BORED IN THE ARCTIC:
THE MODERN EXPERIENCE
OF INUIT YOUTH

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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BORED IN THE ARCTIC:

THE MODERN EXPERIENCE OF INUIT YOUTH

by

© Sally Cooper Cole, B.Sc.

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Anthropology
Memorial University of Newfoundland
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St. John's Newfoundland

For Noah who decided
at age 17 that his life
was not worth living.
And for Joadamee, his
brother, who carries on.

ABSTRACT

Inuit teenage values, behaviour, aspirations and expectations are explored within the context of discussion of Inuit adaptation to modernization and industrialization in the Canadian Arctic. Ambivalence and conflict in the teenagers' contemporary relationships with family, community, school and work are described and are considered primary factors in the development of strong adolescent peer groups and in the teenagers' enthusiastic reception of the urban pop youth culture.

The youth culture provides the teenagers with an alternative value system to that of adults and non-Inuit in the settlements. The youth culture offers immediate rewards, establishes attainable goals and identifies realistic role models which are otherwise lacking in the lives of contemporary Inuit youth. The youth culture is considered to be playing an instrumental role in developing within the Inuit population, values and lifestyle aspirations leading Inuit into the ranks of the non-mobile groups within Canadian society.

Inuit teenage boredom is found to be associated with modernization and to reflect the quality of the Inuit relationship with urban Canada. Settlement living, going to school, seeking wage employment, enjoying a relatively high material standard of living and consumption of items of popular culture are accepted by young Inuit as behaviour necessary to becoming modern. Becoming modern has also, however, meant becoming bored and this is the dominant experience of modern Inuit youth who are bored in the Arctic.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Staying Alive

Well, you can tell by the way I use my walk
I'm a woman's man; no time to talk
Music loud and women warm
I've been kicked around since I was born
And now it's all right
It's OK
And you may look the other way . . .

Well now, I get low and I get high
And if I can't get either I really try
Got the wings of heaven on my shoes
I'm a dancing man and I just can't lose
You know it's all right
It's OK
I'll live to see another day
We can try to understand the New York Times' essays on man.

Whether you're a brother or whether you're a mother
You're staying alive
Feel the city breaking and everybody shaking
And we're staying alive
Ah, ah, ah, ah, staying alive.

Life going nowhere
Somebody help me
Somebody help me, Yeah
Life going nowhere
Somebody help me, Yeah
Staying alive
Well, you can tell
Life going nowhere
Somebody help me, Yeah
Life going nowhere
Somebody help me, Yeah.

(Bee Gees, Saturday Night Fever, 1977)

I first heard this song at an archaeological field camp on Somerset Island in the Central Arctic in the summer of 1979. Pauloosie had brought with him a cassette tape of the soundtrack of the movie "Saturday Night Fever" along with numerous other tapes of disco and rock and roll music when he came to work on the dig.

I was working as an archaeologist at the time along with archaeologist Ellen Bielawski. We had set up the field camp and prepared the Paleoeskimo site for the arrival of eight teenagers who would work on the excavation for a month. She and I had worked together for three previous seasons of archaeological fieldwork and had employed one or two young Inuit as field assistants each summer. Through working with them and with the nearby settlements we developed the idea of changing the focus of the work from pure research to conducting research in conjunction with a heritage education and skills training program for Northwest Territories teenagers. Their interest in the work combined with our growing awareness of the need for northern scientific research to work within its social context as well as our recognition that the teenagers had few opportunities for summer employment and few opportunities to develop skills which might diversify their employment possibilities for the future. The training and education components were to be the priority at the archaeological field school of what we called the Northern Cultural Heritage Project. We had received funding from different government sources to undertake one "pilot" season. The whole idea of a field school for Northwest Territories students was experimental and we were nervous on the night they were due to arrive. On the evening of July 4 the Bradley's twin otter circled overhead a few times before landing on the ice of Stanwell-Fletcher Lake. The teenagers piled out.

Pauloosie stood out of the crowd immediately. He had sharp narrow eyes which looked out from behind thick long black hair which was parted in the middle and kept falling in his face. His teeth were crooked and nicotine-stained but somehow his face lit up and sparkled

when he smiled. He was wearing a thin cotton army-green long-sleeved shirt over skin-tight blue jeans. He carried his pack and sleeping bag across the ice and gravel wearing high-heeled disco boots on his feet. A $450.00 Canon camera with lenses hung over one shoulder. The top four buttons of his shirt were undone and his shirt hung open exposing to the cool (0°) night air a loose gold chain and medallion and a lot of bare skin. I was chilled in long underwear, turtleneck, long-sleeved wool shirt, down vest, wool pants and giant Sorrel boots with two pairs of socks. Later that night, Ellen and I were lying in our Mount Logan tent reviewing the events of the day and wondering what we had gotten ourselves into. I said of Pauloosie: "He's gorgeous but he'll never make it." He made it. So did we.

I soon learned that Pauloosie was not the urban teenager I had taken him to be. He was a hunter. He had lived all of his 17 years in a camp about 70 miles from a settlement on southern Baffin Island. He had not gone to school and spoke few words of English. He was interested in history and archaeology and had previously worked with an archaeologist in his home area. He was also keenly interested in photography and had ordered his camera through the Hudson's Bay Company on one trip into the settlement to trade and obtain supplies. He learned to use the camera by having the instructions read and translated into Inuktitut. From the Bay store he also purchased his clothes and his tapedeck and tapes.

Pauloosie came to work on the dig accompanied by his 19-year old aunt who had been raised in the settlement, spoke English and acted as his interpreter. Coming to Somerset Island was the first time he had travelled beyond his home area. By the end of the field school, he was

a competent field and lab assistant and was keen to return the next summer for more advanced training. That winter he married and became a father. He did not return to Somerset but stayed in camp where he now lives with his own family and continues to hunt. He and his wife have since had a second child.

I was fascinated by the seeming contradictions which Pauloosie presented. I wondered how he perceived the world and his place in it. I wondered how he would choose to lead his life and what kind of life he would offer his children.

My confused impressions of the teenagers on Somerset Island that summer of 1979 were added to my reflections of three previous Arctic summers and visits to 12 settlements. In 1977 and 1978, I had become friends with one 18-year old boy and the circumstances of his life were difficult for me to accept. I was becoming increasingly aware that his predicament was not unique.

Joemie's father had died following a skidoo accident when returning home intoxicated from the bar late one night. His mother was now receiving social assistance and raising the five younger children who were still at home. She was of poor health and depended upon Joemie to help her. Joemie had completed Grade 8 at the settlement school but had not gone on to high school in Frobisher Bay partly because his mother needed him at home but also because, he said, school was boring, he did not want to leave home because he would be homesick and, besides, he could earn money now working for the Housing Association or the Department of Public Works. What he felt he did miss in the settlement were books. He was an avid reader but found the paperback selection at the Bay store limited. His 17-year old brother had committed suicide

at the student hostel Ukkivik, in Frobisher Bay and his one older brother was frequently in Toronto for psychiatric care.

I still see him when I visit the settlement. Now, at 22, Joemie has had numerous labour jobs and frequent unemployed periods over the last few years. He has a skidoo and a motorbike. When I see him he is often drunk or stoned. He always stops to say "hello" but then rushes off a few minutes later to the movie or the party or to meet friends who are waiting for him.

