigarettes to girls (typical courtship rituals at a White teen dance). Young men usually initiate the dance but never ask the same girl to dance twice unless they want to express a more substantial social relationship (i.e., that they are boyfriend/girlfriend which is a public statement that they are moving in the direction of marriage.)

I discovered this rule myself with some embarrassment during my early weeks in Sanctuary Bay. My participation in dances always caused me a great deal of anxiety for a number of reasons. I was aware that dances were part of courtship behaviour and worried that I would make the wrong indication and offend someone. If I tried to just sit and watch, friends would ask me why I was not dancing. If I confined my participation to dancing with the White teachers and nurses who occasionally attended, I worried that not only might they misunderstand my intentions, but that I was indicating too strong an affiliation with the White sub-culture which might offend Inuit women or alienate Inuit youth. In the darkness of the hall, I was never able to recognize more than two or three young women, and after finding myself dancing with an eleven year old girl a few times, much

to everyone's amusement, I tried to dance only with the few young women I knew. This tactic did not work either however, my attention was obviously causing acute embarrassment to these women who did not want the community to think we were indicating a more serious involvement. Married men who attended without their wives were also very careful to observe this rule.

This is not the only restriction that influences dance behaviour. Couples never speak to each other or touch. Girls keep their eyes downcast and boys look into the distance. The dance step is a very subdued shuffle with very little upper body or arm movement. As soon as the music ends, the couples separate and return to their original places along the wall.

For those who are interested in indicating their sexual interest in each other, the opportunity does not occur until the dance is nearly over. And they are indicated so casually as to be almost unnoticeable. At the Teen Dances, the "waltz" has been introduced by teenagers (there are rarely any Whites or older Inuit left in the building by this time) to facilitate an easier transition from the carefully understated sexuality of the evening to more explicit intentions. Slower music is played and couples stand close together, their arms around each other, and their eyes closed, shuffling slowly in a circle. Everyone is very serious at this stage, and as the music ends, the young man may ask his partner if she "wants to go out". If she is interested they will leave together; otherwise the interaction ends without further negotiation or pressure. Young men may feel rejected, but this rejection is usually accepted philosophically. There is a strong sense of equality in these negotiations; they are significantly free of the subtle pressures for one sex to conform to the standards of the other which seems to characterize adolescent sexual negotiations in White culture.

In the introductory story, Bobby's feelings about Whites at dances contributed significantly to his conflict and illustrate an important aspect of emerging definitions of Inuit identity. Despite the obvious origin of the music and dancing style in White culture, rock dances are

being redefined as an Inuit event. For modern Whites, a rock dance should conform in some degree to the uninhibited atmosphere of a modern discotheque. It is a context where men and women display the most assertive features of their identity. Understandings between the sexes should permit a display of sexual interest through innumerable gestures and postures that would be prohibited in any other public context. White dancing styles also encourage other forms of interaction within the context of the dance. Dancing partners try to conduct conversations while dancing, and to continue these conversations on the sidelines between dances.

These differences in the way the two ethnic groups define the same set of interactions in a common context create situations where young Inuit men attempt to exert their own definitions when dancing with a White partner. Asking a White woman to dance is by no means an act of identification with Whites or an attempt to emulate their style. Inuit men are attempting to reinforce their own identifications to contrast with White men who ask Inuit women to dance. Resident Whites who occasionally attend dances often try to "liven the place up" by dancing more outrageously than they might even in a southern Canadian context. As a consequence they break many of the implicit comportment rules about Inuit teen dancing; and in the process offend Inuit youth. These youth reassert their own understandings by insisting that their White partners dance according to the rules of decorum that they are in the process of defining.

These new rules about courtship and dancing comportment are clearly not "survivals from traditional culture", but are situationally specific, creative coping tactics that derive much of their meaning from similar transformations occurring in other areas of Inuit life.

The Teen Dance is significant to their identity on two levels. It is both an indication of their participation in Youth Culture -- where rock and disco music and youthfulness are synonomous -- and it is yet another forum where new ideas about being Inuit are worked out in new contexts. The

"Inuk Shuffle" is also an indication of ethnic independence from other forms of youth dance such as "flashdancing" or "reggae dancing", which, equally, are other cultural variations on the youth music theme.

This redefinition of dance forms into Inuit identifications is even more apparent when we consider the square dance that usually occurs several times during an evening of otherwise rock music. The square dance was introduced to the North by White (usually Scottish) whalers, and over the past several decades has been thoroughly incorporated into Inuit culture, particularly for middle-aged Inuit. People do not have a square dance to show how skilled they are at participating in White culture, they hold one in the context of a rock dance to demonstrate their Inuitness.

The square dance is initiated usually by several middle-aged couples who attend the rock dances with some frequency. The lights are turned on which signals the disc jockey to play the square dance record. There is one preferred instrumental piece (the same one has been played for at least five years), and it is played continuously until the dance is finished (about 30 minutes). The dance follows a very familiar pattern with rare variations (unless Inuit visitors from another town introduce a new step). Essentially, couples link arms consecutively with every other couple around a large circle and perform a basic do-si-do with each other couple. The dance is strenuous and tiring as the men particularly stay in constant energetic motion. Although some of the younger women maintain a facial mask on their emotions, most dancers smile and men occasionally utter loud shouts. The constraint which characterizes the rock dance is remarkably absent. [4]

The square dance has become an indicator for young men and women in their early twenties who wish to signify their distance from the teenage

[4] Graburn (personal communication) says that constraints similar to those described above for the rock dance regarding indications of sexual interest obtained during the square dances of the early sixties, which were at that time largely the activity of young people.

subculture. Most of the dancers are in their mid to late twenties, thirties and forties and only on special occasions do teenagers participate. However, there is no indication among teenagers that they resent the square dance or consider it an interference in their activity. They do not participate largely because they are shy to dance with the lights on. Indeed, the few teenagers who do take part are often the most assertive in the rock dance context and they embrace the square dance with enthusiasm.

The exuberance of the dance also sets it apart from the rock dance in that it provides a release for tensions and energy rather than constraining these forces in an atmosphere of anxiety. In the above discussion of the rock dance, the courtship pressures are paramount and a source of acute anxiety for many teenagers which is not diffused in the dance style. The square dance on the other hand is pure relaxation and thoroughly Inuit -- Whites who come to the dance have to be taught the movements and everyone is greatly amused by their bumbling mistakes.

The final dance form that I would like to briefly discuss is the drum dance. Primarily an old people's activity, the drum dance is presently emerging as a final ritual indication of transition from youth to innammarik status, "a genuine adult".

The drum dance is ancient, exhibits considerable regional variation, and has undergone substantial reformation in style and function over the past few decades. Although it has to a large extent been stripped of its traditional sociopolitical functions, it is still a highly structured art form rather than mere exercise to music. It could be compared to a sport like figure skating where performance is judged against an accepted prototypical structure but where individual interpretation within this structure is both allowed and appreciated.

Its performance theme makes it an intimidating activity for young people. Participants sit in a circle around the walls of the community hall and each participant takes his/her turn in the centre of the floor with the drum while everyone else watches. The performance lasts from 10

to 15 minutes and requires stamina and strength as well as artistic interpretation. The drum itself is about four feet in diameter and quite heavy. It is held high and away from the body and the strain on the arm is considerable. Old women sitting together sing a collection of songs, some of which were composed by contemporary drummers and many of which are handed down from dead ancestors. The traditional form was for a man's wife to sing a song he had composed but since few new songs are being composed by younger drummers and only a handful of older women are able to sing the old ones, the songs are becoming a public collection to which anyone, even a qallunaaq, can dance.

In the transition from snowhouses to villages, and amidst the initial confusion of Christianization when people were unsure of which aspects of traditional ritual and belief were supposed to be evil, the normal procedures for the socialization of younger people into the drum dance were disrupted. For many men in their thirties and forties, learning how to drum dance publically has become increasingly important. This interest has now gained considerable momentum as ambiguity about treasured traditional symbols decreases and young men recognize the importance of ritual displays of generational continuity.

Drum dancers are one of the most popular subjects for carvers (and for White consumers) and nearly every carver in the village, including the young men in their early twenties, produced an extraordinary personal interpretation of a "Drum Dancer" for a national show of Sanctuary Bay carvings in 1982. The Carvers Association also held several drum dances in the Craft Shop (surrounded by carvings of Drum Dancers) to celebrate their identification with this important symbol.

Several young men in their twenties watched nearly every drum dance and in discussions afterwards expressed very positive sentiments. But they also felt inadequate and shy about participating. When an occasional young man worked up the courage to dart out from the wall, pick up the drum and wait for someone to start singing, his performance was warmly appreciated

by the old people who applauded loudly at the end. The same sort of appreciation was also shown to qallunaat who attempted to participate.

Drum dancing is now being taught in the schools by old people as part of the cultural inclusion program, and has been for several years. Many of the younger teenagers are therefore better drum dancers than their fathers and will likely be far more willing to participate as they move into their twenties. At the moment the youngest regular dancers are in their early thirties, and their participation indicates their reidentification into the total community — their appreciation and respect for the old people is implicit in their participation in the drum dance.

7.4 Celebrating

For a week at Christmas and Easter, all other activity ceases and the entire village comes together for days of games and competitions. In a Durkheimian sense, these activities contribute to the diffusion of tensions between individuals and families, and also provide a context where definitions of identity and social roles are recreated and consolidated. They are occasions when the "new" Inuit culture, incorporating all the diverse elements of the traditional past and the contemporary world are blended publically. Many of the ambiguities and conflicts amongst these elements are resolved.

At Christmas time, weather conditions inhibit outdoor activities, and most of the week is spent in the school gymnasium. Nearly every Inuk in the village participates, from toddlers to old blind men. Games range from children's foot races to drum dance competitions. People gather at noon each day and activities continue until midnight. Families sit together in groups on the floor or on benches around the walls, laughing and talking as they watch the proceedings in front of them. Several members of the Recreation Committee stand at the front, directing the crowd to each competition through a public address system. Most games and competitions are sexually segregated -- with men and women taking alternate turns. The

occasional event with mixed teams or pitting men against women are daily highlights.

At Easter, the activities take place both in the gym and outside on the sea ice in front of the village. The outdoor events are primarily "traditional", not because they have a long history but because they mimic land-oriented activities such as dogteam racing, snowhouse construction, fishing, shooting, and snowmobile driving.

Indoor games at both times range from historic games such as ayaq (catching a bone with a hole in it on a pointed stick), nullattartuq (jabbing a toy harpoon into a small hole in a piece of bone), to wrestling events such as ayaraq (two men try to pull each other off balance with a piece of string tied around their ears), to tag team wrestling, threading a needle, finding one's parka blindfolded, finding one's wife blindfolded, basketball shooting, and dozens of other games where men and women form spontaneously into two teams and race to accomplish a task invented by the organizers.

The games generally fall into three categories; some make the participants look silly by reversing expected roles and age and gender categories (e.g., old men blindfold themselves, crawl down the floor to where their wives sit waiting with baby bottles full of water which the men then try to drink faster than their competitors). Others are tests of strength among the men who will all sit in a large circle and alternatively challenge each other to an infinite variety of arm wrestling contests. And others are demonstrations of a particular skill, such as snowhouse construction. Silly games usually alternate with the others so that people are simultaneously competing with each other and making fools of themselves.

With rare exceptions, resident Whites avoid these games completely. They play no role in their organization, and while some come to watch the most traditional events (e.g., dogteam race), they rarely participate in the competitions. Many Whites would probably disagree with this

conclusion, and argue that they do indeed take part in these games. What they fail to realize is that participation must be total in order to achieve the salubrious effect of the role reversals and identity inversions that bring everyone together. Whites argued that they thought the games belonged to the Inuit and their presence would be resented (which was true if they came as occasional observers), or they indicated they found the games childish and boring which probably points to fears that their status in the village would be undermined if they allowed themselves to appear foolish and silly.

For Inuit youth, these games mark several important transitions and are both a source of stress and an opportunity to relieve tensions and anxieties derived from other areas of village life.

Teenagers, somewhat paradoxically, are the most threatened by the games and are the only sector of the Inuit community to avoid participation systematically. It is paradoxical because the Junior Team's lives are otherwise bound up in competitive sports and games. In conversations during and after the games with teenagers, it emerged that many felt threatened by the childish and silly character of many of the events. They were shy about looking foolish in front of older men and women and worried that they would be teased by older men if they lost in the competitions. It was evident that they would have liked to participate - towards the end of each week, most were starting to spend more time observing and were obviously pleased when older people encouraged them to join in. The oldest among them were particularly intent on trying to feel comfortable attempting to take part in the least threatening of the competitions (i.e., the basketball shooting and team games where individual prowess could not be ridiculed). Since many of the games made men look like boys, only boys who were confident of their identity as men could cope with this inversion.

For those teenagers who watched regularly, the games also provided an important lesson in Inuit gamesmanship which I have argued was also

present in their approach to basketball and volleyball. While teasing did occur, great care was taken not to diminish an opponent's self-esteem or to make a weaker opponent feel inferior. Care was also taken not to let personal feelings of hostility interfere with the sportsmanship of the competitions. In one case when a contest degenerated into a brief fight, both combatants apologized to the community over the public address system. When a handicapped man entered the contests of strength, men competed seriously with him and never indicated an awareness of his handicap. When a local White refused to admit defeat during several tests of strength, observers commented that he was "cheating". They explained that he "tried too hard" and "talked too much" when he tried to "psych" his opponents by belittling them verbally during the match or by laughing at his opponents when he won. The Inuit behavioural display at the end of each contest was identical for winners and losers. If you had not witnessed the contest, you would have no way of knowing who had won. Even a smile of satisfaction was considered inappropriate.

For the Polar Bear Hunters, the games provided an opportunity for them to display their emerging maturity before the entire village. Almost every member of the cohort, and particularly those who were marginal in many other areas, arrived at the gym early every day with their wives and children and were often the last to leave. They avoided peer relationships, preferring to sit with their extended families, playing with their children and silently taking part in every contest. They seemed intent on projecting an image of complete integration into the community; of renegotiating any images of alienation that might prevail in the minds of older Inuit. For those central to the Polar Bear Hunting sub-culture, these indications were consistent with their overall lifestyle. For those marginal to the hunting emphasis of their peers, however, the games provided them an opportunity to redefine their separateness so that it appeared less threatening to their elders. Terry Ittinuaq and Joshua Tattuiniq both used this tactic. Terry wore a T-shirt throughout the games that had Inummarik stenciled across it. Joshua volunteered to help the Recreation Committee organize the contests.

The Managers displayed a more conservative understanding towards the games. Most of the Managerial participants were in positions of economic or political authority and they were somewhat hesitant and tentative about participating in games which made them look foolish. It would be possible to do an lengthy discussion of the relationship of leadership to personal presentations in the context of the games which is unfortunately beyond the present analysis. However, members of the Managerial cohort were intent on associating themselves with the presentational styles of the acknowledged village leaders. A degree of seriousness and aloofness often characterized this presentation and many Managers copied it carefully. However, while older leaders (and particularly the elders), were generally confident about appearing foolish in some games, the Managers would conveniently find something else to do when these games were being held.

The Managers were also intent on demonstrating their physical prowess in both the individual tests of strength and in the outdoor competitions where traditional and land skills were performed. Polar Bear Hunters as well were enthusiastic participants in the outdoor games and the snowmobile races attracted the most interest -- with young men discussing them and preparing their machines days ahead of the event.

This interest was expressed most keenly by those Polar Bear Hunters and Managers with the least everyday contact with the land (i.e., those with full-time jobs). While all the members of both cohorts took part in the races, the reckless abandon necessary to win the high-speed race was evident usually in those least experienced. The high-speed race is incredibly dangerous -- machines travel at speeds in excess of 70 kilometres per hour over cement-like snow conditions. The terrain is an endless series of bumps and ridges and many machines flip over or throw their drivers off. Yet the contestants wear no protective clothing whatsoever, and the serious competitors show a total disregard for the risks they are taking. The first and second place finishers in the 1982 race were two young men in their mid-twenties who worked full-time and rarely went onto the land. Both were somewhat marginal to their respective

cohorts, and indeed somewhat marginal to the wider community.

The dogteam race has also become very popular among Inuit youth. In 1977, dogteams had all but disappeared in Sanctuary Bay as everyone concentrated on learning the new snowmobile technology. The Easter games that year saw three old men take their failing teams out for a run. In 1982, however, there were more than fifteen teams entered in the race and nearly half of them were driven by men in their mid-twenties. There was also a women's race with a nearly equal number of teams and with a large proportion driven by young women -- often the young men's wives. The strong interest and identification shown by young people in dogs is a further indication of the emerging sense of identification with things "inummarik". As one young man told me:

I drove my first skidoo when I was twelve years old and I thought it was way better than dogs. It was so fast and exciting and dogs seemed so boring. My father used to let me drive his dogs sometimes when I was a boy. But I was kind of scared of them. When we got that skiddoo, I forgot all about the dogs for a while. I was only interested in skiddoos. But now I think skiddoos are boring. They're so easy. Dogs are really hard to learn to drive. Those old people really know a lot about them. I have three dogs now and my father's dog is going to have pups soon. I think he's going to give me one so I'll have a pretty good team then. I'm going in the race this year at Easter. Those old people really like to watch that race. I think it makes them remember the past and makes them happy.

7.5 Gaming

Another popular form of recreation in the village is gambling; but gambling is increasingly defined in moral terms and is occurring in more circumscribed contexts. The two predominant gambling forms are bingo and poker. Bingo is almost exclusively a women's activity and does not concern us here, except to note briefly that it occurs publically - in the community hall -- and does not attract any moral stigma to those who participate. Men who play bingo, however, are considered morally corrupt by the wider community.