I wanted to understand why Joemie's life is the way it is. When I informally began to explore the subject of Inuit teenagers I learned that, in the summer of 1977 alone, there had been seven teenage suicides in Frobisher Bay (pop. 2636); the next year there were two suicides in the tiny settlement of Resolute Bay (pop. 155). I learned of the high drop-out rate and generally low level of academic and vocational aspirations of Inuit students. I saw that teenagers are a relatively large and conspicuous group in the settlements--conspicuous because they hang around the Bay store or the coffee shop and appear to have nothing else to do. I noted how few jobs there are in most settlements and I wondered how this generation would find employment and raise families of their own.

Perusing the literature, I discovered that, although alluded to in a number of studies (Brantenberg 1977; Brody 1975; Hall 1973; Kallen 1977; McElroy 1975 and 1977; and Matthiasson 1979), the predicament of modern Inuit youth has been of only peripheral interest to anthropologists. Two studies by educators (Nash 1979; Whyte 1977) surveyed Inuit high school students by questionnaire in their investigations of changing

value orientations. Beyond this, the literature is not helpful in illuminating the experience of growing up Inuit today. How Inuit adolescents perceive their place on the traditional-modern continuum is not known. The values and aspirations they hold have not been explored. The strategies they are employing to adapt to social and economic change are not understood. The suicides, drop-out rate, drug abuse and other behaviour considered symptomatic of anxiety and anomie tend to dominate popular conception of modern Inuit youth. Psychiatrists, educators, nurses, RCMP and government officials maintain files on Inuit teenagers and individuals within those agencies express divergent views on the subject. I considered that a preliminary exploration of the values and aspirations of Inuit teenagers viewed within their socioeconomic context might be of some assistance in developing an understanding of northern youth and their educational, recreational, employment and other problems. Such a study would expose the problems and identify areas for further research.[1]

Research Objective

My research objective then became: to explore, through the eyes of particular Inuit teenagers, the values, behaviour, aspirations and expectations of modern Inuit youth and to observe these young people within their social and cultural context in an effort to come to some understanding of their world view and self-perception. From the beginning, the study was intimately bound up with an effort to understand the meaning of the prevalence of teenage boredom in Arctic settlements and the significance of Inuit youth participation in the teenage pop culture of southern urban Canada. I consider the behaviour of Inuit

[1] The study would outline the general conditions under which problems arise. While endeavouring to illuminate the meaning of so called anomic behaviour, the study would also explore Inuit adolescent behaviour other than that of the prevailing stereotype.

youth to, in some way, represent "an adaptive, complex adjustment to their status in society" (Hollingshead 1949:7). I placed the research problem within the context of modernization and industrial development in the Canadian North and I considered teenage boredom to be, in some way, related to these larger issues.

Field Work and Methods

The general area of youth research has been primarily the domain of sociologists who, with few exceptions (Corrigan 1979; Willmott 1966), have tended to conduct their research through surveys using questionnaires and to present their results as statistical descriptions in table form in theoretical discussions. In recent years, more has been written about adolescents than almost any other social group (Corrigan 1979:1). Their attitudes, values and life styles have been "subjected to incessant and almost obsessional comment." (Murdock and McCron 1973: 690). Despite this interest, "surprisingly few people seem prepared to go out and talk to young people and to listen seriously to what they have to say" (Murdock and McCron 1973:690). Not surprisingly, as a result, we know little about the experience of being a teenager.

It was important to me in this study to talk first to teenagers. Where time and circumstances allowed, I would pursue interviews with parents, teachers, nurses, social workers, RCMP officers and others who have relationships with teenagers. The primary focus of the fieldwork, however, was to be the teenagers themselves. To this end, I employed two principal methods. The first was participant observation of teenagers in three settings: a camp, a settlement, and at a student hostel and high school. The second was the use of formal and directed, but open-ended, interviews with individual teenagers.

I undertook the first stage of fieldwork for one month in the camp of the archaeological field school of the Northern Cultural Heritage Project on Somerset Island during its 1980 season. Here my first responsibility was as employer and educator of the seven teenage participants in the scientific training program (Bielawski and Cole 1979), not anthropologist. Nonetheless, I was able to observe peer group activities and behaviour and tape lengthy interviews with the teenagers. Through discussion with this group, I identified subjects which were of interest and concern to them. Thus, rather than imposing my ideas of the primary areas to investigate, I was able to incorporate their views in the development of a schedule of interview questions which I then asked each of my informants in the second and third stages of the fieldwork.

During the second stage, I lived in the settlement of Resolute Bay. My objective in establishing myself in a community was to systematically observe Inuit youth activities and behaviour within their social context and to experience something of the way of life the Arctic settlement offers young people. My reasons for selecting Resolute Bay were mainly personal and practical. As an archaeologist working on nearby Somerset Island during the summers of 1977 to 1979, I had visited the community at the beginning and end of each field season. Through this field work I had established a working relationship with the Resolute Bay settlement council. In order to conduct the research, I was required to apply to the Government of the Northwest Territories for a Scientific Research License. My application would be reviewed by the communities and agencies involved and I considered it valuable

that community officials in Resolute Bay had had some previous experience with me. In addition, during previous summer field seasons we had employed a Resolute Bay youth as an archaeological field assistant and I had, through him, gained access to some aspects of the lives of settlement teenagers and of Resolute Bay teenagers in particular. I rented a house in Resolute for two months from mid-August to mid-October 1980 and here participated in community activities, conducted interviews, observed youth behaviour, and collected socio-economic data on the community.

For the final stage of the field research, I had allowed two weeks at the end of October to interview the Resolute Bay and other students attending the regional high school and living at the student hostel in Frobisher Bay. In restrospect, I consider this to have been perhaps the most productive period in the fieldwork. This may be because, by this time, I was more confident in my role as anthropologist, more skilled in conducting interviews and had the benefit of the knowledge and perspective I had acquired living in the settlement. In any event, this short period with the hostel students was intense and exciting.

I had planned to live at the Ukkivik Residence and participate in the daily round of activities at the hostel. My application to do so was refused by the Regional Department of Education which then offered to assist the research in every possible way. I was provided with an empty apartment at the hostel which I could use for interviewing between the hours of 3:30 p.m. (when the students returned from school) and 10 p.m. (when they retired to their respective dormitory floors). I boarded in Frobisher Bay with one of the hostel supervisors and spent

the days either in town or at the high school. The arrangement was a good one. I had evening supper at the hostel with the students and was able to participate in and observe all public arenas of activity. Almost 100 teenagers from settlements in the Eastern Arctic and Keewatin Districts live at the hostel. The hostel is a teenage world offering activities and facilities exclusively for teenagers.

Informants

There are 23,000 Inuit in Canada. The population is scattered across the Arctic Islands and mainland coast of the Northwest Territories, Labrador and Arctic Quebec. Field research for this study was concentrated in the Eastern Arctic but themes and problems identified may have application to the experience of young Inuit in other regions.

Over half of the native population of the N.W.T. is under 23 years of age (Census of Canada 1976) and one-third is between the ages of 14 and 23. Cross-tabulated statistics for age-groups of Inuit within that population are not available but an estimate of the number of Eastern Arctic Inuit between the ages of 14 and 19--based on extrapolation of available statistics--is a figure slightly greater than 1000.

For my purposes, I defined the study group to consist of those young people between the ages of 14 and 19. This age range includes, at one end, those teenagers who are completing elementary school in the settlement and confronting the opportunity to leave the settlement and go on to high school. At the other end, are the teenagers who are finishing high school and making decisions about career and family and assuming adult roles and responsibilities within society.

I selected informants primarily in order to explore the complexity

and diversity in the adaptive responses of contemporary Inuit youth to modernization. The three stages of fieldwork enabled me to approach and to view different groups of teenagers in different environments. At the hostel, I interviewed older teenagers who were contemplating high school graduation and a career as well as younger students who were grappling with the problems of competition and homesickness in their first experience away from the settlement. I interviewed, in Resolute Bay, teenagers who had dropped out of school and returned to work or to hang around the settlement; teenagers who chose not to leave the settlement after Grade 8 and who are now variously employed; and teenagers who are still in elementary school and have not yet left the settlement. And, finally, the participants of the Northern Cultural Heritage Project including drop-outs, graduates, adult education students and others, represent a third group of informants--those who have sought, or are seeking, individual strategies for adaptation to change and who are looking for opportunities which they feel do not presently exist for them in settlement or school.

In Resolute Bay, because of its small size, I knew and collected varying amounts of information on all 35 teenagers. I formally interviewed as many as possible--17. At the hostel, my objective was to interview all of the Resolute Bay students, because I had obtained the settlement and family background information on them and because I was interested in meeting them away from their home environments and immersed in the teenage world of the hostel. Once I had interviewed all Resolute Bay hostel students (10), I sought to interview at least one teenager and, where possible, two (1 male and 1 female) from each of the other Eastern Arctic settlements represented among the students

living at the Ukkivik Residence in the fall of 1980. I considered that such a spectrum would offer some of the variety and similarity of teenage life and aspirations in different settlements. In total, during the three stages of fieldwork, I interviewed 43 teenagers from 17 settlements and representing a broad range of Inuit teenage experience.

The Interview

As others (Casparis and Vaz 1979; McElroy 1979) have noted, there are special problems in working with teenagers as informants. Among these problems can be: shyness, antagonism both toward adults and, in this case, toward non-Inuit, emotional intensity, fear of giving a "wrong" answer and difficulty or inexperience in articulating feelings, thoughts or observations. Casparis and Vaz (1979:26) note that, "research which asks the adolescents themselves how they view the world has only recently begun." Thus, the development of appropriate methods is in an experimental stage only.

For this study, data were collected in a variety of ways: from systematic observation of teenage behaviour and activities in the three different field locations; from participation in the everyday life of the settlement and the activities and routine of the hostel; from interviews and informal discussion with adults who figure in the world of teenagers. In Resolute, I interviewed the social worker, the nurse, the teachers, the RCMP officer, the bank manager, the bar door man, the Hudson's Bay Company manager, the Department of Public Works supervisor and four parents. In Frobisher Bay, I interviewed teachers, hostel supervisors and the psychiatric nurse. As well, in Resolute, I discussed the research with the senior grades at the settlement school and asked each student to write an essay which addressed certain questions about their

lives as settlement teenagers.

The most developed method of data collection employed, however, was the formal directed but open-ended interview. This method was used, in part, to counteract some of the problems of working with teenagers as informants. The interview allowed standardization in data collection and, in all but a small number of cases, the interview was the most productive method of encouraging the teenagers to talk. The teenagers assigned themselves some special status because they had been selected by an anthropologist for interviewing. In a majority of cases, they were impressed that an adult actually wanted to spend time talking with them about themselves and that this adult had no defined authoritarian role with teenagers. They treated the interviewing process seriously and, in any event, regarded it as something to do, something out of the ordinary. The mechanical act of taping served to dissipate some nervousness and to lend some official or formal character which the teenagers seemed to value. Only a small number of the teenagers would have responded to a lengthy open-ended "talk"--they seem generally to be on the run and have little inclination to sit and talk except with their peers. Few of the teenagers are accustomed to talking about the subjects I was investigating and direct questioning served necessarily to guide the discussion.

The interview questions were designed in order to record a range of Inuit teenage experience as well as to enable observation of some general patterns. Thus, the same body of questions was asked of each informant. During the first part of the interview general background information was collected including the age, birthplace and place of residence, of the informant as well as information on family size, source

of family income, and the educational level and occupations of family members. The remainder and the body of the interview was comprised of questions which aimed to explore the informant's attitudes to family, marriage, school, settlement, work, travel, leisure, money, peer group, pop culture and Inuit culture.

Interviews took place wherever they happened: on Somerset Island, in their tent or mine; in Resolute Bay, at their house or mine; and, at the hostel, in their room or my apartment. All interviews were taped, with one exception. The interview lasted approximately one hour. All informants spoke English adequately and over half of the teenagers said that, of the two languages, English was easier for them to use than Inuktitut. I assured each informant that the tapes were for my use, that I would be using the information in my study of teenage life in the Arctic, but that our conversation would remain confidential between us. Accordingly, all names which appear in the text are pseudonyms.

Results of the field research are presented here in a preliminary discussion. The whole subject of the predicament of Inuit youth warrants a more in-depth investigation of many areas which are only introduced here.

Discussion begins with an outline of the socioeconomic context of growing up Inuit today. The settlement of Resolute Bay is presented as one case study exemplifying the social and economic structure and resources of Arctic settlements, the nature of teenage life and the roots of teenage boredom.

The settlement teenagers are then followed to the regional high school and hostel in Frobisher Bay. The vocational and academic

aspirations of nine Resolute Bay students are offered in a discussion of the variety of reasons that Inuit teenagers go to high school and the reasons they stay or drop out.

Seven case studies of hostel students are presented in annotated form in the text and in complete form in the Appendix. These students are representatives of the peer group at the hostel, the teenagers the Resolute Bay students meet when living away from home and going to high school. These seven teenagers illustrate different individual adjustments to modernization--in particular to the circumstances of being hostel students, the dilemma of choosing a modern vocation and the decision whether or not to return to the settlement to live. In these case studies, the pop culture is seen to figure prominently in the lives of hostel students and the development of an Inuit youth culture is recognized as an important but as yet unrecorded dimension of this generation.

Literature on the subject of adolescence and the concept of a youth culture is then reviewed. The particular components of the Inuit youth culture are identified and the significance of Inuit teenage participation in a youth culture is discussed within the context of the special set of Arctic circumstances which have created a particular adolescent experience for today's Inuit youth.

CHAPTER II

LIVING IN THE SETTLEMENT

The Canadian Arctic settlement is a special kind of community created for the primary purpose of administering services to Canadian Inuit. After the second world war the Government of Canada became concerned both with maintaining sovereignty in the Arctic Islands and with its responsibility to the resident native population. The government encouraged the Inuit to move into settlements, a majority of which were established at the location of an existing Hudson's Bay Company post, church mission or RCMP station. Here the Inuit were to claim their rights as Canadian citizens to health care and education, services the government could more easily deliver if the people were localized in population centres rather than in scattered camps where they maintained their subsistence-based lifestyle. Now, in 1980, there are no families headed by individuals under the age of 35 who live in year-round camps. The majority of Inuit live permanently in settlements and hunt only part-time on weekends or they live in hunting camps for their few weeks' holiday each summer.

There are 23 settlements and 18 hamlets[1] in the Northwest Territories. These Inuit communities range in size from Grise Fiord

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[1] The distinction between hamlet and settlement is a political one based on the type of local government in operation in the community and on the nature of the community's relationship with the Department of Local Government within the Government of the Northwest Territories. Both types of community have elected councils which are responsible for community affairs. The lifestyle and social structure of both types of community are essentially the same and throughout the text I make no distinction. I refer to the "settlement" when speaking of both hamlets and settlements.

which has a population of 95 to Rankin Inlet with a population of 1,056. The average population of an Inuit settlement is 495.[2] Inuit also live in the larger regional government centres of Inuvik (pop. 3,065) and Frobisher Bay (pop. 2,636).