Poker games are defined quite differently. Poker games are always held at the homes of the same four or five people, and usually involve the same group of about 15 men and six women. The group is heterogenous in the sense that it includes full-time workers, trappers, and social assistance dependents of all ages up to about forty-five. It does however, share some common features. Most poker players rarely attend church, have little to do with the bureaucratic political life of the village, have very little interaction with the professional White sub-culture, behaviourally enact traditional values regarding gender relations and sexuality (i.e., spouse exchange), and are most likely to be involved in illegal drinking parties. Together, they represent the anti-establishment group in local Inuit definitions and, as such, have a certain appeal to some young Inuit.

The Anglican church particularly considers gambling at cards a sin. This attitude seems to have arisen partially as a response to the gamblers' lifestyle, but is reinforced by Protestant dogma. Poker players are not uniformly outsiders or marginal, but they are usually independent spirits, uncomfortable with the collective emphasis adopted by many of their more religious contemporaries. They may be respected hunters, or skilled mechanics, or inveterate welfare cases.

The moral stigma that is coming to define poker games is still very much in the negotiation phase. Many people used to play cards without gambling but this activity is now being replaced by television watching. If card games become the exclusive activity of people considered to be somewhat suspect in moral terms, poker will indeed be stigmatically defined.

The Junior Team have embraced card and board games far more inclusively than has any previous cohort. Cribbage, backgammon, Monopoly, and even the ancient and complex Japanese strategic game of Go are increasingly popular activities for teenagers struggling to fill the time between basketball games and dances. Their improved capability in English, together with wider exposure to these games when visiting Whites, has contributed to

this phenomenon. However most teenagers rarely attend the established poker games, largely because they lack the finances to participate, but also because many are hesitant to accept the anti-establishment connotations that participation would mean.

Teenagers are, however, trying to redefine gambling and cards by moving them into a new context. The Youth Club sponsored a "Games Night" where a round-robin cribbage match and a poker game were held in the adult education centre. In another instance, the Junior Team held a casino night in the school gym to try and raise money for the trip to the regional basketball championships. Since both of these were defined as public events -- and attracted many members of the non-gambling community -- they are meaningfully different from the normal gambling contexts.

A closely related definitional problem concerns pinball and video games. These games, and particularly video games, have become increasingly popular in the North, and many communities have small arcades. They are gold mines for their operators because of the long hours of leisure time available to most people in winter months. Five years ago, a White who was generally disliked for his drinking and violent behaviour, opened a coffee shop and installed several pinball machines. The venture would have been very successful except for poor management and a poor building, which eventually forced him to close. In 1981, another local White, who also happened to be the only White poker player, bought the abandoned buildings and applied to Council for a license to reopen the coffee shop as a pinball and video arcade. His application was denied. Council members argued that a pinball arcade would be a hardship to poor parents who could not refuse their children's requests for money to spend at the arcade. They were also concerned about the moral association the arcade would have if it was associated with a man they considered corrupt.

This second dimension of the denial was emphasized when the Youth Club, which had Council's support, decided to try and open a pinball and video arcade. They indicated profits would go towards youth activities such as

purchasing gasoline for camping trips. Council was enthusiastic in their support of this second idea and appointed their youngest Councillor to assist the Youth Club develop the idea. Since the Youth Club folded soon after it started the idea was never developed.

7.6 Praying

In this section I will not be discussing the Church as an institution but rather I will assess the meaning that religious identification and participation has in the lives of Inuit youth.

As I suggested in Chapter 3, both churches must be defined as Inuit, not White institutions. They are both managed locally by Inuit and for the most part conducted entirely in Inuktitut. Each has a Board of Inuit elders responsible for the general interpretation of issues affecting church activities and, in Sanctuary Bay at least, White missionaries play a very circumscribed and formal role. They are more or less restricted to sanctifying marriages, delivering communion, and baptisms, activities which require the services of an ordained priest but which are not meaningful in an everyday sense to the respective congregations. The Anglican church is today generally more independent of White influence than the Catholic, because Catholic missionaries continue to live for extended periods in the North and are usually fluent in Inuktitut. Also, there are increasing numbers of Inuit Anglican ministers but few Inuit Catholic priests because celibacy holds little appeal to Inuit. The Anglican church is, however, described by both Anglican and Catholic informants as the more fundamental and strict of the two; where the Bible is interpreted literally and its laws are applicable to everyday life. As one man told me:

The preachers in the Anglican church tell everyone what to do. They read the Bible and then tell people what the Bible tells them they should do this or that, and if they don't, they will suffer in hell for it. The Catholic preacher doesn't tell people what to do. He reads the Bible and then talks about good behaviour and bad behaviour and then says its up to each person

to decide how he wants to behave. Its up to each person to decide for himself whether he wants to be a good or a bad person.

Both Churches, however, act as profound integrative agents in community life. Prayer is vitally important to many Inuit as an act of self-assertion over an ambiguous and threatening physical and socio-political environment. Local initiatives to develop the community according to Inuit defined moral principles often germinate in the context of the churches and are sustained by the political clout of the church leaders. As I have discussed elsewhere, the prohibition of alcohol was achieved through the sponsorship of the Churches (O'Neil, 1981).

The most active involvement most young men take in church affairs is the decision to have a church wedding. Slightly more than half of the young couples with children are not officially married, and many of these are in their late twenties. The meaning of this was not directly apparent until I began to interview young men systematically. When I asked whether they were married according to custom, or in the church -- thinking custom meant according to traditional ideas about marriage -- I received very puzzled responses until one young man informed me that being married in the church was the custom; to avoid a church marriage was the "new" or progressive thing to do.

Table 8.1 below summarizes the affiliative and participatory elements of youth's relationship to the Church:

Table 8.1
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND PARTICIPATION

	Anglican -----	Frequent Attendance	Occasional Attendance	Never Attend
	Catholic			
JUNIOR TEAM (n=13)	54(7) ----- 46(6)	29 ----- 50	43 ----- 17	29 ----- 33
POLAR BEAR HUNTERS (n=14)	64(9) ----- 36(5)	56 ----- 40	22 ----- 40	22 ----- 20
MANAGERS (n=14)	71(10) ----- 29(4)	60 ----- 50	20 ----- 25	20 ----- 25

(Affiliation percentages are of total cohort sample; attendance percentages are of number in each affiliation in each cohort.)

Although not significant statistically, these numbers indicate a trend towards more frequent attendance (and by implication a more meaningful relationship) in the older age groups. They also indicate that avoidance of the Church bears little relationship to affiliation except for the Junior Team where Anglican teenagers appear to attend less frequently than their Catholic counterparts.

The question is: Do these differences reflect maturational changes or historical/contextual differences? Are teenagers staying away because they are teenagers, or because there is something different in the Church now than there was 10 years ago? Obviously both factors are important. From the perspective of Inuit elders (particularly Anglicans) the decline in teenage attendance is, in interpretive terms, larger than the numbers indicate because they are more seriously involved in the Church than parents were 10 years ago. And this decline is a real concern. A typical Sunday morning scene in a teenager's household would see the youth sleeping most of the day (after the Saturday night dance) while his mother scolds him to get up and go to church. Although many teenagers may promise

to attend the evening service, most do not.

Most teenagers, however, indicated that they had not rejected the church -- they stated explicitly that they still "believed". They usually, and rather sheepishly, indicated that they "couldn't get up" for church on Sunday morning and "forgot about it" in the evening. I witnessed several cases where teenagers, whose parents had obviously scolded them into attendance, slept soundly through the entire service (sometimes on their feet!).

However, the lower attendance rate for teenage Anglicans can not be explained as easily. I suspect (and I am offering only a tentative explanation here because I was unable to elicit any specific statements on this topic) that the authoritarian theme in the Anglican church may be contributing to teenage avoidance. Whereas Catholic sermons rarely criticized teenage behaviour directly, Anglican messages were more specifically directed towards behavioural strategies considered sinful by the elders, and often teenage behaviour came under direct criticism.

The seriousness of this alienation is mediated however by the tendency of young men in their early twenties, particularly those doing a lot of hunting, to reembrace their respective churches. For example, Nick Panigoniak (22) told me during an interview, that he had not been to church, except at Christmas, for two or three years. Several months later, however, after he had ended his arranged marriage and brought his new wife and children back to town, he told me that he had "got religion" and was now attending church nearly every Sunday.

Other Polar Bear Hunters indicated similar changes in their approach to the Church. Any young man with political ambitions in the local context is also aware of the importance of church attendance to convince older Inuit he is properly respectful. Several of the Managers were even scornful of some of their peers for what they considered an obvious attempt to curry favor this way. However, for most young men in their mid-twenties, I think religious activity was considered as yet another aspect of being an Inuk,

and an adult, and their gradual movement back to the Church indicates this awareness.

Religious affiliation correlated with some of the other social measures as well. Particularly in the older cohorts, more Anglicans preferred Inuktitut as the language of social communication (.378 [.01]). And although Catholics tended to have localized kindreds (.210 [.05]), Anglicans seemed to have more integrated (i.e., stronger familial bonds and less discord) families (.308 [.001]). Catholic youth also tended to be "on time" (closer to transitional means) than Anglicans, although not significantly so. Anglican youth tended to be either very early or very late in sexual transitions particularly. Finally, those youth who attended church the least, also indicated a slight tendency to list more friends when interviewed.

In terms of health, Anglican youth scored lower on the HOS (.350 [.01]), and there were more abstainers (42 percent of Anglicans vs 19 percent of Catholics). Frequent attendance was correlated quite highly with abstention from alcohol use (.392 [.01]), and was slightly correlated with lower HOS scores (.201 [.05]). Attendance and HOS scores were complicated, I think, because teenagers who avoided church seemed to be stressed by the alienating effect this had on their relationship with their families, while those who attended felt anxious about behaving contrary to the Church's instructions.

To answer the question raised earlier, I think teenage avoidance of the Church is partially related to maturation (i.e., a natural tendency to demonstrate independence and resist authority), but is also related to the contemporary power that the Church has in village affairs; affairs which are dominated by their parents who consider rejection of the Church more seriously than might have previous generations of parents.

7.7 Drugging

Since prohibition has been in effect in Sanctuary Bay for nearly four years, alcohol abuse is no longer the problem it once was, or is still in other Northern locations (cf., O'Neil, 1981;n.d.). Therefore, while the topic is very important in any discussion of the contemporary North, I do not intend to devote a great deal of space here to something that is of relative insignificance to the lives of Sanctuary Bay youth.

Throughout this thesis I have used alcohol consumption as a health measure (i.e., a measure of stress experience), and there are probably many readers who would disagree, on a theoretical basis, with this approach. A brief review of the anthropological literature on alcohol use will illuminate this issue. There is a general consensus that physiological arguments about racial differences in metabolism and vasomotor response are at best contradictory and insignificant, and at worst contribute to the perpetuation of the "drunken Indian" stereotype (Hamer and Steinbring, 1980; Marshall, 1979). Cultural explanations for the apparent high rates of alcohol consumption among Native peoples range from the earlier "people drink to reduce the anxiety of acculturative stress" (Horton, 1943), to "people drink to restate traditional social values in the modern context" (Levy and Kunitz, 1973; Matthiason, 1975), to "drinking parties provide forums for the generation of new identities relevant to new economic conditions" (Robbins, 1973), to the more radical "Indians drink as a statement of contracultural values and as an assertion of Indianness" (Brody, 1971; Lurie, 1971).

While I agree with the "cultural expression" perspectives as the best understanding of Native drinking, I must ask the epidemiological question why some people find it necessary to perpetuate traditions, redefine identities, or express ethnicity with alcohol while others in the same contexts do not? As both Marshall (1979) and Hamer and Steinbring (1980) argue, a more balanced perspective incorporates the stress/anxiety hypothesis into these other explanations to account for intracultural

variation.

Before continuing, I would like to emphasize again that drug use is of relative insignificance in Sanctuary Bay. The following table compares Sanctuary Bay rates with American averages for similar age groups (Kandel,1980):

Table 7.2
COMPARATIVE SUBSTANCE USE *

	Cigarettes		Alcohol		Marijuana	
	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>S.B.</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>S.B.</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>S.B.</u>
16 - 17	35	78	52	0	29	0
18 - 21	51	86	71	30	31	16
22 - 25	45	69	70	59	24	18
26 - 35**	47	87	70	60	12	6

* U.S. figures are for both men and women (men alone would probably be higher), from 1977, and mean "used substance at least once per month".

** For Sanctuary Bay (S.B.) 26-29.

Obviously the most serious "drug problem" in Sanctuary Bay is cigarette smoking. Boys begin smoking at 12 or 13 and only inadequate finances keep their usage rates reasonably low. Teenagers with jobs buy cigarettes and share them with anyone who asks; there is no stigma attached to "bumming" and a request is never refused or belittled. Going out onto the land requires an adequate supply of cigarettes, and sharing and smoking are established rituals at every break in the activity. Social visiting is incomplete without a cup of tea (or more frequently coffee) and a cigarette. There is little negative sentiment against cigarette use, and these high rates of use loom ominously for future health problems such as cardiovascular disease and cancer.

Hidden from view, but perhaps even more of a "drug problem" than cigarettes is the amount of caffeine consumed. Although exact figures were not obtained, I would estimate that young men drink as much as two gallons

(20 cups) of tea (and/or coffee) per day. [5] It is almost always drunk with condensed milk and two or three tablespoons of sugar. This pattern is true both in the village and on the land -- hunters in a stormbound snowhouse often drink tea incessantly. There is a slight trend among young people away from tea towards coffee but its higher cost and the lack of a communal pot (i.e., its ritualistic elements) will constrain this. There are, however, several young men who drink more than 20 cups of coffee per day in a work context. The health risks associated with heavy caffeine use are by no means unequivocal. In his comprehensive review, Kihlam (1977) concludes that although few other drugs affect genetic material in so many ways as caffeine (i.e., direct mutagenic and chromosomal aberrations as well as enhancing the effects of other agents), there is no evidence to suggest that even in heavy human usage, caffeine has any carcinogenic effect. The general pharmacological effects of caffeine use, however, (e.g., heart rate increase, dilation of coronary, pulmonary and general system blood vessels, stimulation of cortical activity, etc.) may not only have harmful psychological side-effects, but may have long-term physiological consequences as well.

People who use alcohol heavily also use marijuana occasionally (.422 [.01]). However, while most youth are aware of these soft drugs and many have experimented with them a few times over the years, only a handful are seriously interested in "getting high".

Most indicated there seemed to be more soft drugs available a few years ago prior to prohibition -- and it was then that members of the Polar Bear Hunting cohort were caught up in the epidemic of gasoline-sniffing. Gasoline-sniffing had disappeared entirely from Sanctuary Bay since prohibition, and with few exceptions, the use of cannabis occurred only when people were visiting other more urban centres, or when young people were visiting Sanctuary Bay from wet villages. Since this visiting peaked

[5] Kihlam (1977) reports that there are approximately 100mg of caffeine in one cup of coffee and from 50-90mg of caffeine in one cup of tea.

in the spring, this was also the period of highest drug use.

When cannabis is used, it is by no means dangerous (cf., Jones, 1983 for a comprehensive review of the psychophysiological effects of cannabis use). Rarely does anyone have enough to share more than two or three joints around five or six people. Its effects are very mild compared to alcohol; people usually become quiet and inactive and sit listening to music, leafing through magazines, or playing card and board games. It is by no means a symbol of Sanctuary Bay youth culture.

The use of alcohol by all sectors of the community, and particularly young people, has decreased drastically since prohibition (O'Neil, n.d.). Open parties of the sort described in Chapter 1 are very rare. When bottles are smuggled into the village, they are no longer shared freely, but are most often consumed by a man and his wife alone. Since visitors must always be expected -- and doors must never be locked -- drunken comportment is carefully controlled so that "sober" fronts can be presented. (Inuit visiting is very informal. No one ever knocks on doors, or forewarns the host. People visit each other at all times of the day -- and sometimes night -- and in the modern context, the only way to avoid visitors is to retire to the bedroom.) Bottles must be kept hidden and liquor is poured into teacups for camouflage. Vodka is preferred because it does not leave an odour on the breath -- and freshening candies and gum are kept handy.

Managers are the only youth cohort who have the work and travel connections to be able to smuggle booze into the village, and therefore alcohol is rarely used by anyone under 25. Except in the spring, when again, young visitors from wet villages bring an occasional bottle to share with a few cousins. On these occasions, the bottle will be consumed quickly, usually outdoors, and often late at night, and drinkers try to avoid any contact with adult society. In my experience these rare drinking parties never involved violence (despite the scenario in Chapter 1 which is more characteristic of wet villages, or Sanctuary Bay several years ago).

Nonetheless, those who found it necessary to drink illegally were also those who were experiencing the greatest situational stress. They were either Managers in conflictful work situations, or they were Managers living on welfare, or they were Polar Bear Hunters in difficult marriages, or hampered in their attempts to get onto the land. Or they were the oldest Junior Teamers struggling with the drastic shift in identity from Inuusuuqtuit to adult. These same people drank (sometimes very heavily) when they were visiting other towns and villages.

On the trip to Hamilton Bay in the spring (described in Chapter 5) several youth in their early twenties were arrested for drunkenness. Most, however, were explicitly careful to avoid parties. One 19 year old youth who talked frequently of "partying" at home in Sanctuary Bay, carefully arranged to stay with a religious abstaining uncle rather than his natural parents, who, while not heavy drinkers, enjoyed weekend parties.

For some of the occasional drinkers in Sanctuary Bay, this knowledge that, once away from the constraints of prohibition, they would drink themselves into trouble, inhibited them from visiting other places. Both Joshua Tattuiniq and James Paluqaq coped this way. Both were originally from wet villages and neither were anxious to return, stating they knew they would start to drink heavily again if they did.

The powerful role that alcohol can play in teenage lives was illustrated at a party in Yellowknife when the Junior Team was competing in the Territorial Games:

The preliminary round of the tournament was played on Saturday — each team had to play three games against five other teams -- with the best three teams to play off for the title on Sunday. The charter flight bringing the Team from Sanctuary Bay did not arrive until early Saturday morning, (after a night in the air), and many of the players had not slept for nearly 48 hours prior to their first match. For some it was their first visit ever to Yellowknife.

Their star player, Pauloosie Kiviug, was further stressed by the sudden death of his grandfather (his adopted father)

earlier in the week. He had been stoically covering his grief during the days following the death (so well that several Whites commented that he seemed pleased to be finally free of his grandfather's authority). He was also travelling with the team against the wishes of the young woman his grandparents had arranged for him to live with, who had just returned from Yellowknife with his infant son.

The Team's first two matches were against Yellowknife and Pine Point; teams from the southern part of the Territories which were predominantly White, with a few Indian and Metis players. Generally these teams were taller in stature, more experienced, well-rested, playing on home ground, and systematically coached and trained. Sanctuary Bay lost both matches, but each game was a seasaw battle and the final scores were never more than a few points apart. The Sanctuary Bay players played with an intensity and concentration I had not seen before in practice matches. They did not appear at all intimidated or self-conscious once play began, and they were seldom disorganized.

Although Pauloosie was the key player in the Sanctuary Bay effort because of his above-average height and extraordinary ability — remember his nick-name was Mr. Spike -- he was having a bad day. He and one of the Smith cousins had been drinking together on the plane coming down, and they had a small bottle of whiskey stashed in a gym bay in the change room, from which they were taking occasional belts throughout the match. Although they were showing few signs of drunkenness, Pauloosie's coordination was off and he misplayed more shots than usual. Although the rest of the team was aware of the situation, no one said anything to him during the matches or afterward.

Their losses meant they were out of the playoffs, and they were very disappointed. Many commented that "we could have beaten them" for many circumstantial reasons but no one suggested it was any one player's fault. There was a party that night at the hotel, but few of the players had much to drink — most were exhausted -- and Pauloosie and a few of the others attended the dance at Akaitcho Hall.

The next day was spent watching the playoffs, and a sense of depression seemed to have affected many of the players who were very disappointed not to be playing. At the party that night in the hotel room, several were drinking heavier than the previous evening, and Pauloosie and another of the Smith cousins (his best friend) were involved in a chugging contest to see who could drink the most beer the fastest. They stood together by the window getting progressively drunker. His teammates began

calling Pauloosie "Ikilik" in reference to his Indian-like drunken behaviour -- he tended to sway and stumble about the way they had seen Indians on the streets behave.

At first the label was used very genially but as his demeanor became more demonstrative, one of the older youth began to criticize him for losing self-control and "getting down in a hole". This only served to spur Pauloosie to drink more, and become more aggressive. The mood of the party became a little tense as many of the non-drinking youth waited quietly to see what would develop.

The room began to assume a theatrical quality as Pauloosie and his friend stood swaying and shouting (mostly about how they should have beaten the White teams) in the corner, and everyone else sat watching quietly. Eventually their drinking style got the better of them and they reeled into the bathroom where they could be heard vomiting. When they reemerged twenty minutes later, both were sobbing, and clinging to each other.

Something had been said in the toilet about Pauloosie's grandfather and his reserve had broken. With tears flowing, he thrashed about the room, venting his feelings in a confusing monologue. He was concerned he would never "see" his grandfather again. He was anxious his grandfather had not gone to heaven -- where they might be reunited one day. He was afraid some people thought his grandfather was a "bad person", because he did not go to church, but Pauloosie argued that he always read the Bible at home. He was afraid his grandfather might not want to go to heaven -- he had told Pauloosie not to "think about him" once he was dead because he was a "bad person". He felt his grandfather had made him a strong person -- he could travel alone and he knew how to build a snowhouse -- but he wished he was weak so he would not have to bear these responsibilities.

Andy, the Smith cousin who is crying with him, is embracing him, kissing him, trying to calm him down. He keeps repeating "I feel so sorry for you Pauloosie". Several other teammates have started to cry as well -- everyone feels sad for Pauloosie. Idluk says he cannot stay here -- Pauloosie is making him too sad. Richard, the other Smith cousin who Pauloosie has been drinking with, comes into the room at this point and expresses his disgust with everyone. He tells them all to "Fuck off" and leaves again. Pauloosie is hurt by his attitude. He gets angry and wants to go after Richard. Another of his teammates is trying to calm him down. He is holding on to him, telling him to be happy, to forget about it, its over. The older youth sits at the head of the bed, very worriedly telling them all to "cool it", to stop acting stupid or they are going to get arrested.

Finally another youth and I manage to separate Pauloosie and Andy and take Pauloosie outside for some fresh air. Pauloosie calms down considerably but is still very emotional. He talks about his friends and how fortunate he is to have such good friends. He decides I'm his friend and we all hug and kiss to consolidate our friendship. He is still unhappy about Richard's rejection but we try to convince him Richard is only afraid to get sad himself. The other youth repeats the litany -- be happy, forget about it, its over -- and it seems to be helping. Some of the disappointment about the volleyball match emerges. Pauloosie criticizes his own play, saying he felt he wasn't there, that he could not concentrate. We say its O.K., understandable, forget about it. He worries about his older step-brother who is living in Yellowknife but who he has not seen yet. He idolizes his brother but is hurt not to have been contacted. He starts to talk about friendships again and how important they are.

We walked for an hour along back roads until we started to get cold (it was January and -30°C) so we headed back to the hotel room. It was a mistake. The mood was still very sad, and when Andy saw Pauloosie he started to cry again. Pauloosie slipped back into hysteria with a new vigour because the fresh air had revived him. He decides he wants to go after Richard again and fights his way into the hallway. A half dozen or so Pangnirtung players and a few girls are passing by as we burst out of the room and Pauloosie embraces them all, telling the Pang players they are inummarik and great volleyball players (Pangnirtung also beat Sanctuary Bay in the preliminary round and eventually finished second). But they are frightened by Pauloosie's aggressive demeanor and edge away. The women seem less concerned. They laugh, grab him playfully and make jokes about his "craziness". We manage to get Pauloosie back into the hotel room and the others disappear.

There is a knock on the door, and an Inuk in his late twenties from Cambridge Bay, who works as a Social Worker, comes in. Everyone is very glad to see him, and Pauloosie is acutely embarrassed to be seen so upset. He calms down immediately and everyone talks quietly for a while. The crisis is over. By the time the visitor leaves a half hour later, both Pauloosie and Andy are asleep.

To summarize briefly, the preceding discussion suggests that while alcohol use may be used as an indicator of stress -- i.e., in the context of prohibition those who continue to use it heavily tend to be those experiencing particularly stressful situations -- in an epidemiological

sense, alcohol is much less of a "drug problem" than the abuse of nicotine and caffeine. And the use of "soft drugs" such as cannabis is no problem at all.

Youth's support of prohibition is also significant. While a few continue to drink illegally or too heavily when they visit other towns, most of these are conscious of the problems they might have if booze was freely available, and a few are explicitly grateful to be able to live in a context where they do not have to confront this problem daily.

For the rest, most are happy to live in an atmosphere untroubled by the tensions and hostilities they know alcohol can elicit, and they do not feel denied not to have alcohol as part of their lifestyle. Many times I heard young people state they were happy to return to the peace and tranquility of Sanctuary Bay and many carried their abstaining habits into wet villages.

7.8 Summary

In this chapter I have argued that "recreational" activities can be vitally important to young people on many different levels. For the Junior Team particularly, recreating is the fundamental coping style to create situations and understandings which alleviate the pressure associated with entering other sectors of village life. Their recreational activities contribute to greater self-confidence and self-esteem, and to the definition of an identity as "player" which protects them from the anxiety they feel about becoming "hunters", "workers", "husbands", and "fathers".

However, since a "player" is considered negatively by older Inuit, Junior Teamers are careful to exclude those elements which might contribute further to the player stigma. They also work to define their sporting activities in a way which contributes to their identity as Inuit. Part of this process has been the emergence of a peer group consciousness, which I will examine in depth in the next chapter.

For Polar Bear Hunters and Managers, recreational activities are opportunities to express their solidarity with the larger community and to resolve some of the tensions flowing from other sectors of life. For marginal youth in each cohort, recreational identities are sources of grave conflict. While these identities offer a safe alternative to being a poor hunter, worker, or husband, they are also increasingly applied in the village context in a humiliating way — being a gambler, player, or drinker are considered indications of laziness and moral bankruptcy by the moral majority — and are thus both havens and hells for youth caught in this trap.

8. LOVING

"And yet as the dimensions of kinship reveal, there is tension among the very people who make one's life both possible and meaningful."

(Savishinsky, 1974:85)

8.1 Preliminaries

As suggested in Chapter 2, the notion of social support in the analysis of stress and coping, must be considered carefully in a context where everyone is embedded to more or less the same extent in a broad network of people. While the importance of social support for coping under typically atomistic urban conditions has been documented (cf., Berkman and Syme, 1979; Pearlin and Schooler, 1978; Marmot and Syme, 1976), this dissertation has argued that people are sometimes considered a resource in one context or situation, and a stress or liability in another. [1] Nevertheless, the preceding chapters have also documented the importance of particular relational partners in different situations and phases of life. Manager's siblings and bird-hunter's friends are examples.

In this chapter, I will examine the meaning of social support in depth; and have selected the gloss of "loving" as a heuristic way of describing the qualitative dimensions of social relationships which provide emotional and material support at different times and in different places. Consistent with the active coping model framing the rest of the thesis, I will concentrate here on tactics and strategies devised by young Inuit to

[1] Savishinsky's (1974) excellent study of stress and mobility in a Hare Indian community makes a similar point: that in some contexts (i.e., times of the year) relatives may provide needed emotional and material support, but in another context they are the source of social tensions and the rationale for moving away to camp.

build loving relationships with others. Loving relationships, again considered actively (i.e., a relationship may cycle through both loving and non-loving phases), are those that not only provide coping support, but perhaps more importantly, are those that play an important role in the ongoing development of a positive self-image and identity.

Something of the definitional dilemma inherent in this analysis emerges from an examination of the epidemiological data pertaining to health and social support. Many of the variables that could be considered indicators of social support showed no statistically significant correlation with health measures, which in itself is an indication of the complexity of the issue. Others correlated in opposite directions with different dimensions of health behaviour.

For example, family integrity (defined as having a large local kindred with much social interaction) strongly predicted low alcohol use (.469 [.001]), but also predicted a tendency to bring many stress-related problems to the Nursing Station (.289 [.05]). In other words, young people with integrated kindreds probably drink less because of the pressure exerted by their kinsmen, but this same pressure may be responsible for the increase in stress-related visits to the Nursing Station. Conversely, young men with few male kin locally also had a tendency to report many stress problems to the Nursing Station (.415 [.05]). Those in arranged marriages (.362 [.01]) and those with children adopted by older relatives (.298 [.05]) consumed less alcohol also, but these same variables also predicted a slight, though statistically insignificant, tendency to have high HOS scores which again suggests stressful experiences. To further complicate the issue, the Managerial cohort showed an again insignificant trend towards more drinking and higher HOS scores when in marriages of their own choice. Early involvement with girls (age at first intercourse) was highly associated with both alcohol use (.489 [.001]), and early and heavy cigarette use (.544 [.001]) but the half dozen or so young men in their late teens who were still virgins also tended to score highly on the HOS. Some of these correlations seem to support the acculturative stress

hypothesis -- those whose behaviour is most unlike the ideals of older Inuit are most stressed -- while others indicate that those who attempt to live up to traditional ideals are most stressed.

Since I have argued throughout that situational factors are very important in any understanding of the relationship between stress and health, an examination of social support in situ seems appropriate before these confusing findings can be explained. The transition from childhood to adulthood can in some respects be considered as a transition from a taken-for-granted embeddedness in a supportive family milieu to a negotiated series of understandings with various individuals of different ages and sexes. In other words, indulgent uncles may be givens in Inuit childhood, and it may be "understood" that uncles should help their nephews, but in the modern context at least, Inuit youth may have to negotiate these understandings into a social reality that has practical value in their everyday lives. In other words, there is a continuum of emotional content in any relational bond; the actual level of which must be continually defined by the interacting partners. [2]

The focus here will be on these negotiated transitions. Much of the discussion will rely heavily on contextualized material from previous chapters, where many of the issues relevant here have been raised already.

8.2 Making Friends

As the previous chapter illustrated, the emergence of the Junior Team as a peer reference group is a very important phenomenon in the contemporary northern context. It has been suggested that in rapidly changing social systems, the valuations of peers assume greater importance than the valuations of adults (DeVos, 1978). Peer reference groups provide

[2] This argument is also consistent with Damas (1975) who argues that behavioural principles regarding kin relations were less explicit and more flexible in this region than for some other Inuit groups.

a kind of refuge from the sometimes difficult and threatening expectations of adult reference groups (both Inuit and White). Belonging to the Junior Team enables teenagers to cope better with the often critical sentiments they experience in interaction with adults. It provides a context where those aspects of their behaviour defined negatively by adults can be reconsidered in positive terms. In other words, while youth cultures must be understood as structurally-induced phenomena that in this case are a product of an internal colonial historical environment, their particular form and symbolic content, and the degree to which this content further alienates them from the everyday understandings of the community and larger society, can vary infinitely.

In Chapter 1, an important aspect of Bobby's experience was his estrangement from his peers. In his case, as well as the cases of several older youth, the Junior Team as a peer group were resisting the incorporation of behavioural symbols associated with certain individuals ostracized by the larger community in an effort to protect the symbolic content of the peer group. While being basketball players, gamblers, layabouts, or even dope-smokers were identities that could be defended through peer group positive valuations, being spirit-possessed (or in the case of Joshua Tattuiniq, a father-in-law fighter) were not. Therefore, aspects of identity that arise from innovative coping efforts in the modern context, while criticized by older people, are defensible, but behaviour that elicited sanctions traditionally was not acceptable to youth either.

As I have also argued, the Junior Team's apparent orientation towards aspects of White society, which is the source of most of their elders criticism, must be critically examined. The Junior Team members were trying to defend these new aspects of their identity by redefining them as Inuit (just as all previous generations have done), and they were very sensitive to including within the peer group those young men whose behaviour was symbolic of too strong an identification with Whites. To further complicate this problem, overtly anti-White behaviour was also

likely to result in ostracism from the peer group. Terry Ittinuaq's anti-White displays at first earned him peer group support but as he continued to act in a non-Inuit manner, he was eventually labelled qallunaaq and excluded from the group. While the Junior Team wants a certain amount of social distance from Whites, and want to be understood as Inuit, they are also conscious of the double alienation that can occur for youth who express overtly anti-White sentiments. For youth, rejection or marginality by one ethnic group does not imply acceptance and support from the other. In fact, behaviour considered negatively by one group, is usually defined negatively by the other -- albeit by different standards and for different reasons.

The effect of this peer group ostracism is doubly stressful for these marginal youth because they regard the peer group as their defense against the more serious critical sentiments of the adult society. Conflict and hostility among marginal youth was generated by their attempts to disassociate themselves from other marginals and regain membership in the peer group.

There was also a tendency for young men with grandparents alive to indicate a larger circle of friends, and particularly non-kin as friends. It is possible that peer support ensured the balance needed to counterweigh the power of tradition that grandparents evoke.