Non-Inuit communities in the Northwest Territories such as Nanisivik on Baffin Island and Pine Point on Great Slave Lake have their economic base in large mining developments and this is the reason the communities were established. The Inuit settlements, however, came into existence in order to facilitate the administration of services rather than as the result of economic development or population expansion. None of them is today economically self-sufficient nor do they appear likely to become more independent of the Canadian government. Tourism is becoming increasingly important in a few settlements notably Pangnirtung because of its location at the entrance to Auyuittuq National Park on Baffin Island. Crafts production is also important in Pangnirtung and print-making, carving and other crafts are important occupations in a few other settlements such as Baker Lake and Cape Dorset. In a majority of the Inuit settlements, however, the only permanent jobs will continue to be those connected with social services and the maintenance of the settlement itself. These jobs include settlement government office work, janitorial staff at the school and nursing station, home fuel delivery and garbage collecting and a few skilled trades jobs with the local Housing Association.

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[2] These calculations are based on figures obtained from the 1980 Corpus Almanac of Canada, Fawcett and Davis, eds. pp. 15-53.

The settlement plays an important role in the modernization of Canadian Inuit. The government viewed the abandonment of camp life and the provision of health, education, welfare and other social services in the settlement as progress in the acculturation process. This philosophy behind the creation of the settlements has produced a special type of relationship between Inuit and non-Inuit which Paine (1977:3) refers to as one of "tutelage" under circumstances of "welfare colonialism." This relationship may be seen in the local dominance of the settlements by such non-Inuit figures as the nurse, the teacher, the RCMP officer, the missionary and the Hudson's Bay store manager.

Dosman (1972:179) has written that the maintenance of the Indian reserves in Canada is the unique and possibly the most important aspect in the urbanization process of Canadian Indians. The Arctic settlement is a more recent phenomenon but it is becoming increasingly apparent that, rather than serving as a transitional measure in a government-sponsored acculturation scheme, the settlement is developing a way of life which is a product of the urbanization of Canadian Inuit and which defines the Inuit relationship with the larger Canadian society. Each settlement has features which are unique about its history, its economic development or its social life but the study of any one of them illustrates the common features of modern Arctic settlements and the way of life which is the context for growing up Inuit today.

The Case of Resolute Bay

Resolute Bay is located on Cornwallis Island in the Central Arctic. At 70°41'N, 94°54'N, it is 970 miles northeast of Yellowknife

and 2,140 air miles northwest of Montreal. With an Inuit population of 155, it is one of the smallest of Arctic settlements. The settlement itself is actually part of a split community. There are two population centres which are known locally as the "Village" and the "Base." The Inuit live in the Village; a transient non-Inuit population resides at the airfield, or the Base, 8 km. away. The history of Resolute Bay and its proximity to the Base make the settlement atypical in many ways. Nevertheless, the problems which face Resolute Bay youth are those which face any Inuit teenager and their activities and interests are not different from those of teenagers in other Canadian Arctic settlements.

History

Like other Arctic settlements, Resolute Bay was created by the Canadian government. More significant in the case of Resolute, however, is the fact that there were no local Inuit groups hunting in the area of Cornwallis Island before the settlement was established. The present-day residents of Resolute Bay are members of families which were moved to Cornwallis Island in the 1950's as part of a Canadian government effort to assert and maintain sovereignty over the High Arctic Islands. In 1953, 3 Inuit families from Port Harrison,[3] Quebec, and 1 family from Pond Inlet, Baffin Island were moved by freighter to Cornwallis Island. The government had approached the community of Port Harrison asking for volunteers who would be willing to live in the High Arctic for a trial period of 2 years. The Pond Inlet people were to assist the Arctic Quebec Inuit in adapting to High Arctic conditions. The nearby settlement of Grise Fiord on Ellesmere Island, was also established at this

[3]The community at Port Harrison is now called Inoudkjuak. Many Resolute Bay people, however, continue to use the name Port Harrison.

time by members of the same Inuit groups and as part of the same government settlement effort. In 1955, the original families were joined by six more families and between 1968 and 1972 other families from Somerset Island and Great Whale River moved to Resolute Bay. In 1974, there were about 200 residents in 32 households (Riewe 1976:173). In 1980, there were less than 160 Inuit in 27 households, some families having recently moved back to Port Harrison. All but 3 of these households are related in some way to one of the original families.

The first location of the settlement was on a bay on the south coast of Cornwallis Island, in close proximity to an old Thule village site (Figure 1). There is archaeological evidence that the area was prehistorically occupied by people of the Thule and Dorset cultures but there is no evidence that the area was inhabited during historic times. The bay bore the name of the H.M.S. Resolute which wintered in the area in 1850-1 while in search of the lost Sir John Franklin Expedition of 1845 and the Inuit settlement took the name of the bay.

Upon their arrival, the Port Harrison and Pond Inlet immigrants were provided with lumber and, while living in tents, built their own houses. One family incorporated a large central room in their home and, until a church was built, Sunday services were conducted there by an Inuit Anglican lay-reader. This house was also the location of community gatherings and celebrations. Resolute people speak nostalgically of the early years in Resolute Bay when, they say, families were closer and there was a stronger sense of community. The people were more isolated from the Base then because the road down to the settlement was frequently impassable during the winter months from