The insubstantial yet meaningful nature of friendship was illustrated at the Yellowknife party described in Chapter 7. In the midst of Pauloosie's breakdown, those trying to calm him mentioned repeatedly how many friends he had, and how sorry they all felt. His anger at Robert was a product of Robert's apparent denial of the friendship bond and refusal to support him emotionally. His other friends advised him to "forget about that guy - he's just garbage", but this only upset Pauloosie further because it threatened the basis on which his ideas about friendship were based. These new negotiated trusts, often the first in a young man's life, although fragile, have more power in their lives at this stage than the

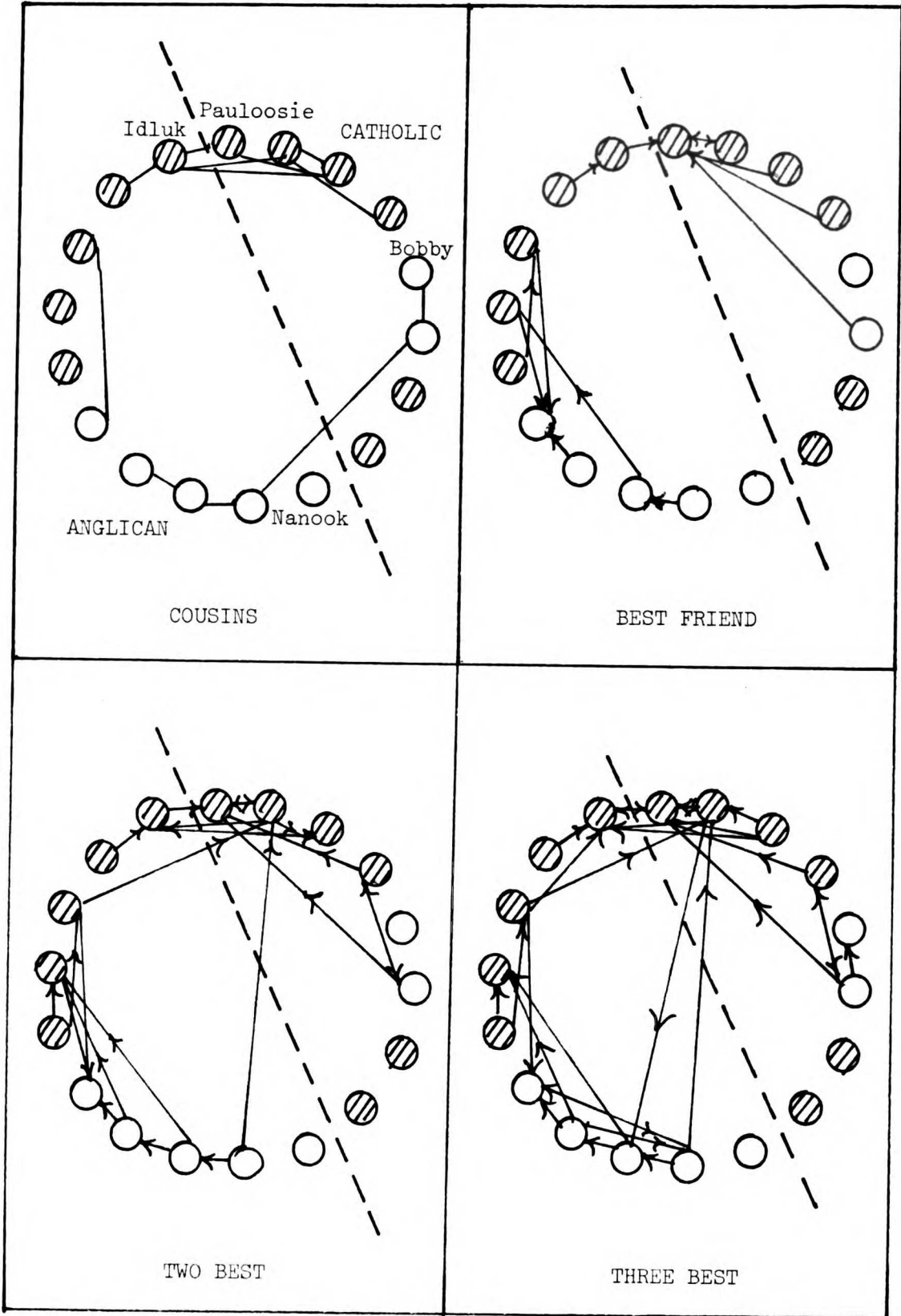
taken-for-granted kin bonds of childhood. Building and maintaining these bonds was an indication of social success and fostered self-confidence, but rejection from friends was sometimes more disastrous than failing to negotiate the bonds in the first place.

Friendships between members of the Junior Team are not negotiated entirely by personal preferences however. Both kinship and religious affiliation influence the formation of dyads and cliques within the peer group. In the figures on the following page, these relationships are illustrated. Figure 1 depicts cousin relationships. Figures 2,3, and 4 depict friendship relationships by decreasing order of preference. The arrows indicate that the person to which the arrow points is considered a friend by the other. The dotted line divides the cohort into two religious groups as indicated. Cross-hatching indicates those who play gym sports regularly. I have also included pseudonyms where certain individuals have been mentioned elsewhere in the text.

The data for friendships comes from answers to an interview question. Most teenagers indicated only same age peers as friends, with a few indicating slightly older or younger cousins as well. In contrast, other cohorts selected friends of all ages who were almost exclusively members of the kindred, or in-laws. Most teenagers indicated at least three people as friends and a few listed as many as eight. The ties indicated do not represent patterns of interaction, nor should they be interpreted as representing clearly defined cliques. If interactions and all statements of affection had been illustrated, the resulting figures would have become so dense as to be meaningless; the point here is to underscore the importance that general principles of affiliation meaningful to all generations of Inuit, continue to play in the coping tactics of young Inuit.

Many scholars have pointed out the importance of cousin relations to Inuit traditionally (cf., Balikci,1970; Damas,1975). Male cousins particularly were often freer with each other than brothers and formed the

Figure 8.1
Friends and Cousins



core of play groups in camp life. As adults, cousins often camped and hunted together. Other commentators have argued that the affective aspects of Inuit kinship were influenced more by locality than biologically based rules (Graburn,1964; Guemple,1976). They argue, for example, that cousinship was meaningful in traditional camp life because brothers often camped together and thus their children grew up as playmates.

My data support the locality argument, but for different reasons. I recorded several cases where teenagers considered other young men as "cousins" where no biological tie could be established. Others indicated they had special relationships with other teenagers signified by such traditional partnership terms as ukpat (a seal sharing relationship between hunters), and inukat (two people born about the same time), that they understood as meaning they were "like cousins" in terms of the way they felt about each other.

The issue here is not that traditional principles of kinship have "survived", but that teenagers are reconstructing old meanings into new relationships as a way of establishing emotionally meaningful relationships with their age-mates. It is significant that there is a high correlation between best friends and cousins, but it is also significant that teenagers are claiming non-kin and non-religiously affiliated others as members of an inner circle of two or three best friends. It is also interesting that as the struggle to incorporate these new affiliations into understandings of Inuitness, their sometimes imperfect understandings of traditional partnership terms, such as ukpat, are being redefined as justifications for an Inuit way of making friends.

8.3 Finding a Lover

Role strain between the sexes has been identified as one of the major sources of stress in changing Inuit communities (Brody, 1975; Lubart, 1969). Furthermore there is some evidence to suggest this may not be a new phenomenon but a ubiquitous dimension of Inuit domestic life (Balicki, 1970; Graburn, 1969:63). These and other authors conclude that relations between the sexes are highly charged emotionally and tremendously meaningful to Inuit men and women. Jealousy in the past often led to homicide.

Odd then, that several years ago, at an Inuit Studies Conference, an eminent "Eskimologist" delivered a serious theoretical paper where he argued that the notion of romantic love -- strong emotional and sexual bonds -- was unknown to traditional (circa 1960) Inuit marriage which was instead contracted on the exchange of labor and services. An Inuk in the audience stood, and with great irony, suggested that things must have changed radically because he and his wife, when they were not fighting, seemed to have little difficulty "loving" each other.

I think both protagonists in this unfortunate debate have partially missed the point. I do not think the scientist was suggesting that emotional bonds between spouses did not exist. Just as our concept of love has many shades of meaning -- we love our wives, children, dogs, jobs, God, and the latest movie -- the Inuit also have many different ways of expressing affection for people and objects, as Briggs (1970) has brilliantly described. I suspect the eminent anthropologist was instead trying to establish that marriage used to be contracted for largely economic reasons and the emotional bonds were secondary. However, the Inuk's criticism was also pertinent. While economic survival in an abstract sense may have been the fundamental motivation for contracting marriages, the ultimate success of that relationship surely depended on the quality of the emotional bond that grew between the partners, and that bond was as much a product of broader social values as it was a reflection

of interdependent economic activity. A hunter overcome with anxiety about an unfaithful wife was unlikely to have had the same success as one sustained by knowledge of his partner's faithfulness and affection for him.

Many old people, in discussions about arranged marriages, described the importance of this bond in the eventual success of their marriage. Many indicated that at first, they were frightened and shy with their new partners, but these feelings quickly gave way to strong feelings of respect, and admiration as they got to know each other. Sitting at kitchen tables with old couples who had survived together, I listened to wise advice about the cyclical nature of feelings between spouses, and how each bad phase successfully managed, contributed to even stronger affectionate ties ultimately. Many were sad that young couples found it easy to separate now when their relationship was struggling.

The Inuk's criticism also points to this modern problem: that affective ties between spouses can be simultaneously, or at least sequentially, both the primary source of strength for the partners to stage effective coping styles, and the most serious threat to emotional well-being. In the modern context, the power of these bonds to sustain or destroy a young man's emerging self-confidence and identity, have been amplified by the incorporation of many extraneous romantic symbols into the bond, and by the tendency for the bond to become isolated from other affective kin ties. Brody's (1975:209) eloquent description of problems in a Baffin Island village in the early seventies emphasizes the seriousness of this problem:

The boredom of inactivity, uncertainties and malaise that nurtures a preoccupation with alcohol and drugs also creates a desire for intensely romantic love affairs. Such intensity provides a kind of emotional security, which can substitute for relationships built on common activities and shared purpose...There is little to share beyond mutual attraction and acute feeling, and there is therefore, little to sustain the relationship... this back-and-forth shifting of affairs takes place in an atmosphere heavily charged with powerful, disparate

feelings. In such an atmosphere, the eruption of anger and morbidity is commonplace.

Without discounting the seriousness of these conclusions, I believe my data indicate that the situation has not only improved, but the earlier emphasis on teenage promiscuity as a response to the breakdown in social mores, may have been overstated. In the table below, age at first sexual intercourse is compared across the cohorts:

Table 8.1
AGE AT FIRST INTERCOURSE

	JUNIOR TEAM (13)	POLAR BEAR HUNTERS (12)	MANAGERS (16)
Virgins	31	-	-
19/older	0	17	63
17-18	31	25	13
16/younger	38	58	24

(Figures are expressed as percentages of sample size in each cohort)

Since, as I will describe in a moment, the mean age of initiating a permanent union (i.e., when young couples begin to live together) is 19 to 20, only the Polar Bear Hunters show a majority of young men sexually active several years before marriage. For the Junior Team, the evidence suggests a trend towards negotiating sexual relationships characterized more by permanence and stability than casual experimentation.

Teenage promiscuity has to some extent, unfortunately, replaced spouse exchange as the new stereotype of Inuit sexuality. Whites in the villages often comment on the seemingly unrestrained sexuality of young people. Certain young men have reputations as "studs", and are reputed to be with a different girl every night.

Brody (1975), Graburn (1969), Lubart (1969), and McElroy (1975) have all described situations in the past few decades where young Inuit men have

become very angry and frustrated by the tendency of young Inuit women to aspire to White lifestyles and prefer White men as a strategy to achieve these lifestyles. While my data on young Inuit women are sketchy, I would argue that in the contemporary village situation, this is no longer the case. The majority of teenage and young adult women in Sanctuary Bay are rediscovering their Inuitness and with few exceptions are attracted more to the Inuit hunter image than to wealthy Whites. As I described in Chapter 7, young women are behaving in a demure and constrained fashion at such public functions as dances. There is also a renewed interest in sewing highly valued articles of clothing such as skin boots, mitts and parkas, particularly among the wives of the Polar Bear Hunter cohort.

This is not to say there are not examples of Whites either married to, or living with Inuit women, but these relationships are increasingly less of a threat to young Inuit men and probably more of a threat to the White men in these marriages who are often consumed with jealousy and suspicion about their wives' relations with Inuit men. Young Inuit men express a certain pride and indeed smugness about this situation as well. Several indicated they were unable to get jobs in a certain agency because the White administrator thought they were sleeping with his Inuit wife. They did not actually admit to having done so, but were obviously pleased to be considered a threat.

Two young Inuit in their mid-twenties have also established permanent unions with White women, but both have left the village to live and work in Yellowknife. Both these relationships were considered more threatening to the families involved than when the reverse situation occurs, (probably because any children from the union are usually lost to the community).

To return to the issue of teenage sexuality, something of the character of those who begin their sexual life early needs to be considered. In the Manager cohort, there was little correlation between early sexual activity and other variables except for White ancestry. Having White relatives, or families where there had been extensive interaction with White society, to

some extent indicated early sexual activity (.214 [.05]). The Polar Bear Hunters were the cohort passing through adolescence and the teenage years during the initial stage of village life when understandings about appropriate sexual behaviour were easiest to ignore (or the most ambiguous). They were also influenced by alcohol use as teenagers and may have conformed somewhat to the "promiscuous" stereotype that is reflected in some of the northern literature.

The Junior Team shows significant differences according to religious affiliation (.613 [.001]). All of the virgins (who were all 17 and 18 at the time of the interviews) were Anglican and all but one of those who initiated sexual relations at sixteen or younger was Catholic. I hesitate to draw too strong a conclusion from this because most of this latter group were also from a family with the strongest White experiences and identifications. However, the stricter Anglican message about pre-marital sex and the sanctity of marriage must also be considered a factor here.

Alcohol, or rather the lack of alcohol, also plays an important role in these changing ideas about sexuality among teenagers. For teenagers particularly, alcohol works to decrease inhibitions and alleviate shyness. Some, not many, young men in Sanctuary Bay talked about this, and dreamed of finding girlfriends in the nearby wet village, who they described as "friendlier"; meaning it was easier to negotiate sexual relations with girls there. Particularly in the springtime, about 20 percent of the Junior Team cohort travelled to the next town to look for girlfriends. [3]

The quality of relations between the sexes, and particularly their salubrious dimensions, are also affected by this issue. As I have maintained throughout, Inuit youth culture is largely a non-verbal culture -- understandings flow from actions and there is little verbal discussion to work out ambiguity. In relations with girls, some Sanctuary Bay youth

[3] Travel in the springtime by young men in search of women is of course, not a modern innovation. Old men remembered similar expeditions and, indeed, considered this activity an element of being inummarik.

complained about this non-verbal dimension to the relationship. Having a girl friend -- as opposed to having a girlfriend -- was a sought-after relationship and those young women able to discuss feelings and doubts with young men were valued highly. In lists of friends, there were two young women mentioned by different youth without any sexual connotation in the reference whatsoever.

Marginal youth particularly, sought out young women able to provide verbal companionship and were particularly attracted to young women in the wet village, who were considered "good talkers". In the introductory story, I tried to illustrate the importance of this bond for marginal youth, and the increasingly wide-ranging net that must be cast to find a partner who can relate to the young man's problems. Travelling to other villages has become commonplace for youth whose identities are threatened and who find alliances with local women unfulfilling in an existential sense. Unfortunately, it is often the more marginal women (in respect to their own gender cohorts) who still aspire to relationships with White men (although fewer all the time) and this adds another stressful dimension to an already stressful situation.

Although there was a tendency in the sixties and early seventies for young people to delay marriage into their twenties, this trend seems to have reversed itself again, particularly with the renewed interest in village life, land activity, and Inuitness. Most young couples entered "marriages" around the age of nineteen or twenty, and there is no indication that the Junior Team will fail to adopt this pattern as well. The most significant issue in the marital arrangement is the issue of arranged versus own choice partners and I will discuss this in some depth. [4]

[4] I am not using "marriage" in this chapter in either a legalistic or religious sense. A marriage to young Inuit, occurs when two young people begin to live together on a regular basis (as opposed to occasional liaisons), and their union is recognized by the community who begin to describe and relate to them as a married couple.

Traditionally, most Inuit marriages were the product of betrothals arranged between the parents of the young couple. Where possible, these betrothals were contracted while the future partners were still infants. Needless to say, numerous events and problems interfered with the universal achievement of this ideal, and many men and women reached marriageable age without promised partners. When this happened, parents would entertain marriage proposals from male suitors (or the young man's parents) or in rare cases, marriages were contracted independent of parental intervention (Balikci, 1970).

Today infant betrothals have virtually disappeared, although young mothers who have same age children of opposite sexes may joke about the infants as future marriage partners. I once witnessed a birthday party for a two year old girl where her intended husband arrived bearing a birthday card with a "bearskin rug" polaroid snapshot and statements of undying love and fidelity, which had everyone, including her seventy year old grandmother, in hysterics.

But for young adults, marriages continue to be influenced by parental intervention, and indeed, this trend seems stronger today than several years ago. In Chapter 4, I reported that the proportion of arranged marriages has remained constant through the two older cohorts at about 30 percent. This figure, however, represents only those who indicated their parents had actually selected their spouse for them. These arrangements had not been negotiated as infant betrothals but instead had been arranged by parents of young people at marriageable ages. They did not so much reflect an autocratic parental interference in the lives of young people as they represent an effort by parents to help in at ease young people achieve the difficult but necessary step to married life. These marriages were most often arranged by parents when their sons and daughters had reached marriageable ages without finding a spouse on their own. Arranged marriages and a late introduction to sex were very highly correlated (.459 [.001]), and most of the young men indicated that their wives in arranged marriages were their first sexual partners.

Parental preferences for marriage partners no longer follow traditional descriptive patterns (e.g., the cousin preferences of the Netsilingmiut). They are however almost always contracted within traditional tribal affiliations and religious endogamy is rarely breached. Beyond these general conditions, parents seek spouses for their children which strengthen bonds between families (particularly where the men may be hunting or trapping partners). They also attempt to match young people for both similarities, and/or to counterbalance qualities in the young men which they may disapprove of.

For the majority, shy young men in land-oriented families are matched with shy young women of similar backgrounds. The parents of boys look for good sewers and the parents of girls look for young men likely to become good hunters (keeping in mind that success in the work world is necessary to become a good hunter). These arrangements in the two older cohorts often seem to be the best adjusted and least stressful of all marital relationships. They are highly correlated with low alcohol use (.362 [.01]), and there was no significant indication that higher anxiety (as measured by HOS) was experienced in most of these marriages.

However, there were several examples of arranged marriages where the parents had attempted to exert some controlling influence over a not necessarily marginal, but notably independent young man, and these arrangements were almost universally stressful for not only both partners but the families who had to put considerable energy into their maintenance. Pauloosie and Nick were both in arrangements of this sort and their experiences are illustrative.

In each of these cases, the young men stood out from their peers as both successful hunters and able workers, but they also enjoyed travelling to other towns and were inclined to migrate elsewhere for work or education. They also established relationships with young women all over the region. And they were not in the least marginal; they spoke Inuktitut well, were liked and respected by peers and older people alike, and identified easily

and respectfully as Inuit. The arranged marriages in these cases were not to assist the young men to overcome adolescent anxieties about sex, but to try and exert some control over them as very valuable resources which parents feared might be lost to the community if they were allowed to continue pursuing their own interests.

Their arranged marriage partners were uniformly ideal traditional partners; and they were expected to exert a conservative influence over their husbands. But the young men reacted by denying the reality of these relationships. In interviews and conversations, they refused to acknowledge a married status (even though Pauloosie's "wife" had already given birth to their first child). Nick's obsession with land activities was related to his attempt to avoid any affirmation of his arranged marriage. When I asked him what he would do if his "wife" became pregnant, he replied that she was unlikely to become pregnant if they never had sexual relations. Pauloosie's avoidance took on a slightly more destructive tone. At an age where he should have been making the transition from the Junior Team focus to a hunter identity, with a new focus on family and the land, he resisted his marriage by clinging to the "player" identity of the Junior Team and by having sexual relations with as many other young women as possible -- and in the process fathering several illegitimate children.

In Nick's case, after a year of self-denial and obsessive land travel, the couple's parents agreed to dissolve the arrangement. Nick fled to the next town where he began living with an old girlfriend, started attending church, stopped drinking, and began attending political meetings. After several months he returned to Sanctuary Bay with his new wife and his new in-laws, and he moved back into his parent's house and began planning an outpost camp with his father.

In Pauloosie's case, the outcome was more in doubt. His older step-brother had been in a similar arranged marriage with two children but had eventually forced his parents and in-laws to agree to a divorce; whereupon

he started a relationship with the sister of one of the local Whites and subsequently moved with her to Yellowknife.

These arranged marriages, however, represent only a small proportion of all marriages, most of which are contracted by two people attracted to one another, but few of which achieved public recognition without the permission of both sets of parents. In interviews, most young men who indicated their spouses were their own choices, were also careful to qualify these statements with the rider that they had sought their parents' permission before moving in together. Even Bobby Ukpinnituk telephoned his mother from Yellowknife to seek her permission before bringing his new girlfriend back to Sanctuary Bay.

The new understanding between generations seems to be that most parents no longer force their children into marriages that are not based to some extent on romantic attraction, but at the same time they do expect young people to seek their "permission". The following interview with a man in his early fifties illustrates this:

Both my older sons married women they chose themselves. When they decided they wanted to live together, they asked me and I said they should stay together for a while before deciding. My oldest son has three children, but he has never been married in the Church. That's up to him -- he is a man and can do as he likes. My next older son has two children, and he was married in the Church last year. My youngest son should be getting married soon. But he does not seem to be interested in girls. I have started to think about a wife for him, and maybe I will tell him to start living with someone soon. Its not good for a full-grown man not to have a wife and sometimes young people are shy and need to be helped.

For their part, youth are also aware of the advantages that accrue to marriages contracted with the support of their parents. The Junior Team cohort particularly has the advantage of having witnessed several marriages in the older cohorts when young couples have ignored parental opposition and who have subsequently become severely alienated and stressed as a result. The most severe lesson was provided by Joshua Tattuiniq who married the favorite daughter of a powerful old man who had

already promised his daughter in an arranged marriage, and whose opposition to her marriage to Joshua resolved into violence. Although some of the hostility had gone from the relationship, Joshua was forced to expend enormous effort trying to negotiate his in-laws' support that otherwise would have been extended more or less automatically. His failures in both the work and hunting sectors of everyday life were directly the result of his in-laws opposition to his presence.

Other than these highly stressed and somewhat special cases, marital tensions were not significantly related to any other variables, and most seemed to cycle through periods of storm and calm. There was a slight tendency (insignificant statistically) in marriages where one partner was from another village for the men to score slightly higher on the HOS. Women without local kindred seemed more stressed than their male counterparts. For women, visiting with female kin takes the place of escaping onto the land as an opportunity to relieve tension associated with marital life and coping with in-laws; thus women living away from sisters, female cousins etc., were particularly stressed and unable to direct tension anywhere but onto their husbands.

In both the Polar Bear Hunting and Managerial cohorts, those few couples where the wives had full-time highly paid jobs had a different set of stresses, and resources, to cope with. Two brief examples will help to illustrate this:

Case One

Tuvak's wife Ruby, was working part-time as a bookkeeper for a local agency. They had one infant daughter but because they were living with Ruby's parents, babysitting was not a problem. When Tuvak quit his job as a carpenter, Ruby convinced her Inuk boss to make her position full-time, and was expressly happy in her work. She was also a skilled seamstress and Tuvak proudly wore the sealskin boots she made him. He began to travel often onto the land; trips which were financed largely through his wife's wages. She also bought him a new rifle and scope. By the spring, he had developed the self-confidence to travel alone, and he began to take his young family out every weekend.

Case Two

James Paluqaq's wife, Iqaluk, worked full-time as the local representative for the regional Inuit Association. The reader will remember that she and James had been together a few months since his return from prison in Yellowknife, although they had lived together several years previously. Shortly after James returned, Iqaluk became involved in the organization of the annual meeting of the Inuit Association which was held in Sanctuary Bay for the first time. She was extremely busy preparing for visitors and expressly excited but nervous about her role in the proceedings.

James was unemployed at the time and ill-equipped for travel on the land. He had left all his gear in his home village and had few male kin locally on which to draw for support. His relationship with his father-in-law was also poor. He relied almost entirely for emotional and material support on his wife, and was increasingly threatened by her success in negotiating her own role in village affairs, and depressed about his own dependency.

During the week of the meeting their relationship suffered. Iqaluk complained frequently that James was of no assistance to her in coping with the meeting. She had one of the White advisors to the Inuit Association staying with her and anxiety about failing to meet hospitality expectations led her to criticize James for failing to help with the cooking and cleaning.

James spent the week building a sledge. He was building it in the woodworking shop of the school, which also happened to be the location for the meeting, and he often took breaks from his work to watch his wife assume even greater authority and considerable attention from both White and Inuit men in attendance.

He did a magnificent job on his sledge. He built it entirely by himself, and to my knowledge was the youngest man to ever build his own sledge. Older Inuit, commenting on it in front of his house, were truly impressed and rarely made the sort of teasing comments usually directed towards the first efforts of young men in things connected with the land.

As the week progressed, his relationship with Iqaluk deteriorated further until they were both talking about a separation. The White advisors were pressuring Iqaluk to accept a job in Cambridge Bay, which although his home town was a place James wanted to avoid because he knew if he returned he would

start to drink and fight. On one occasion, I sat with Iqaluk and the White woman advisor who was arguing that James would hinder her future in Northern politics and suggested she should leave him.

James was becoming increasingly critical about the Inuit Association and began to express cynical opinions about its purpose. He had once worked for it himself and had decided it was a puppet organization for the White advisors who made no secret of their political ambitions and were using Inuit identifications to that end. When he was not criticizing the Inuit Association, he talked of little else then hunting experiences and dreams of starting an outpost camp. His need to reinforce his hunter self-image in the face of his wife's success in the White world was acute during that week; but he lacked the resources and outside social support to accomplish it and his frustration grew.

As a friend to both of them, I was expecting disastrous consequences and spent considerable time talking to each about the issues and pressures just described. On the evening the meeting ended, and the delegates and advisors left, they came together to my house and invited me to share a bottle of wine one of the advisors had left behind for Iqaluk. Contrary to all my expectations, they appeared totally reconciled. They had spent several hours discussing their situation and Iqaluk had decided not to accept the job and was deferentially supporting James's idea of an outpost camp. At one point, during a peaceful and pleasant evening, Iqaluk showed me several ulus (a crescent-shaped cutting tool used by women to scrape skins), that James had made her during the week. Later on, we went for a walk to where a dogteam was tied on the edge of town to look at a puppy that was to be their first sledge dog. They had already decided to call it "John".

This trend towards women in their twenties achieving success in managerial roles is likely to increase. As young men become more interested in the land and "carpentering" occupations, young women are also redefining their traditional roles as keepers of the hearth to keepers of the village. As the two cases above illustrate, this development can be both beneficial and stressful to young couples, depending on the symbiotic quality of the interdependency and particularly, on the young man's ability to achieve equal success on the land. In Tuvak and Ruby's case, their role activity and economic success complemented each other and

Tuvak was not threatened by his wife's success. But where the young man is blocked from success on the land, and where his wife does not realize the meaning that he has given to her own success, the marriage is in trouble.

Throughout this thesis I have touched occasionally on the topic of single White women working in the North, and their impact on the coping styles, and identifications of Inuit youth. I believe this topic deserves a lengthy and careful consideration, which would entail more space than I can allow here, but I would like to summarize briefly some of the elements of this new phenomenon in the North. It is of course a sensitive and complicated issue, and, to be properly considered, should examine the evolution and meaning of the feminist movement in White society. This larger discussion will have to wait however, save for a note to warn the reader that while my concern here is with the impact of feminism on Inuit youth, I am also sympathetic to the stresses young women face in their efforts to cope with a male-dominated society, and do not intend this discussion as a critique of those efforts.

In Sanctuary Bay in 1981 there were six single, 30ish, attractive, well-educated, career-minded, and by White village standards, wealthy and powerful White women employed in various professional capacities. During the same period there were three single White men, all in their early twenties, employed in various occupations, and relatively powerless. This situation is quite different from the situation in northern villages in the sixties and seventies where single White men constituted the single-most serious threat to young people through their sexual exploitation of young Inuit women who were then rejecting Inuit men in favor of the wealth and comfort White men could provide (cf., Brody,1975; Graburn,1969; Lubart,1969; McElroy,1975).

Single White women affect the lives of young Inuit at three important exigetices: they may be patrons (or should I say matrons) to unmarried (teenage) men who often develop unfulfilled and painful infatuations; they may become the confidants and counsellors to married women in their mid to

late twenties who may be experiencing identity confusion and role problems; and they may develop so-called "platonic" friendships with married men in their late twenties and early thirties that occasionally lead to romantic entanglements and marital breakdowns. Even where affairs do not mature, the wives of these "friends" are often seriously stressed by the relationship and marital tension increases anyways.

In each of these encounters, the effects can be disastrous for both the young men and women directly involved and for their girlfriends, husbands and wives, as I have illustrated at various points throughout the thesis. The real tragedy of this situation, however, is that the women who become involved in these encounters are usually the ones who come North with the highest ideals and expectations to work for the benefit of the Inuit. Of the Sanctuary Bay group, those who were working in the North merely to fatten bank accounts and look for a White spouse, quickly asked to be transferred to larger centres when they realized how restricted their social life would be in Sanctuary Bay. These women, however, usually have little impact on young Inuit because their social contact is restricted to work-related encounters and they are generally uninterested in exploring the meaning of deep-seated racial taboos acquired in childhoods proximal to Indian communities in southern Canada.

Those women who do encounter Inuit on other than work-related levels, however, are usually the ones trying to learn Inuktitut, interested in travelling on the land, sympathetic to indigenous political struggles, and are existentially interested in challenging sexual taboos which they self-consciously consider impediments to the potential for human beings to become caring, empathetic beings. (The letter from Joshua Tattuiniq in Chapter 7 was typed for him by a sympathetic nurse.)

Unfortunately, the product of these efforts is often emotional damage to teenage boys, alienated and confused teenage girls, marital counselling that further encourages young Inuit women to act in a manner considered threatening by their husbands, and most tragically, broken marriages and

the seduction and removal of Inuit men who are often considered the best of their generation and represent a great loss to community resources.

It is little wonder that Inuit elders are coming to prefer those Whites who keep to themselves, do their jobs and fatten their bank balances; and look for ways to have the empathetic Whites transferred elsewhere. In Sanctuary Bay, Council has asked Health and Welfare to transfer two nurses in the past several years who fit this pattern.

One final point I would like to make in this section is to reemphasize the importance of the land as a refuge for young couples to rediscover the interdependent nature of their gender identities. Spring and summer camping, as I described in Chapter 5, are not always easy coping tactics to stage, but relations between marriage partners characterized by strife and discordancy through the late winter, were renewed and indeed, recreated in camp. There was a clarity to gender images never available in the village context. Those young couples unable to reestablish their relationships in a totally Inuit context on a regular basis, suffered the greatest trauma and their situations provided the least emotional support for either partner.

8.4 Fathering

In a world where symbols of strength, machismo, nurturance, and sensitivity are central to much of the modern rhetoric about gender identities and male/female role differences, one of the most striking features about young Inuit men which sets them apart from their same-age White counterparts in Canadian society, is the remarkable combination of hunter machismo with a nurturant, supportive expression of self in interactions with their children. This seeming incompatibility, and our own inability to conceive of the two images as complementary, was crystallized for me when I returned from a hunting trip with a young family to find in the mail, a special issue of Ms. magazine (the American feminist journal), devoted to an analysis of changing fathering styles in

the United States. The essays were full of praise for the nurturant American male -- the man who assists his wife during childbirth, takes care of midnight feedings, babysits while his wife goes to the bar for a few beers, and perhaps becomes the complete househusband. These changes in role behaviour, Ms. argued, must also be accompanied by qualitative personality changes; a man must be sensitive, caring and cry easily.

As I read these essays, I reflected on the trip I had just completed and on how much young Inuit men could teach both White men and feminists about the expression of sensitivity and strength simultaneously. I had spent the weekend with James Paluqaq, his wife Iqaluk, and their eight year old daughter, at Iqaluk's father's outpost camp. We were on our way home when a crisis occurred that illustrates this issue. As the reader is aware by now, James and Iqaluk are by no means the most "traditional" young people. Thus the strong expression of Inuit values with regards to fathering and children was even more remarkable:

It was early spring and the weather was cold enough to require caribou skin clothing. The outpost camp was about 100 miles south of the village, and we left camp early Sunday evening to return home. Both James and Iqaluk had to be at work Monday morning, and wanted to travel quickly to be home by midnight. It was late enough in the season for 24 hour daylight. James was pulling a large sled without a box where Iqaluk and her daughter, Leah, rode exposed to the elements.

About 40 miles from home, and out on the sea ice, James' snowmachine began to lose power and we were forced to stop. While Iqaluk made tea on the Coleman stove, sheltered from a fairly nasty wind at the side of the sledge, James and I checked over all the obvious mechanical problems such as fuel lines, sparkplugs, and wiring, but when the machine still failed to work, James dumped his tools out onto the snow beside him and proceeded to strip the engine down to its crankshaft in the sub-zero temperatures. We discovered a hole in one of the pistons, which meant the engine either had to be rebuilt or replaced. Fortunately, James had picked up an old machine at the outpost camp and had the spare engine on his sledge. The spare had not been used, however, for over a year, and had been buried for most of that time under a snowdrift. Neither did we know whether the engine had been running before it was abandoned. James had planned to rebuild it in the village, not test it out here in the freezing night.

We stopped to have tea, during which James played gently with Leah, and patiently answered her questions about when we would get home with confident assurances. He did not appear in the least perturbed, and we discussed our options. I favored abandoning his machine and continuing with mine, but he was concerned he might not be able to retrieve it before the ice started to break up. He wanted to try and rebuild the engine, but was afraid the same problem might occur again. We decided to replace the engine with the spare, knowing that if it did not work we could still proceed with my machine.

At this point we had already been stopped for over an hour and Leah was beginning to complain of the cold and boredom. We were unfortunately travelling without a tent and the snow was unsuitable for a snowhouse, so there was nothing we could do but try to keep her amused and active. Iqaluk told her stories and played games with her, but Leah kept her attention on James, fully realizing he was ultimately responsible for her comfort.

Changing the engine took us several hours and then another hour was wasted getting it running. (There was snow in the fuel lines and carburetor, the throttle was frozen, and the timing was off.) From my perspective, I would not have been at all surprised to see James become short-tempered and edgy, and I certainly expected him to instruct his wife to look after her daughter. The job was extremely frustrating and difficult. The new engine did not fit properly, we lacked some of the necessary tools, and we both received cuts and bruises to our already chilled fingers.

However, James never once showed any sign of his frustration. Whenever Leah came to him to complain of being cold, or wanting to go home, he stopped whatever he was doing and concentrated completely on her complaints. He never snapped at his wife, or at Leah, and was obviously aware that Iqaluk could only amuse the child for a certain period of time before she needed someone else's attention. (Leah was nervous about me which meant I was unable to help.) When Leah came to him, he would sit and hold her in his arms, rubbing her hands to warm them, and telling her little stories and jokes. This scene must have occurred five or six times, yet his tolerance and compassion never wavered.

I witnessed many other examples of young men in very nurturant roles with their children, both on the land and in the village. Men often came to visit me with their toddlers, and would stay only if the child was happy (which they often were not -- qallunaat being bogey-men to many Inuit

children). Men in their twenties often stated they no longer went to the gym because they had to look after their children in the evenings to give their wives a break. Even men who worked all day accepted this responsibility.

And the practice of young couples keeping their infants in bed with them, at least until the end of the first year, and then moving them to a smaller bed in the same room until they are five or six years old before finally moving them into another room with older siblings, is a firm expression of the continuing importance of affectionate bonds between fathers and their children. It is by no means a response to crowded living conditions because I know of several households where a spare bedroom was available but unused, even where the young couple had three infant children in the same room with them.

In the village, men must also cope with household tension with more equanimity than their wives. Young wives are less inhibited about showing anger to their children, and although they rarely use physical violence, they often raise their voices to scold misbehaving children. Particularly where the young couple is living with his parents, or grandparents, which is where wives experience the most stress, young men must perform a stabilizing function. Wives are sometimes criticized by the older women in the household for their coping tactics with children -- older people are upset by their tendency to lose their tempers and shout, or make the children cry -- and young men cope with these tensions by maintaining a cool, calm demeanor and by enabling their wives to withdraw while they care for the children.