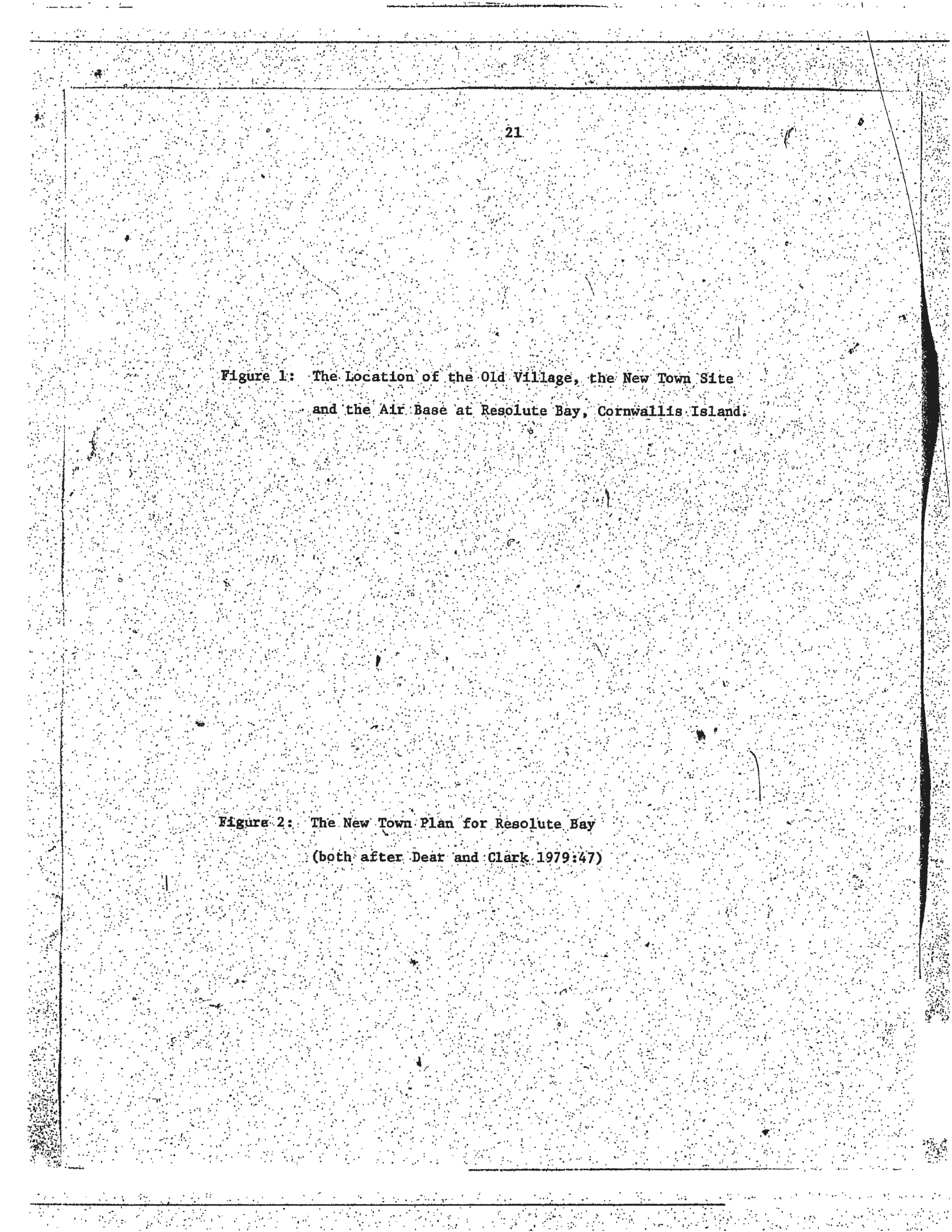
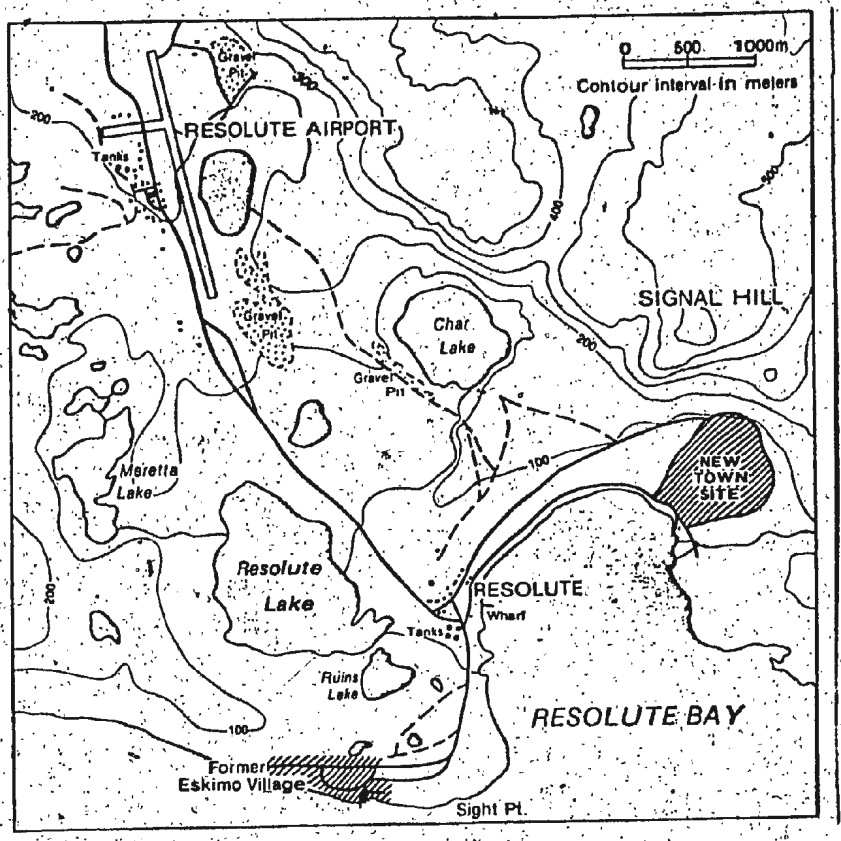
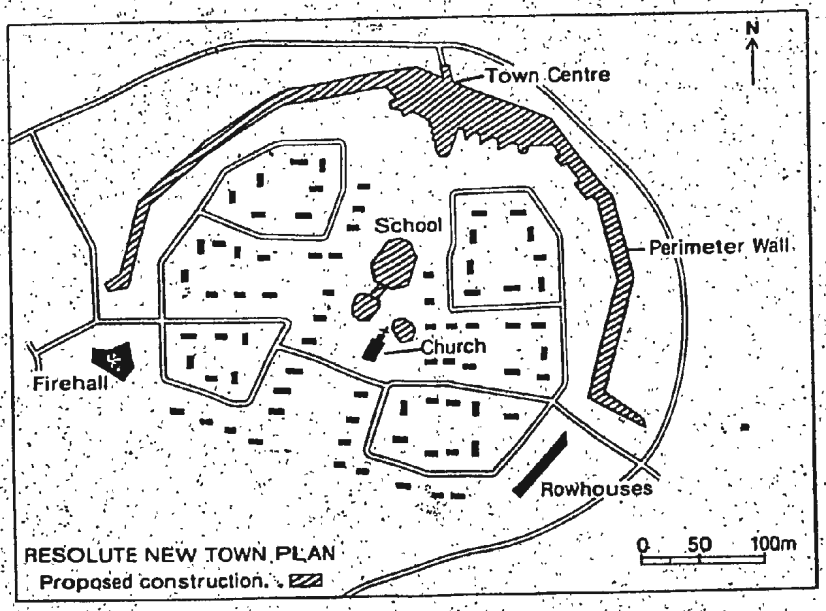


Figure 1: The Location of the Old Village, the New Town Site and the Air Base at Resolute Bay, Cornwallis Island.

Figure 2: The New Town Plan for Resolute Bay

(both after Dear and Clark 1979:47)


0 500 1000m
Contour interval in meters
RESOLUTE AIRPORT
Gravel Pit
Tanks
SIGNAL HILL
Chat Lake
Gravel Pit
Gravel Pit
Meretta Lake
NEW TOWN SITE
Resolute Lake
RESOLUTE
Wharf
Tanks
Ruins Lake
RESOLUTE BAY
Former Eskimo Village
Sight Pt.


N
Town Centre
School
Perimeter Wall
Church
Firehall
Rowhouses
RESOLUTE NEW TOWN PLAN
Proposed construction.
0 50 100m

October to May. In the first years, until about 1960, the people were full-time hunters and did not yet look to the Base as a source of employment and entertainment. Resolute Bay people, young and old, fondly remember the days in "the old village" and the teenagers think things were better then. Although Inuit have lived in Resolute Bay for less than 30 years, they have developed a strong identification with the place.

The non-Inuit occupation of Resolute Bay preceded the movement of the Inuit families to the area. In 1947 a joint Canadian-American weather station and telecommunications facilities were established at a point 6 1/2 km. inland from the Bay. In 1949 the RCAF established a base there and maintained the airport and facilities until 1964 when the Federal Department of Transport (DOT) assumed the responsibility. With the establishment of the airfield, Resolute Bay became one of the most easily accessible places in the Arctic and, as northern development proceeded, the Base became the major transportation and communication centre of the Arctic Islands. The Resolute Base is now the supply and distribution centre for national and multinational industrial development in the Canadian North. As a result, Resolute Bay has experienced economic boom-bust cycles and a transient non-native population which has ranged from 120 to 600, dependent upon the season and the economic activity in the area. For example, in the early 1970's, Resolute Bay boomed as the base for the field operations of oil and gas exploration. However, when the Polar Gas pipeline proposal was postponed in 1977 on the recommendation of the National Energy Board, traffic through Resolute Bay decreased. In 1980, when

Cominco began construction of the Polaris mine on nearby Little Cornwallis Island, the movement of personnel and equipment through the Resolute Bay airport again increased.