For most young fathers in their early twenties, the rationale behind all of this behaviour is "I must think of my family". Joshua's letter in Chapter 6 indicates this is true for even the most marginal young men, and I heard the statement repeated many times as an explanation for everything from not drinking, to hunting, to avoiding card games, to looking for work. As much a part of the modern world young Inuit may be, and as different

their behavioural expressions may be from those of their elders, the eager willingness to start families between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one makes their overall coping styles still much different from most youth cultures in the Western world. As youth continue to renew their interest in a village/land lifestyle, and dispense with ideas about moving to larger centres, or pursuing further education, the family focus is once again centrally important to this new vision of themselves. With the crystallization of values generated in the churches about standards of sexual behaviour and responsibility, a pattern of initiating sexual relations at eighteen, living together at nineteen, having a first child at twenty, and then, possibly, getting married in the church at twenty-one, is emerging as the prevalent coping style of Inuit youth. There are of course a small minority of young people who are avoiding parenthood to pursue non-village related goals, but these deviant cases are generally recognized as such, and are the exceptions which prove the rule. The role model to which most teenagers aspire is epitomized by Tuvak Alooktook.

8.5 Relating

At one point in the Annual General Meeting of the Kitikmeot Inuit Association when guests were thanking their Sanctuary Bay hosts, I recorded the following commentary from a delegate from another village:

When I came to this meeting I thought it might be really boring because there would not be any parties. Its not that I like to drink a lot, but I do not have any relatives here and I do not know very many people. I thought I might get homesick easy.

But Sanctuary Bay is like one big family. It seems like everyone is related to each other and they get along like one big family. People are really friendly and invite you into their homes for tea and treat you like one of the family. Everyone is always smiling and saying hello in the stores.

I have had a lot of fun this week and really enjoyed myself. It seems like I heard before that this town was kind of boring but its not like that at all. Its quiet and peaceful because everyone gets along like one big family.

This "one big family" aspect of the village was further reinforced when a middle-aged man was killed in a snowmobile accident in the midst of the spring games. He was well-liked, but not particularly active politically and in fact somewhat associated with the anti-establishment group described in Chapter 7. The accident happened in mid-afternoon in front of most of the villagers down on the sea ice, and the games were stopped immediately. About an hour later, the Anglican church bell began to ring, and the entire Anglican congregation, as well as several Catholics, packed into the church to hold a brief prayer service. When it finished, the Catholic church (to which the deceased belonged), held a funeral service and nearly the entire community, Catholic and Anglican, was present.

At noon the next day, the brother-in-law of the deceased called everyone over the CB radio to come to the gym and continue the games. The largest turnout of the week developed and the games continued on into the evening. The organizers concentrated on humorous events; whenever the widow smiled, the whole room seemed to breathe a sigh of relief. The widow sat on the floor surrounded by most of the other middle-aged women in the village, only a few of whom were related to her.

These two anecdotes convey something of the emotional quality of social relationships in Sanctuary Bay, and illustrate the support that can be generated in times of severe stress. [5] For young people, this solidarity can be threatening if they find themselves defined as outsiders (e.g., Joshua Tattuiniq). I observed occasions where young men attempted to curry favor with particular uncles in an attempt to generate the unguyaq "affectionate" bonds that were supposed to obtain and which would sponsor the young man's entry into the larger social network (cf., Wenzel, 1981:85). Again, in Joshua Tattuiniq's case, after borrowing an uncle-in-law's boat to hunt seal he spent over an hour scouring the boat clean and stowing the gear away neatly in an explicit effort to improve this relative's

[5] It also illustrates the general manner of coping with bereavement -- a stoic focus on the present and future -- a topic which is beyond the present discussion but worth noting.

department towards him. He was also very worried that his conflicts with Junior Teamers at basketball games would be interpreted as "fighting with cousins" by others in the village; his concern stemmed largely from his confusion over who his cousins were.

On the other hand, young men also coped with their exclusion from the "community" by committing anti-social acts such as vandalism. These acts were almost exclusively directed towards institutional structures however (such as the school), or against Whites, and rarely against the property of other Inuit. Escaping from the village may also be an objective in vandalism; being sent to Yellowknife for a few weeks is an opportunity to escape village pressure and certainly Bobby's apparent high spirits when I met him in Yellowknife point to this. (Suicidal gestures must also be understood at least partially as a response to the community's ostracism as Chapter 1 suggests. Bobby Ukpinnigutuk and Joshua were the only young men who I considered "at risk" suicidally.)

There is a widespread sentiment throughout the North among older Inuit that young people are no longer interested in Inuit values and skills. Brody (1976) provides an extensive summary of these views from across the North, views that are still expressed regularly at public meetings today. The prevailing sentiment in these concerns is that the principal rule of Inuit social organization -- seniority -- is in danger of being destroyed and that the very survival of the Inuit is threatened if this fear is realized:

The old saying is that an old person is wiser than a young one. Some older people say that the one who listens to his parents will live the longest. If you listen to old people and are told to do something, you will live longer and have a better life.

(Bernard Iquuqaqtuq, Pelly Bay; quoted in Brody, 1976:225)

To some extent, this concern is justified in the village context; young people feel they are coping with conditions new to everyone and thus their own innovative efforts are as valid as anyone else's. I think the evidence presented thus far, however, also suggests that even where coping tactics appear much different from standards older Inuit might prefer, these

tactics are in harmony with Inuit values at a deeper level.

On the land, the principle of seniority and obedience or naalaqtuq, is still strictly observed. The only way to circumvent it is to travel with age-mates or Whites as described in Chapter 5. When young men are out with older hunters however, no matter how small the age difference or what other village criteria might apply, seniority is unquestionably obeyed by even the most "modern" young men:

On one occasion I had been caribou hunting with an old man and the grandson of his cousin, and we were about to return to the village when his three grandsons arrived to see if we needed assistance. On the way back, we encountered a large herd of caribou at the base of a range of hills, and since the three brothers had not hunted yet, the old man agreed to wait while his grandsons hunted.

I went with the three young men and witnessed the strict operation of the rule of seniority in a group where I expected otherwise. The oldest brother, Richard Panigoniak (26), was only three years older than Nick, who was six years older than Anthony. As I described in Chapter 5, Nick had spent most of the previous winter alone on the land and was certainly an accomplished hunter, whereas Richard had been working full-time for nearly five years, although he was a frequent weekender.

Our approach to the caribou took us up into the hills where we lost sight of the herd. We had to try and estimate where we had last seen them and where they might be moving so that when we emerged from the hills, we would be right above them. We travelled in single file with Richard in the lead, and Nick, Anthony and myself on separate snowmachines following. We were travelling quickly over very rocky terrain which required considerable detours to protect our equipment, and I was soon disoriented.

Richard stopped after a short time and held a brief meeting with his brothers about the direction we would take. Nick felt we should be heading more to our right and his younger brother seemed to agree with him, but Richard continued in the direction he had chosen. We approached the edge of the cliff and cautiously peered over but could detect no sign of the herd or any evidence they were in the area. My own sense of direction told me we should heed Nick's advice but we continued along Richard's track rather than detouring inland to intercept the herd if it was further right. At another conference Nick again

suggested we should turn further right, but gave in again to Richard's insistence we were on the right track.

The next time we looked over the edge, there was a gunshot and we could see the old man waving to us to return. Without a word, we retraced our trail and discovered that the herd had started to run as soon as we entered the hills and had long since left the area. But they were indeed further right than where we had been looking, and Nick's reluctance to force a confrontation with his older brother, or merely direct his snowmachine according to his own ideas, or to comment afterwards in any derogatory way, was strong evidence of his considerable respect for the authority of his older brother.

Wenzel (1981) has argued that hunting success in the modern context has little to do with technology per se, but is correlated strongly with the integrity of a man's kindred. I concur with Wenzel's conclusions and further suggest that young men are keenly aware of the necessity of these ties and work to build them during the Polar Bear Hunting phase of life. Nonetheless, both Polar Bear Hunters and Junior Teamers must struggle to balance innovation with obedience, and as several of the cases described in Chapter 5 indicate, coping tactics to achieve this balance are critically important.

I would like to conclude this discussion with a brief comment on the general quality of relationships between young men and the older women in their families. Throughout this thesis I have emphasized the importance of male kin ties as necessary to achieve certain successes in coping with the modern adult world. Young men also report strong links with the older women in their families, particularly sisters and aunts.

When travelling to other towns and villages, young men almost invariably indicated they would stay at their "aunties" or in several cases at older sisters who had married away. Mother's sisters particularly were the preferred place to visit, and young men who had extended kindreds along these lines were the least stressed by travel for sports, work or to look for spouses. Overall they showed lower scores on both stress measures and alcohol use. Contrary to the general finding that having tightly knit

as opposed to widely distributed kindreds was more salubrious, having well-distributed female relatives was supportive. Therefore the particular nature of a scattered kindred is important in assessing its value or liability to a young person.

Ties with mothers are also expressed through the practice of a young man's mother adopting his first child. Guemple (1979) has comprehensively reviewed the institution of adoption both traditionally and in the modern (i.e., pre-1975) period. He emphasizes the need to approach Inuit adoption as a meaningfully different institutional practice in Inuit society than the legalistic (and deviant) notion that Westerners have. He cites a wide literature to support his argument that adoption rates have been and continue to be much higher than is necessary to look after orphaned or illegitimate children (ranging from 20 to 70 percent of all children born).

My data support his thesis but they also indicate that the preferred adoption is by the young man's mother of his firstborn son, particularly when the wife is from another village (and there is the strong possibility that the couple may reside there).

In the Managerial cohort, 53 percent (n=12) of the young men reported that at least one of their children had been adopted in infancy by a relative, and five of these cases were where a firstborn son or daughter was adopted by the young man's mother. In the Polar Bear Hunting cohort, 40 percent (n=10) of the young men reported a child adopted by a relative (the reader should remember that these are young families and the rate is likely to increase as they age), and of these, two cases were where a firstborn son was adopted by the young man's mother. In all cases, the young men indicated that it was their mother rather than parents who had adopted the child.

Beyond noting its occurrence, however, I am hard pressed to offer an interpretation. I suspect that for the young women these situations were quite stressful since together with loss of a child, they suffered a

rather abrupt and substantial transition away from their own families into their husband's family. For the young men, who may have had to spend several years away in their wife's village, this transaction probably provided them with a certain amount of confidence that they would eventually be back amongst kin and more easily able to become hunters. Since these marriages also had a greater likelihood of ending in divorce, having a mother raising a son may have been symbolically like having a mother as a surrogate wife.

8.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have tried to convey something of the fluid nature of relational ties between Inuit youth and the people around them. I have argued that the meaning of social bonds (i.e., whether they are supportive or stressful) cannot be discovered by arranging them categorically (i.e., these bonds are stressful and these are supportive). Instead, they must be considered temporally and situationally. While all relations have certain structural regularities in terms of expected interdependency and affective deportment, these "rules" are on a continuum and their expression is open to negotiation. For youth, this means that while they can expect indulgence from a grandfather, or understanding from a wife, or friendly guidance from an uncle, or solidarity from cousins; the extent and depth of these alliances is a product of social interaction, and the intentions and efforts of the parties involved.

Each relationship also can be considered, again situationally and temporally, as having both stressful and supportive characteristics simultaneously. The definition of the relationship by the parties to the interaction produces the balance -- for that situation -- of these two properties. The extraordinary nature of marital relations which one day contribute to suicidal feelings, and the next become havens from the storm, attests to this.

Nonetheless, there are certain "regularities" in youthful social relationships which can be considered supportive or as resources for youth coping with stresses arising out of other sectors of everyday life. These regularities are listed below:

1. Belonging to the Junior Team during the Inuusuuqtuit years contributes to feelings of belonging to the community even when the community is expressing negative vibes.
2. Negotiating a loving marital arrangement at 19 in order to emerge successfully two years later as an adult.
3. Having empathetic parents assist in this negotiation through arranged marriages.
4. Being friends with cousins, or making friends into cousins assists young hunters to establish independence.
5. Defining the marital relationship in the land context as frequently as possible.
6. Having children to nurture to provide a meaningful core to male identity.
7. Being part of a community with a strong sense of communal identity and an expression of communal care and concern.
8. Having female kin distributed through the region.
9. Having older male kin locally who express friendship and empathy.

Since stress is less "regular" and more individually and situationally determined, stressful aspects of social relations cannot be so easily summarized. Not having any of the above is obviously stressful, but when and where having the above can become stressful can only be described contextually.

9. IS IT COOL TO BE AN ESKIMO?

The title of this chapter (and of the thesis) is an interrogative version of a T-shirt slogan popular among Inuit youth in the late seventies which I feel captures in a few words, the many-stranded issue this thesis has addressed. In the preceding chapters, I have examined the intricate relationship between social stress, coping, and identity — all considered within a "coming of age" or life-span developmental framework. I have argued that young men are increasingly attracted to symbols of Inuitness and are actively constructing social realities which support the assumption of Inuit identity. I have argued that stress is meaningfully different for young men at different ages, and that stress is defined by young Inuit primarily in terms of relevant constraints to negotiating transitions in identity focus at different ages. I have described the more important coping techniques (tactics, strategies, and styles) that young men devise to negotiate these social and transitional stresses.

I conclude that no, its not cool to be an Eskimo, but yes, it is cool to be an Inuk. The "Eskimo" identity is associated with the devalued ethnic status which in previous decades, young Inuit sought to escape by aspiring to White values and lifestyles. With changes at a national level in political consciousness and action, have come simultaneous redefinitions of what it means to be an Inuk, and youth are embracing this new symbol of self and using it to generate behaviour that is consistent with a family-centred, village/land context. However, being an Inuk is variably defined and embraced by different sectors of the young adult group.

For teenagers, being an Inuk is very much an act of becoming, and as such is fraught with stress. Teenagers are defined by their society as "those about to become people" and the implications of success or failure

in negotiating this fundamental transition loom threatenly in their everyday lives. Health measures suggest that slightly more than half of this cohort exhibit psychophysiological symptoms indicative of the experience of a profound and enduring stress. To become an Inuk, teenage boys must, at the age of 19 (an age boundary set by their parents), acquire the financial capital to support land activities which will allow them to become self-reliant and competent hunters. To be a hunter is the fundamental criterion of being male, adult and Inuk. Since contemporary Northern economic conditions make such a transition in the late teens impossible, teenagers must devise alternate social realities to nourish and sustain positive identities through this transitional period.

To "be cool" also means to be young; it implies a strategy transcending the everyday problems or "daily hassles" that seem to pervade adult life. By "being cool", a young Inuk inverts those features of adult life that hold the most potential threat to his emerging identity, into seemingly petty problems unworthy of attention. By adopting a "cool" persona, the young person is asserting an ascendance over adult understandings of everyday life, and in the process, constructing a social reality which denies meaning to adult perceptions and expectations.

Recreating has become the activity around which identity and social reality are constructed. Gym sports and dancing to pop music not only occupy most of their waking hours, they are also contexts in which identities as competent confident persons can be defined and sustained, and provide opportunities for negotiating behavioural understandings about what is, and is not appropriate to "acting like an Inuk". Although cut off from the most vital element of Inuk identity — hunting -- teenagers work hard to deport themselves in these seemingly non-Inuit contexts as Inuit; i.e., they try to compete like Inuit and chase girls like Inuit. And since recreational activities are so vital to physical and emotional well-being, they are also sensitive to the stigma associated with the "player/gambler" identity (i.e., lazy and morally corrupt) and resist the incorporation of potentially polluting elements by ostracizing

youth who display aspects of this devalued status.

In their early twenties, however, young men (most of whom identified with recreational symbols as teenagers) are more easily able to negotiate the transition to hunter identity and their coping styles reflect this new focus. Tremendous energy is poured into exploration and innovation in the land context. Hunting polar bears is symbolic of this new intensity and establishing family relations in the context of the land becomes essential. Working is incorporated into this coping style as both a symbol of village identification and as a resource to sustain hunting activities and identifications.

Young men in their late twenties are struggling with a different set of stresses. For a variety of historical reasons, they are more village than land focused, and are immersed in negotiating niches within the bureaucratic institutional structure of village administration. Hunting is still important in the sense that it offers the same sort of revitalizing escape from stress that recreation offers teenagers, but interaction with Whites (and their symbols, values, standards, etc.) means that young men in their late twenties continue to struggle with identity issues in their attempts to become real Inuit.

However, these coping efforts are not merely reactions to stresses perceived by various age cohorts, they are also creative and innovative attempts to redefine and reconstruct society in ways which better integrate the many aspects of everyday life significant to the actors. Teenagers are conscious of a village identity in a more profound way than previous cohorts, and aspire to lifestyles constructed within the village context. Young men in their early twenties are incorporating occupational roles, such as carpentering, into ideas about tradition and Inuitness. And young men in their late twenties are working to escape brokerage roles and redefine village institutions within Inuit social life.

Inuit youth (and indeed, youth everywhere) are often defined by nearly everyone but themselves as a "problem". At the Inuit Elders Conference in

Pelly Bay in 1982, the prevailing issue at nearly every meeting was the "problem of our young people". In the letter I received from the Hamlet Council indicating I had their permission to do research in 1981/82, they indicated they were looking forward to receiving my help in solving the "problem of our young people". Almost everyone I've ever mentioned the nature of my research to, who has any familiarity with the North, has commented "that's certainly a major problem". At the annual general meeting of the Kitikmeot Inuit Association, their White Executive Director emphasized in his address that one of the major problems facing the Inuit of the region was the "young people", and older representatives from various villages concurred. The scientific literature addressing the problems of social change in the North often identifies young people as the group suffering the most. The popular media reinforces these ideas with frequent references to the youth problem.

Against this overwhelming body of opinion, I am naturally hesitant to conclude that there is no youth problem in Sanctuary Bay. But I think the weight of the evidence here leads one to draw such a conclusion with some qualification. There may indeed be problems which affect young people (just as they affect everyone else) but young people themselves are not the problem. I would argue instead that they are actively and creatively engaged in constructing social realities and defining identities which are the best possible solutions to the situations they confront, and that in the process they are deconstructing some of the more problematic aspects of Northern society. The situations they are dealing with are by definition, unique to them, and their solutions cannot be judged by the standards of the larger society.

I am not suggesting that all coping techniques are beneficial or necessarily successful. Nor am I suggesting that stress cannot be if not measured, at least identified. Obviously suicide or heroin addiction, while perhaps appropriate responses to pathological environments, are not solutions that should be encouraged. However, the objective determination of levels of stress and effective coping solutions is far more problematic

than a great deal of research suggests, and requires the sort of ethnographic "depth" described in this thesis if it is to have any validity.

The key to this analysis has been the idea that society is constructed, and as a construction, its "reality" is only meaningful from the perspective of the person (or groups of people sharing similar understandings) who perceive it. The "system" looks one way to me, another way to an Inuk elder, and more importantly, different again to Inuit teenagers. My coping strategies (for perceived stressful features) are unlikely to be relevant to the Inuit elder, and neither his nor mine are likely to be relevant to the teenager.

One must accept that age is as important to the generation of culture, and cultural boundaries, as is race, and that age identity is as meaningful as ethnic identity. (Gender is a third important biological foundation for generating cultural differences.) One might argue that shared historical experience (i.e., tradition) is a feature of ethnic identity that transcends these other diacritica, but I think this thesis has clearly illustrated that historical experience is as much a product of age as it is of race, and that "tradition" is defined differently not only by members of different racial groups, but by different age groups as well. The "tradition" of the Inuk elder, which is constructed from symbols of camp life, dog teams and shamanism, is certainly different from the "tradition" of the Hamlet Council member whose focus is on the Church and trapping; and different again from the "tradition" of the youth who considers snowmobiles and carpentering as symbols of traditional ethnicity.

That these traditions overlap, intersect and indeed form a continuum, should also be obvious. Members of each "group" explore, and incorporate the traditional symbols of other groups. But their identities (in both a biographical and an interactional sense) remain rooted in their own historical experience. This sort of "cultural pluralism" is a very

different model for understanding the dynamics of ethnicity (i.e., the differences in reality construction between groups of people) than we usually associate with plural society models. It is instead associated with the ideas of Barth (1982) and Drummond (1980) who insist that all societies consist of multiple cultural streams, distributed on a continuum, from which members of that society select (and contribute) features which best reflect their own understandings of the world and which enable them to interact effectively with other members of the society. And they also argue that these streams are constructions, not codes (or texts), which can only be ascertained situationally, and whose features are constantly being redefined as members cope with new situations.

Barth (ibid), however, also argues that while occupation, religion, ethnicity, geography, and gender can be considered important sources of cultural traditions, age cannot. He considers it a transient social category which is not self-sustaining and does not recruit new members. I disagree. This thesis has shown that within a span of fifteen years, three different "cultural streams" have been generated by three consecutive youth cohorts who have experienced history uniquely, and have confronted different situations during their "formative" years when understandings about the world receive their greatest creative impetus. These sets of understandings are likely to lose some of their bounded uniqueness as these cohorts age, and adjacent cohorts may incorporate aspects of each others constructions into their own world views, but is that not what happens between all cultural streams in contact with each other?

I think the idea of cohort cultures also contradicts Barth's (ibid) argument that modern and traditional identifications cannot be considered displays drawn from "self-sustaining cultural streams". The argument here is that the newest cohort culture (i.e., The Junior Team), is also the most modern, and that part of the tension between the generations derives from the conflict over whose definition of modern will prevail in the community. Inuit elders define modernity as using rifles and trading fox

pelts. Council members define modernity as believing in God and doing municipal service work. Junior Teamers define modernity as training for the Olympics. However, each of these cohorts also considers all of these features as definitions of tradition as well. The tension arises when older generations attempt to protect their particular definitions of modernity and tradition in order to sustain their control over the resources that each of these understandings defines as valuable.

Drummond (ibid) also argues that an actor's relationship with the cultural continuum is transformational, that actors are able to move through and within the continuum by means of a set of transformations that make certain boundaries relevant in some situations and insignificant in others. I think this thesis has shown that age and ethnic boundaries intersect in a similar manner. Teenagers are highly age conscious, and sometimes appear to identify more as youth (i.e., as members of an international pop culture) than as Inuit; although even here, situational factors sometimes stimulate the presentation of ethnic markers. As young people move into their twenties, age identity becomes less significant than ethnic identity — at least in the context of the larger society — and age is only significant in interactions with adjacent cohorts.

I must stress that this thesis has been a village study; that it has focused on the everyday life of the majority of Inuit youth in one village. The extent to which they are representative of Inuit youth generally, both now and in the recent past, is difficult to determine without extensive field study. However, I am prepared to make some tentative comparisons.

In the sixties and early seventies, many observers of Northern culture change suggested that Native Peoples were experiencing a devalued sense of ethnic identity and were trying to escape this stigma by aspiring to White values, lifestyles, occupational roles, etc. (Berreman, 1964; Chance, 1965). Others documented the tensions that existed between the two ethnic groups and argued that young people particularly were marginalized, caught between two worlds, "with their heads in the industrial economy and their

hearts in the land" (Brody,1975; Graburn,1969; Lubart,1969). During the seventies, with the florescence of Inuit political movements, generated largely by these same "confused" or marginal youth, a new ethnic focus emerged which not only gave new value to Inuitness, but redefined "tradition" to include valued aspects of modernity; e.g., carving, Co-ops, trapping, Christianity, etc.(Graburn,1978; McElroy,1980). Although some have argued that this "revitalization" of identity has facilitated the confident pursuit of wider occupational goals and entry into the larger society by Inuit youth, I think this thesis indicates that it has also, or perhaps predominantly, generated a movement towards a village identity and lifestyles as not only legitimate "modern" pursuits, but as thoroughly Inuit. I do not believe this movement is reactionary or conservative. I think it indicates a new integrated consciousness that has very positive implications for the well-being of Inuit youth and the future of Northern society. I think it indicates that Inuit, and youth particularly, are defining value locally (i.e., in their own terms rather than according to the standards of Whites), and are giving equal or more valuation to being (and becoming) a hunter/trapper/carpenter/carver/husband/father/politician as they might to being a doctor, or a teacher, or an anthropologist. And in my view, having experienced aspects of both, I believe they are making the wiser choice, not only in a pragmatic sense (i.e., making the best use of available resources) but in an existential or humanistic sense (i.e., living lives of quality and dignity).

Are Sanctuary Bay youth alone in this endeavor because of economic conditions, historical isolation, or "tribal" characteristics? I do not believe so. It is difficult to gather comparative material second-hand because so many observers define whatever they see as a problem. I am not suggesting that evidence should be ignored from places like Frobisher Bay, Rankin Inlet, and Inuvik, where drug use seems to have surpassed recreational boundaries and suicide is both infectious and epidemic. These places are not villages and they lack the one characteristic that places like Sanctuary Bay now have -- local control over, and definition of,

institutions introduced and formerly dominated by Whites. This may be the most significant feature of contemporary village life. As various Inuit Councils, Societies, Boards, Associations, and Committees exert increasing administrative and policy control over local institutions, the pressure to train young Inuit to work within these institutions decreases. As long as becoming a nurse or a teacher means leaving the village context for five to ten of the most important years in a young person's life, I think White teachers and nurses with Inuit bosses are understood in the villages as the best solution. These conditions do not (as yet) obtain in some of the larger centres -- although the Nunavut political solution will make great strides in this direction. [1]

Prohibition has also had significant impact on the directions Sanctuary Bay youth are taking (and in the process, moving society), and should not be underestimated as an important contributing factor to the positive, optimistic tone of this thesis. The village focus to some extent reflects the awareness of youth that a dry village is a haven or a refuge from the "problems" of coping with the larger Northern reality. However, prohibition is not an imposed solution; it is symbolic of the new local authority and control in many Inuit villages and is an expression of their desire to influence their own futures. Since 1978, eight (of 35) Inuit villages with populations between 200 and 1000 people have voted (usually overwhelmingly) to prohibit alcohol totally from their contexts. And other villages have adopted interdict and rationing systems. Certainly, the conclusions of this thesis are relevant to other villages where prohibition is in effect.

I have evidence that similar reality constructions are occurring in other villages as well. Terry Ittinuaq told me that most young people on Baffin Island speak Inuktitut fluently and assertively, and tease youth who use English. The Sanctuary Bay Junior Team was awed by the Inuitness of

[1] Nunavut "Our Land", is the name given to the territory that is presently under discussion as a new political unit within the Canadian confederation and which will be governed entirely by Inuit.

the Pagnirtung Junior Team (also Baffin Island) at the Territorial Games. There are as well many reports of "Land Programs" for young people reported in the northern media.

This thesis is also further evidence for the tremendous adaptive capacity that Inuit have, to cope with a severely stressful environment. Early observers were profoundly impressed with inuit ability to generate a vibrant, vital society in one of the most severe physical environments known to man. This capacity seems to function equally well when confronted with the vastly different, but perhaps equally stressful features of a demanding social environment.

In addition to being a thesis about Inuit youth and identity, this thesis has also been about stress and coping. Throughout, I have argued that situational and developmental factors must be taken into account in order to discover what is stressful, when, for how long, for whom, and what they do about it. Linear models cannot possibly explain such complexity. To argue that being more or less acculturated means a person is more or less stressed, or even to add a third "continuum" variable (such as being in a more or less acculturated village) would still overlook most of the meaningful stressful experiences and coping techniques described in previous chapters.

However, I would be remiss if I did not attempt to generalize to some extent at this point and the following list of "stresses" are presented as relevant to the experience of growing older in a culturally plural context:

1. **Stress of Definition:** Experienced by those most active in the construction of new realities, who work the hardest to define new situations and reach new understandings. Tuvak Alooktook and Richard Panigoniak are examples. Often, those who invest the most in new definitions of reality when young, cope with the strain by becoming conservative and defenders of their creations as they age. For example, those prominent in the Church must have once been the "innovators" (and challengers of the status quo) in their own cohort when younger.
2. **Stress of Alienation:** Experienced by those whose self-definition of

identity is most unique in reference to their age culture (or cohort, peer group, etc.). From another perspective it is experienced by those whose identification group is furthest away from their membership group. Examples would be Joe Nanook, who tried to be a trapper while his peers played basketball, and the Smith cousins who wanted to be bookkeepers when their peers were becoming hunter/carpenters.

3. Stress of Isolation: Experienced by those defined by others as unique, or by those whose membership group and identification group are the same, but who are ostracized from the group. Bobby Ukpinnituk is an example -- he valued his peers and attempted to define himself in their terms, but was defined by them always as an outsider.
4. Stress of Transition: Experienced by those belonging to a group in the process of redefining itself. Pauloosie Kivuiq and all young men around the age of 19, are examples. Moving from the "player" identity to (possibly/probably) the "hunter" identity is transformational and difficult for all members of the group.
5. Stress of Timing: Experienced by those whose definitions about transitions are in conflict with the majority of others defining the transition. Terry Ittinuaq is an example. His attempt to redefine the upper boundary of the Junior Team cohort was within the context of the group redefining itself (Stress of Definition), but his own coping efforts in this direction differed significantly from his peers.
6. Stress of Change: Experienced by those whose identities are anachronistic (i.e., have been made redundant by new definitions in younger cohorts). Some of the Managers experienced this stress as their aspirations to occupy White occupational roles and assume White identifications were not adopted by younger cohorts.
7. Stress of Expression: Experienced by those trying to express identities which are in conflict with their contexts. Teenagers with a village/hunter focus away at school in Yellowknife experienced this stress and Terry Ittinuaq, with his more general, and cosmopolitan, "Youth" identity experienced it in the village context.
8. Stress of Redefinition: Experienced by those who are trying to redefine their identities to fit their contexts. James Paluqaq experienced this while attempting to become a villager/hunter.
9. Stress of Failure: Experienced by those whose efforts to redefine, express, or transform their identity (i.e., as they are perceived by others) are consistently rejected by others. An example would be Joshua Tattuiniq who could not escape the player/gambler identification despite efforts to become a hunter/worker.

Coping tactics, strategies and styles are designed to minimize the duration and intensity of the above stresses. I am not suggesting that

people are making calculated decisions about what might or might not result in stressful experience, but as people do things, and assign meaning to their actions, their internal sense of well-being (which we variously describe as anxiety, self-esteem, self-confidence, nervousness, strength, weakness, etc.) cycles through various phases. Thus when teenagers go bird-hunting in spring, or return from a winter trapline feeling clear-headed, happy and strong, their sense of well-being has improved and the stress of becoming a hunter has been coped with effectively. Alternatively, when two strategies both inhibit feelings of well-being, but one is less damaging (or is characterized by periodicity and/or fluctuating highs and lows), choices are made and redefinitions attempted to escape the more severe situation for the less threatening one. For example, Joshua Tattuiniq continued to identify as a "player" and participate regularly in gym activities, despite the resentment expressed towards him by other players, because the feelings of competence and strength he experienced "scoring baskets" outweighed (usually) his teammates scorn, and counterbalanced the unrelenting rejection and failure he experienced in his efforts to become a hunter and worker.

I think the thesis has also clearly shown that coping tactics can be either constructive or destructive, but the definition of these alternative outcomes is an interpretive question. Persistence in constructive coping with a particular stress, or set of stresses, may eventually lead to the resolution of the situation in a manner that contributes to well-being, but it may also degenerate into an interminable series of situations that do little else but stimulate feelings of inadequacy and hopelessness. This frustration would likely be expressed in an increase in psychophysiological symptom pathology (as measured by the HOS) with potentially serious emotional or physical sequelae (e.g., suicide, ulcers, cardiovascular disease, cancer, etc.). If on the other hand, alternative, more situationally destructive coping tactics are brought into play (such as excessive drinking, drug use, or beating up a policeman), the feelings of inadequacy and hopelessness may be replaced by feelings of potency and well-being, and psychophysiological problems

avoided. For example, James Paluqaq struggled with the stress of redefinition for months in his attempt to realign himself with the village/land modality, but experienced consistent and interminable frustration. His occasional reversal into alcohol abuse probably protected him from some of the more serious psychophysiological consequences of a prolonged encounter with a stressful series of situations, but obviously had its own potentially harmful outcomes.

The role of social support in affecting the general direction and success of coping tactics has also been shown to be a complex issue. While relatives are valuable resources which facilitate some coping tactics and strategies in some situations, they also act as powerful constraints on behaviour. The somewhat contradictory findings of the HOS and alcohol use measures underline this paradox. Often, higher HOS scores were associated with large and integrated kindreds while alcohol use was associated with fewer kin locally, and/or poor family relations. With reference to the example of James Paluqaq above, I think this shows that youth with large, integrated kindreds find it harder to alter their coping styles when stress becomes intolerable and consequently suffer the psychophysiological problems tapped by the HOS measure, while those without powerful family expectations find it easier to escape into more temporarily destructive tactics. This argument should be considered as a refinement rather than replacement of the general argument that social milieus are both stressful and supportive.

I would like to wrap up this summary of stress and health by referring once again to the question posed in the title. Health and ethnicity are related in a more profound and comprehensive way than merely saying different ethnic groups have different health problems (or stresses or coping techniques). Ethnic identity has been shown here to be a very powerful symbol affecting the well-being of Inuit young adults. Its negotiation and definition are powerfully interwoven in everyday life. The healing powers of symbols have been demonstrated again and again by medical anthropologists (Moerman, 1979). The symbolism of ethnicity is

then, more than social explanation, more than fuel for political action, more than mere cultural revivalism or rhetoric to support economic strategies; it has the power to heal its creators in a most profound way. The revitalization of culture and society that ethnic revivalism stimulates also crosses the boundary into the natural world and brings about changes at the cellular level. If we are trying to explain differences in stress-related disease patterns across ethnic groups, this variable must be considered as vitally important.

In Chapter 2, I suggested that this thesis has been written with an eye towards describing the progress of victims, rather than documenting yet another instance of the system defeating people (i.e., Victims of Progress). This idea also informs our understanding of social planning. The research for this thesis was contracted with an understanding that the results would be useful both to Sanctuary Bay and to the wider society for the resolution of health problems associated with young people. In addition to the general understanding that I hope the foregoing has provided, I also feel compelled to make some more specific recommendations.

However, these recommendations must be considered part of the general theoretical thrust of the thesis. They must be understood within the humanistic, interactionist, interpretive framework that has guided our inquiry thus far. Brown's (1980:55-57,[] added) ideas are again illuminating:

Rather than serving as handmaidens to elites, the planner instead must become expert at helping client groups redefine their own situations... In such an approach, ordinary aspects of everyday life also can be part of some larger quest...It aims at enhancing people's acumen and talent for using uncertainty creatively, and turning obstacles into opportunities...ordinary features of the community should be used to encourage a pattern of life that elicits the participation of residents in making their actions significant and productive...Each improvement is taken as evidence of progress, and every initiative tends to beget additional development concepts...Processes of organizing, formerly thought of as instrumental [i.e., as means to an

end/goal/objective], increasingly may be engaged in for their affective and communal rewards. Planning and action to change things may be engaged in not to get things changed, but mainly to experience a sense of group cohesion.

Brown (ibid) contrasts the humanist approach to social planning with the rationalist, or what I would call the blueprint model, where "solutions" are designed by "experts" for clients who are expected to implement them but which usually achieve little success (much to the chagrin of their designers).

This basic dichotomy of planning models is also reflected in the tendency of social scientists to support (implicitly or explicitly) either a victim-blaming or a system-blaming model. The first approach suggests people need to change themselves in order to adapt to the system better; the second suggests that the system must be changed in order to solve "problems" which affect individuals. The system-blaming approach also suggests that the system has a certain organicity that renders it separate from people's actions, Rather than conceiving of society as little more than the "froth" of human activity, and its systemic features an artefact of our analytical attention; it becomes a "real" thing, and unfortunately, something many people feel cannot be changed. How many times have we heard someone say "I can't do it because of the system?"