With the rapid growth of the Resolute Base and its increasing strategic importance in northern development, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) decided that some form of town planning should be implemented. In the early 1970's the government was anticipating that the population of the area might soon reach 1,200. At this time there were two centres of population, one predominantly Inuit, located on the coast, and one non-Inuit centre located inland at the airfield. The government was also concerned about housing and sanitation conditions at the Inuit village and thought that the people should be moved to a new location away from the frequent noise of aircraft passing overhead. In addition, erosion was a problem at the old village site. In 1973, the Territorial Government proposed the building of a new town at a new location where both Inuit and non-Inuit would live. The concept of social integration was alien to both groups at Resolute but this was one of the main elements of the government plan.

The government incorporated a number of specific objectives in the plan for a new town. These included: experiments in developing an indigenous Arctic architecture; creation of an integrated social environment which would allow both groups to retain their cultural identity; and, the use of advanced building technology to create a physical environment which would take into account the problems of climate, water supply, and sewage-garbage disposal (Dear and Clark

1978/79:50). Five possible sites were considered for the new town and one was chosen for three primary reasons. It was in the lee of Signal Hill; it provided a good view of the Bay and surrounding hills; and, it was removed from the jet flight path in and out of the airport. This present site is 8 km. from the Base. Curiously the plan for the new town was designed not in Canada but in Sweden by British architect Ralph Erskine. The basic concept was that of a walled town closed on three sides and open to Resolute Bay at the south (Figure 2).

The perimeter building was to have several functions: it would contain the town centre, hotel, apartments and townhouses for the non-Inuit; it would provide wind shelter for a large portion of the site and control snow drifting; it would allow continuous indoor pedestrian circulation; and, it would provide a physical sense of identity for the settlement. Within the perimeter wall would be the Inuit houses which were to be moved from the old village and raised to the standard of the new housing. It was felt that "this would allow [the Inuit] to keep their identity within the settlement, and that the conflict in lifestyle would be minimized" (Dear and Clark 1979/80:50).

The first work on the new townsite began in 1974. By 1975, the site was fully prepared and the first houses were relocated from the old Inuit village. By the end of the summer of 1976 the entire old village had been relocated and the Inuit were living at the new townsite. That year the road from the airport to the new town was elevated to keep it clear of drifting snow and open year-round. In 1977 a new firehall was built along with ten row houses for government staff which were the first part of the protective perimeter building.

Construction of the town centre, which would have formed another component of the perimeter building, had been scheduled to begin in the summer of 1978, but in that year the federal government suddenly withdrew its support for the town development.

The government explained that the general decrease in resource exploration in the High Arctic and the continuing development of alternate transportation centres at industrial sites, such as Rae Point and Nanisivik, made completion of the new planned town unnecessary. Local non-Inuit maintain that there was a reaction on the part of the residents of the Base against moving down to the Village. The Inuit also are not enthusiastic about the idea of an integrated community. The Post Office and the Bay store are, perhaps, the only facilities which the Inuit would welcome. The idea of the separateness of the Base is important to the Resolute Bay Inuit and the fact that in the village, there is a place where Inuitness and the Inuit way of life "belong" is valued by the Inuit.

The Base

Although they have lived in close proximity for almost 30 years and there are many ties between them, the Base and the Village are centres for two essentially different ways of life. The Resolute Base consists of a cluster of Atco trailers and quonset huts located around the airfield and weather station. Nordair and Pacific Western Airlines maintain ticket offices and freight sheds at the airstrip. Each employ one ticket agent who handles the twice-weekly jet flights to and from Montreal and Edmonton. Two private commercial aviation companies, Kenn Borek Air of Calgary and Bradley's Air Services of Carp,

Ontario, have hangars at the airfield and are available for twin-otter charters. These private firms are used primarily by scientists and industrialists and, increasingly, by tourists for trips to Ellesmere Island. The Inuit occasionally charter flights in order to fish at Creswell Bay on Somerset Island, or to hunt on Prince of Wales Island. Both of these companies maintain trailers with accommodations and cooking facilities for their employees. In the winter months their staff may consist of the base manager, one engineer, one co-pilot, and one pilot but in the summer their number may multiply three or four times to meet the needs of the scientific and industrial field parties working in the area. Woodward's Oil Limited employs three to four men to handle the 15 million gallon capacity fuel storage facilities required by the aviation industry. They too maintain a company trailer where the men live and prepare their own meals.

The Federal Atmospheric Environmental Services (AES) operates the weather station and the Ministry of Transport (MOT) operates the marine-air radio and telecommunications facility. Their employees all live in the largest complex at the Base and take their meals in the dining room at the Hotel. The Hotel is operated by the MOT and has accommodation for 189 guests. MOT has tendered to Tower Foundation Limited of Montreal the contract to cater at the Hotel and to maintain the MOT buildings. All MOT and Tower employees live in the MOT complex.

The MOT Hotel is used mainly by tourists and government personnel. In a large quonset hut at the north end of the Base, a private company, Narwhal Services Limited, provides accommodation, meals and expediting services. This firm caters mainly to the mining

and oil and gas industries. As well, Narwhal offloads the annual sealift cargo, delivers fuel and water, collects garbage, and maintains the roads at the Base. Another private company, Canadian Arctic Resources Limited of Montreal, owns a facility at South Camp which is situated between the Village and the Base. Here accommodation is also available for transient workers and Arctic Resources arranges for their guests to take meals at the Hotel.

The Polar Continental Shelf Project (PCSP) established a station at the Resolute Base in 1959. This is an agency of the Federal Department of Energy, Mines and Resources which provides logistic support and co-ordinates scientific research in the Eastern Arctic. From May until September each year, PCSP maintains a radio station and bunkhouse at the Base to accommodate scientists en route from their southern institutions to their northern field research camps. In the summer of 1980, 100 scientific field parties--geologists, biologists, archaeologists, glaciologists, meteorologists--used the PCSP facilities at Resolute.

The post office is located at the Base as is the Hudson's Bay store. The Bay store differs from those in many other settlements in that there is no fresh food sold and the store is not a centre for trade in furs or crafts. Instead, the store is heavily oriented to the sale of modern consumer items--tape decks, televisions, video tape recorders, clothing, cosmetics, magazines, records, junk food and cigarettes. The store also carries souvenir items such as a small number of soapstone carvings and parkas none of which is made locally; leather belts which have "Resolute Bay, N.W.T." carved on them and

T-shirts and sweatshirts with "Resolute Bay - Top of the World" printed on them.

The Northern Canada Power Commission which operates the diesel generating station also maintains four houses for its employees and their families. These are the only private family homes at the Base. All other Base residents live either in company trailers, at Narwhal, or at the MOT Hotel. At the Base, only the Hudson's Bay Company manager, the Postmaster, the owners of Narwhal and one MOT employee have their wives living with them in Resolute. The AES employs several single women as meteorologists and in the summer an increasing number of women pass through Resolute as members of scientific field parties or as workers for Tower Foundation. The core of Resolute Base society, however, is male. Most of these men are single and all are away from their families and friends for long periods. Although some of these men may be in Resolute for work periods of up to six or eight months at a time, all of them have homes elsewhere, generally in southern Canada. Resolute Bay is not considered to be home by any of the non-Inuit Base residents.

Life at the Base is organized around long hours of work and long hours of drinking. Drinking takes place at the Bar and at all-night parties in private rooms or in company trailers. Although a few people enjoy fishing in the nearby lakes, most do not venture far beyond the confines of the Base buildings. Occasionally a day charter is organized by a group to go char-fishing at Creswell Bay or some other spot renowned for char. These trips are invariably characterized by intensive drinking while on the plane and while fishing.

MOT employees run a private recreation facility at the Base called the Arctic Circle Club which operates a bar six days a week. The Bar is open for Happy Hour from 5 to 6 p.m. and in the evenings from 7:30 to 11:30 p.m. There is no liquor sales outlet in Resolute Bay and the Arctic Circle Club is the only place alcohol can be bought locally. Patrons must sign in at the door which is guarded by a doorman. Strict rules are enforced inside and individuals may be "barred" for a wide range of offences including falling asleep, fighting, using language considered unacceptable by the bar manager, and having more than two drinks on the table in front of them at one time. The Club sponsors a dance at the Bar every three weeks as well as a Fall shuffleboard tournament, and dart tournaments and curling bonspiels during the winter months. The Club also shows movies at the Resolute Cinema on Sunday evenings. All of these activities are open to the public and are enjoyed by many of the Resolute Bay Inuit. A television and library lounge and a gymnasium and sauna, located in the MOT complex, are available to MOT employees only.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment is also located at the Base. The present RCMP officers are two single men; one in his late 20's and the other 30 years of age. The RCMP station is attached to the building which also houses the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce and the weather and telecommunications centre. The officers live and take their meals at the Hotel. At least once each day they drive on patrol down to the Village generally stopping to chat with people they see on the street. They also attend the landing of each jet in Resolute Bay in order to monitor the arrival of personal liquor ship-

ments ordered from Yellowknife by both Inuit and non-Inuit. The RCMP officers are active participants in the social life of the Base. They are frequently customers in the Bar and are regulars at late-night parties with the Base "elite," which includes the bank manager, the owners of Narwhal and the base manager for one of the private air charter companies.

The Base way of life, then, is characterized by a predominance of transient single men and a heavy use of alcohol in leisure hours. The men work hard and are away from home for months at a time. The companies and government agencies established at the Base provide facilities for the entertainment of their employees. The Inuit who live 8 km. away have no comparable recreation resources.

The Village

The Resolute Village today (Figure 3) is a mix of the old buildings moved from the old village and the new buildings built in the excitement of the early days of the model town. There are 65 box-like buildings, one-third of which are vacant and in varying stages of disrepair. The houses which were moved from the old village are fading pastel colours. There is now almost an equal number of modern suburban-style homes which are larger and uniformly gold in colour. The old and new houses stand side by side and relics of the modern town plan are conspicuous in the village. The architect-designed brown and yellow row housing stands empty and alone to the southeast edge of the village. A few of the units were occupied briefly but the Department of Public Works closed the entire building in October 1980 due to the expense of keeping it heated. To the western edge

KEY



Inuit Household



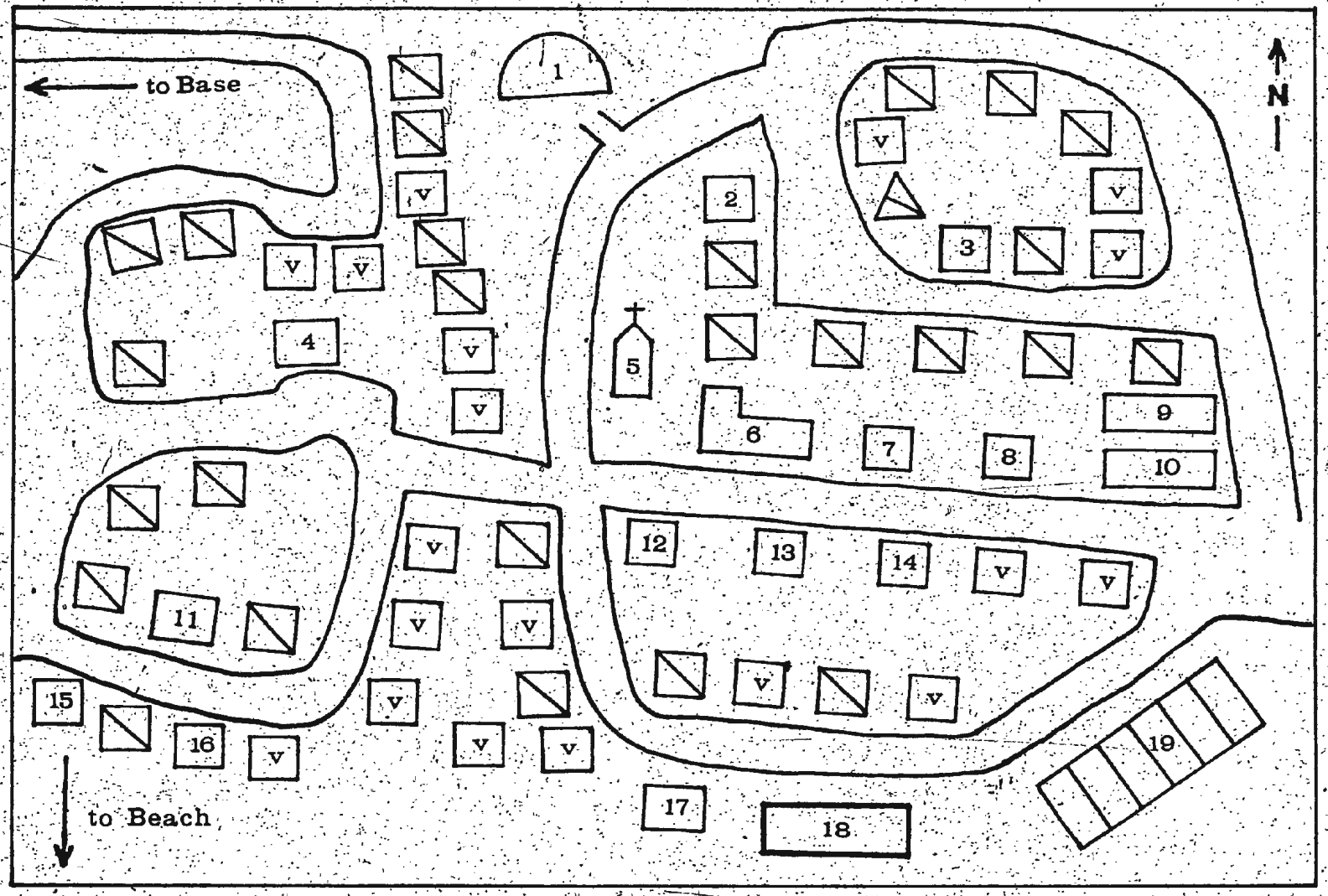
Vacant House



A-Frame (built and owned by an Inuit man)

1. Community Hall and Settlement Council Offices
2. Drop-In Centre
3. Sewing Centre
4. Teachers' Residence
5. Anglican Church
6. Co-op Store
7. DPW Employee's Residence
8. Housing Association Office
9. Nursing Station Trailer
10. Nursing Station
11. Tourist Home
12. Co-op Warehouse
13. DPW Employee's Residence
14. Co-op Manager's Residence
15. Territorial Government Office
16. Housing Association Warehouse
17. Portable Classroom
18. Qarmatalik Elementary School
19. Row Housing

Figure 3: The Resolute Bay Village in 1980



RESOLUTE BAY 1980

of town the new firehall, complete with the lime-green firetruck which was brought up from Montreal on the sea-lift, stands awaiting action. In place of the town hall and recreation centre which, under the town plan would have been contained in the perimeter building, the government funded the building of a quonset hut to serve as a community hall. This building known as the "Rec Hall" stands alone on the hill and is now the location of the settlement council offices. It also provides the only recreation facilities in the Village in the form of a badminton net, basketball hoop and movie projection equipment and is the place where monthly Bingo games take place.