The humanist approach is an alternative to both the victim-blaming and the system-blaming approaches to social analysis, explanation and planning. It seeks first of all to demystify; to convince people that society, or the system, is our own creation, and that by our own action we can create our own froth, and define society according to our own understandings.

The following outline is provided as an "action plan" for those involved in resolving social/health problems generally, and addressing issues related to Inuit youth specifically. In the North, these include Inuit youth, Inuit elders, "social workers", bureaucrats, politicians, and their advisors:

1. **ABSORB:** Look for solutions, not problems. Ask not why are they doing this, but try to understand what they are doing. Ask not how do we solve this problem, but how are they resolving problems. Inuit youth are defining themselves as villagers and aspiring to village lifestyles and futures.
2. **UNDERSTAND:** That people coping with problems intuitively, understand the parameters of their problems in greater complexity than anyone else and that their solutions will be the only meaningful ones from their perspective. Playing basketball and volleyball every day for five years while waiting for the opportunity to accumulate capital and start hunting independently may not seem like the most productive way to spend one's youth, but from the standpoint of teenagers, who are best able to compute all the variables and constraints that impinge on their situations, it is the best possible option. It at least contributes to feelings of competency and strength, and group cohesiveness, all feelings that will eventually improve their chances of successfully negotiating the more difficult transitions ahead.
3. **EMPATHIZE:** With coping tactics and strategies that prevail within the group and recognize them as attempts to change a system. Refusing to go to Yellowknife for school is not a reflection of poor parental attitudes, low aspirations, a lack of motivation, etc. It is instead an attempt by youth to move education into the villages by the only option open to them: refuse to leave. It is a "strike" in the most fundamental sense of the term.
4. **SUPPORT:** These indigenous solutions instead of evaluating them against standards derived from other contexts. Accept their basic integrity rather than defining them as deviant. For Inuit elders who would prefer to see teenagers learning to hunt, defining sports as "delinquent" will likely further alienate youth who might wish they were hunters but are coping with their situations the best way they know how. At least by keeping fit, happy, confident, and creative, they will be better hunters when they finally manage the transition. Games have always been important integrative forums in Inuit society, and the support of current recreational activities should further integrate various age and gender groups.
5. **SPECIFY:** The range of coping objectives that prevail both within groups and between various groups. These objectives describe the main features of people's visions of the social reality they wish to see created. Becoming hunters, becoming independent, establishing family relations in the land context, and managing institutional roles, are all examples of coping objectives that if realized, would transform both the village and Northern society.
6. **DIFFERENTIATE:** Coping tactics and strategies devised by the majority from those defined by marginals and acknowledge the right for alternative visions of reality to exist and be expressed simultaneously and coequally. The dialectic between alternative

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fantasies about future social realities is the well-spring of social change and the "compromise" which is evident situationally must reflect this diversity. The role of youth who have adopted identities marginal to the village context, such as youth at school in Yellowknife, play an important role in moving the village understandings in directions more compatible with other social realities. These marginal "visions", however, are difficult to sustain for the individuals who express them, and need perhaps more UNDERSTANDING, EMPATHY, and SUPPORT than the efforts of the majority.

7. FACILITATE: The previous "steps" argue that the best change agents are the people experiencing the changes, and that once their efforts are understood, the role of the professional is to "push" institutions and resources in the directions indicated by the people's actions. To be specific, if I had the power, I would:

- a) Provide low-interest loans and/or capital grants for young hunters trying to establish their connection with the land.
- b) Encourage regional sporting competitions that would require overland travel by participants.
- c) Reconsider wildlife laws that may inhibit important "coming of age" strategies.
- d) Stage village sports events for teenagers that encourage parents to become spectators.
- e) Restructure education into the village context so that literacy, trades training, and Inuktitut programs are available continuously into at least the mid to late twenties for the majority of youth who have no desire to abandon the village.
- f) Provide contextual support for maintaining aspects of village identification for the few youth who aspire to act on the regional or national stage (i.e., Inuit houses in Yellowknife, Inuktitut programs, frequent visits home, etc.)
- g) Subsidize "unemployed" youth in adult education programs to encourage exploration on the land.
- h) Incorporate recreational dimensions of the Youth Club idea into Church agenda.
- i) Assure that young men working in managerial roles are responsible to local Inuit Boards, Councils, Societies, etc. and are able to act independent of White "professional" structures. Redefine White bosses as White coworkers. (e.g., Teaching Assistants should work for the Education Society, not teachers and principals).
- j) Assure that upgrading and training is defined locally as an integral aspect of life and not preparation for life. Stop worrying about trying to make teachers and doctors out of Inuit youth and concentrate on training them to hire and fire teachers and doctors.
- k) Provide training and apprenticeship programs through local institutions such as the Co-op which not only increase young

people's economic potential but strengthen ideas about local control and identifications.

As a final note I would like to reproduce the words of Tuppittia Qitsualik whose interview in Inuit Today (1980:8:121-129) first suggested this research topic to me and whose advice and criticism have substantially influenced the evolution of the argument in this thesis:

As a young Inuk, you have to be three people at the same time in the North. You have to be a young person, which is hard enough as it is. And you have to be an Inuk, which is twice as hard because you're being forced to be a Qallunaat eight hours of the day, and the rest of the day, you have to fill in as an Inuk again, and at the same time, your parents expect you to help them deal with the Qallunaat ways. It takes a lot out of you.

Also in community life, the people are so concerned about community problems, pipelines, or where the next money is going to come from; for garbage disposal, etc.; that a lot of times they expect the young people to look after themselves, which, by the way, they are quite capable of. But you have to provide some kind of assistance to them. If you do that, you will operate in the way the Qallunaat have been operating in the past. If you start programs for kids in a community, you are furthering them away from Inuktitut, unless the programs are planned by the Inuit themselves in Inuktitut.

They [the young people] are caught in the middle of two lifestyles. It seems they are in a situation where they are going nowhere because they are not benefitting from either of the lifestyles. The desire to form and run a [Youth] Association must come from the young people themselves, and particularly from the individuals in each community. I can imagine some organisation coming into a community and saying, Okay, here is the program that is going to help you guys. This is HOW you do it. And this is WHY you do it. And this is WHERE you'll get it. Once you follow all those steps, this is WHAT you should come up with.

You have to ask them [the young people]: How are you going to fix it yourself? Then you can explore ways to solve the problem from there. The beginning of the problem solving process must be handled by the Inuit.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Quantitative data were obtained through a questionnaire which in addition to compiling a comprehensive picture of each respondent's life history and family context, probed current participation in the various areas of contemporary life discussed in the thesis. Questionnaire responses were then coded for computer analysis. A list of variables is reproduced below:

1. Age
2. Age group
3. Residence history in villages (i.e., other villages lived in).
4. Place of birth (i.e., in camp, in village, in hospital).
5. Age composition of household (number of representatives of different generations).
6. Travel history to other villages in past two years.
7. Frequency of trips (i.e., number of visits to other villages).
8. Duration of visits (i.e., average length of stay).
9. Purpose of visits (i.e., social visits, work, recreation, etc.).
10. Place of residence when visiting (i.e., relatives, hotels, White billet, etc.).
11. Current residence (i.e., grandparents, parents, in-laws, own house).
12. Location of kindred (i.e., other villages with known relatives).
13. Origin of family (i.e., tribal and geographic roots).
14. Local male kin support (i.e., number and age of siblings, father(s), grandparents, uncles, and cousins).
15. Relationship with parents (i.e., step and adopted details).
16. Age at first sexual intercourse.
17. Marital history (i.e., parental involvement, divorces, etc.).
18. Age difference from wife.
19. Number and gender of children.
20. Adoption history of children.
21. Location of wife's kindred.
22. Age when couple first began living together.
23. Age when couple married.
24. Age when first child born.
25. Level of formal education completed.
26. Location of schooling (i.e., boarding or local history).

27. Occupational training beyond formal education.
28. Pressure from parents to continue schooling (as reported by respondent).
29. Reason given for leaving school (i.e., to hunt, work, homesick, expelled, etc.).
30. Linguistic preference.
31. Total yearly income.
32. Main source of income (i.e., welfare, occasional labor, carving, trapping, etc.).
33. Employment experience (i.e., number and type of jobs held).
34. Job preference.
35. Major purchases in previous year (i.e., snowmachines, stereos, furniture, etc.).
36. Distribution of financial debt (i.e., money owed to Co-op, Bay, etc.).
37. Hunting activity.
38. Family land activity.
39. Experience with snowmachine (i.e., machines owned).
40. Camping equipment owned personally.
41. Age when first caribou caught.
42. Age when first seal caught.
43. Age when first polar bear caught.
44. Age when drove snowmachine first time.
45. Carving experience (i.e., money earned, materials used, subjects, etc.).
46. Father's carving experience.
47. Number of friends.
48. Participation in village politics (i.e., meetings attended, elected offices).
49. Interest in outside events (i.e., time spent watching television news, listening to radio, reading, etc.).
50. Religious affiliation.
51. Frequency of religious attendance.
52. Relatedness to Whites (i.e., paternity, marriage of siblings, etc.).
53. Father's principal source of income.
54. Siblings employment pattern.
55. Television preferences.
56. Music preferences.
57. Age difference with father.
58. Integratedness of family.
59. Camp experience in early life.
60. Grandparental influence in biographical development (i.e., number alive and active until what ages).
61. Average number of visits to Nursing Station per year before age 15.
62. Average number of visits to Nursing Station per year between 15-19.
63. Average number of visits to Nursing Station per year between 20-24.
64. Average number of visits to Nursing Station per year between 25-30.
65. Percentage of total visits since age 15 that may be stress-related.
66. Percentage of total visits since age 15 that are minor medical problems.
67. Percentage of total visits since age 15 that are minor injuries.

- 68. HOS scores.
- 69. Tobacco use.
- 70. Age started smoking.
- 71. Alcohol use.
- 72. Drug use.

The variables examining visits to the Nursing Station were coded from each respondent's medical record. This data can only be considered a rough indication of general health problems since medical records were introduced to Sanctuary Bay in 1970 and have not only undergone substantial revision in recording procedure but are also affected by extremely high staff turnover which has influenced both the recording procedures and the sorts of complaints presented (e.g., some nurses encourage people with psychological problems and/or minor injuries to report them, whereas others either explicitly or implicitly discourage people from bringing problems of this sort to their attention). In addition, Inuit attitudes about what constitutes a "medical problem" have also been changing over the past twelve years. An example of data abstracted from a medical record is reproduced below and coded labels are included in brackets after the age of 15; stress-related (SR), minor medical problems (MM), and minor injuries (MI). (I did not seek permission to photocopy medical records because I felt this to be an unnecessary invasion of privacy. Thus data are summaries of the complaints presented and do not include treatment protocols, etc.)

Sample Medical Record

<u>DATE</u>	<u>COMPLAINT</u>
19/04/70	red rash, cough
20/10/70	lacerated eyelid
26/02/71	upset stomach
05/11/71	abdominal pain and red urine
08/03/72	frostburn on wrist
02/05/72	cold
05/05/72	sore ear
26/03/73	high temperature and earache
28/03/73	sore throat
29/03/73	high temperature
26/06/73	laryngitis
20/07/73	pain in left arm
12/03/74	boil

29/11/74 cold

-----15 yrs. old

07/02/75 tonsillitis
04/04/76 influenza
14/04/76 cough (MM)
13/10/76 fell off Honda (MI)
25/02/77 pain in chest (evacuated to hospital)
28/07/78 cold (MM)
31/07/78 gunshot wound
17/08/78 dizzy and nervous (SR)
22/08/78 nervous, shaky (SR)
03/09/78 cold and cough (MM)
07/09/78 nervous, dizzy (SR)
11/09/78 headaches, dizzy (SR)
12/09/78 headache (SR)
12/09/78 anxiety (SR)
15/09/78 insomnia, trembling hands, nauseous (SR)
10/10/79 drilled into finger (MI)
31/01/80 headache like before (SR)
05/03/80 cold (MM)
10/03/80 sore throat (MM)
14/10/80 back strain (MI)
28/10/80 headache (SR)
29/10/80 headache (SR)
14/04/81 wisdom tooth
05/03/81 headache (SR)
12/05/81 sore throat (MM)
13/05/81 sore throat worse
12/10/81 sore throat and ears (MM)
02/02/82 fell and hurt ribs (MI)
22/03/82 infected Dermatitis (SR)
26/04/82 strep throat

In a recent paper, Daniel Brown (1981) critiques stress research which relies on "soft" measures (such as those used in this study) and argues that field studies of the stress of change must incorporate physiological measures such as blood pressures and urinary analysis for the presence of catecholamines and corticosteroids. Ideally, Brown's suggestions should have been incorporated into the present study. Unfortunately, a variety of constraints prohibited the inclusion of physiological measures (e.g., funding available, researcher expertise, respondent hostility), but I am well aware of the limitations their exclusion has imposed. Brown (ibid) does, however, argue that the effects of stress (which research has shown include acne, arthritis, asthma, cardiovascular disease, constipation,

diarrhea, gout, hypertension, hyperthyroidism, kidney disease, liver disease, neoplasms, headaches, and vasomotor rhinitus) as reflected in medical records are also good measures of stress experience.

Appendix 2

To Whom it May Concern,

This letter is intended to give Mr. John O'Neil permission to review and record information from all records which he feels are necessary to carry out the research which he has explained in detail to me. These records include medical records, education records, employment records, police records, housing records, debt records, and any other documents that contain information related to my own person.

Mr. O'Neil has explained to me that this information shall be kept strictly confidential and will be available to his eyes only. He has also explained that this information will be used in a general way and that my name will never be associated with any of the particular details of this information. I give this permission to Mr. O'Neil on the understanding that if he breaks this confidence, he will be libel for any damage caused to my person and that I may verbally revoke this agreement at any time.

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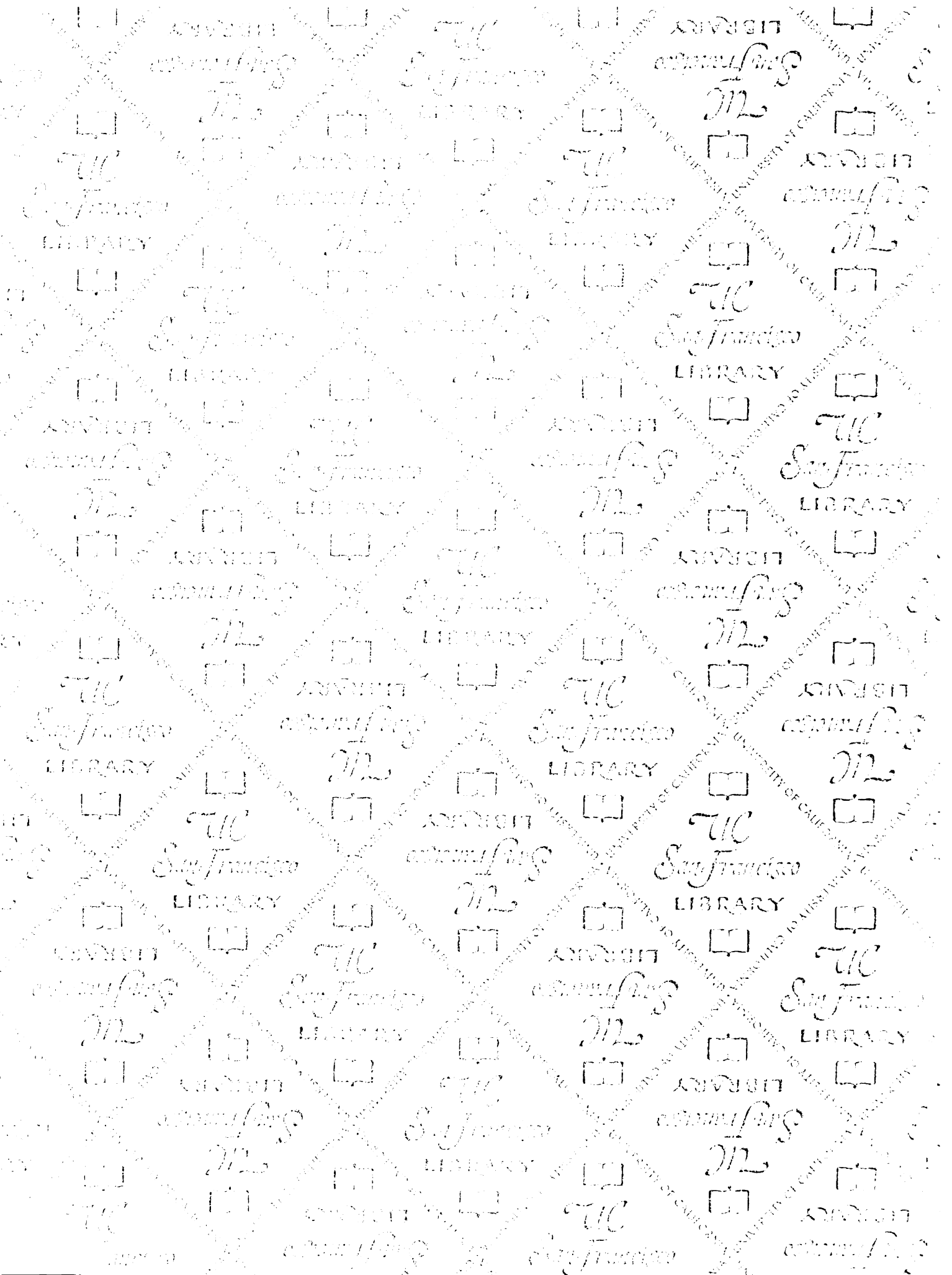
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