A bright blue facility, located south of the village on the beach, originally planned as the sewage treatment plant for the new Arctic town, is uncompleted and unused. After termination of the new town project, the government provided funds to finish building the water and sewage service lines. All houses now have running water and indoor plumbing and the system is capable of supporting a population eight times that of Resolute today. Thus, in terms of modern conveniences, Resolute Bay is a well-serviced settlement. Twenty-four of the 27 Inuit households live in pre-fabricated three to five bedroom bungalows with electricity, indoor plumbing and oil heating. In these homes standard household appliances include refrigerators, electric stoves, washing machines and dryers. A number of families also have freezers. The houses are well-furnished with matching living room suites, wall-to-wall carpeting on the living room floor, kitchen table and chairs and bedroom furniture. All except two families have televisions and all are colour sets. All homes have a stereo or tape player and four homes

have video tape players for home movie viewing.

In the Village the Co-op store sells frozen TV dinners, canned stews and dried instant meals such as Chuckwagon Dinner and Chef-Boy-Ar-Dee Pizza mixes. It also sells camping supplies, sewing supplies, a small selection of clothing as well as cigarettes, potato chips, soft drinks and chocolate bars. About once every two weeks the Co-op orders from Montreal a limited variety of fresh foods such as eggs, oranges, lettuce, tomatoes and cucumbers. News of the arrival of the fresh food shipments travels quickly through the settlement and the store is crowded until the fresh items are sold. Non-Inuit residents in the Village and at the Base either eat at the Hotel or order food regularly from stores in Yellowknife or Montreal. The Resolute Bay Inuit do not order food from the South. They eat caribou, seal and char when it is available and otherwise subsist on what the Co-op and Bay stores sell. About one-third of Resolute Bay families order clothing, furniture and household goods from the Simpson-Sears catalogue. A few families do their shopping when away from the settlement on business trips to Yellowknife, Frobisher Bay, Montreal or Ottawa for meetings with government officials or with Inuit political organizations. The remainder of the families depend upon the Co-op and the Bay store to meet their consumer needs.

The tiny weathered-grey Anglican church was moved from the old village and occupies a central place in the new town. Morning and evening services are conducted each Sunday by Inuit lay-readers. It is not, however, a focal point of the social life in Resolute Bay. Only a few families are regular attenders and there are no community groups

or organized youth activities associated with the church. The old turquoise-green nursing station was also moved and provides facilities for daily clinics as well as X-ray equipment. For major medical treatment and child births the Resolute Bay Inuit are flown to the regional hospital in Frobisher Bay. The Resolute nursing station is operated by two nurses who come from southern Canada and generally stay one or, at most, two years in the Village.

The elementary school, Qarmatalik School, is a prominent bright yellow building on the southern edge of town. The school consists of two classrooms, an activity area and a small room with some audiovisual equipment and a few shelves of books available for lending. There is also a kitchen at the school where the students prepare a hot meal each morning. As the majority arrive unfed, they look forward to a mid-morning meal of soup or macaroni.

There is no gymnasium at the school or anywhere in the Village. The activity room at the school serves as a place for "exercises" for the younger children. The principal occasionally takes the older students up to the Rec Hall for badminton or volleyball but the facilities are improvised and the number of students who attend school each day is unpredictable so there is no regular physical education program for the students.

The principal of the school teaches the senior grades five to eight; his wife with the help of a young Inuit woman teaches kindergarten and the primary grades one to four. This couple had taught in five other communities in the Northwest Territories over a period of twelve years but this was their first year in Resolute. Resolute has a history

of teachers who come for one or two years and then return South or move on to another settlement.

The local Settlement Council consists of a Council Chairman, a settlement secretary and four to six councillors who change frequently. Only a few individuals are actively involved in politics and their time and energy is directed toward responding to industrial development and socio-environmental impact studies rather than toward community development and community concerns. Cominco and Petrocanada are both undertaking major projects in the area and Resolute Bay Inuit are concerned about the effects such developments will have on the caribou and marine mammals as well as their socioeconomic impact on the community. The Council has little time left-over for within-community social, economic and political development. Although there are committees associated with the settlement council, they meet irregularly and are generally ineffective. There is no Recreation Committee and the Council does not assume any responsibility for the social life of the settlement. The Education Committee had still not met with the new teachers three months after school had been in session in the Fall of 1980 and the major achievement of the Drug and Alcohol Education Committee has been obtaining a grant to operate a Drop-In Centre and hanging posters around the Centre warning of the evils of alcohol. The Centre is a renovated two-room house which was moved from the old village. Outside it is painted in rainbow-coloured geometric shapes and inside it is cosily furnished with a few bright orange chairs,

a colour TV, coffee machine and pool table.

The Drop-In Centre does not organize recreational activities; in fact, besides the Bingos, there are no organized community activities in the settlement. The residents of the Resolute Bay Village look to the Base for their social life. Adult activities centre on the Arctic Circle Club which provides a place for the Inuit to drink and dance as well as to play in dart and shuffleboard tournaments. Besides being a focal point for entertainment, the Base is also a source of employment.

Employment

The Resolute Bay Inuit are committed to a wage economy and all households have at least one full-time wage earner; thirteen of thirty-one mothers are also wage employed. There is no economic basis for the Inuit settlement at Resolute. As in other Arctic settlements, maintenance of the settlement is the major source of employment for Village residents.

Eighty-three persons, or over half of the Resolute Bay population, are of working age, that is, between the ages of 15 and 64. With the maturation of the Inuit "baby boom" of the early 1960's, the working age population in all Inuit settlements is increasing both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the total population.

For the present, Resolute Bay is maintaining a balance between numbers of jobs and numbers of employed. Virtually everyone who wants or needs work is able to find employment locally. Of 83 persons of working age, 11 are in school and 18 are mothers looking after the home. Seven young women in their late teens or early 20's are unemployed. Two of these women are pregnant teenagers. Only two men in the Village

are unemployed, that is, they do not work and do not hunt. Of 44 persons employed, 55.8 percent are involved in settlement maintenance work and 29.4 percent work at the Base. Table I shows the types of occupations of the Resolute Bay Inuit in August 1980.

The Base provides full-time employment for ten Inuit who live in the Village and commute. Three women work for Tower Foundation as cleaning ladies at the MOT complex; one man works for NCPC as a general labourer; one woman cooks at Narwhal; two young people work as clerks in the Bay store; two men are equipment operators for Narwhal and one man is an equipment operator for Arctic Resources. Both companies occasionally hire more people from the Village on a seasonal and casual basis.

Nineteen people work in settlement maintenance jobs. In the settlement, the Department of Public Works employs one man as an electrician and two as trades helpers. The Housing Association employs one woman in the office and three men in maintenance work, one of whom does furnace repairs. The Co-op employs one woman who is the assistant manager under a non-Inuit manager, and two men. One of these men has the contract from the Co-op for home fuel delivery within the Village; the other works in the store. The Department of National Health and Welfare employs one man and one woman as cleaning staff at the nursing station. The man is also the X-ray technician. The Department of Education employs one man as the janitor in the school; he now has 15 years' seniority as a government employee. The Department also employs two women as Inuktitut instructors and classroom assistants. One woman is employed by the settlement as the Settlement Secretary; her

Table 1: Occupations of Resolute Bay Inuit, August 1980

I. Settlement Maintenance

Employer	# Male Employees and their Job Capacity	# Female Employees and their Job Capacity
Housing Association	3 Building Maintenance	1 Office Worker
Co-op	1 Home Fuel Delivery 1 Stock and Cash	1 Assist. Manager
Dept. of Public Works	1 Electrician 2 Trades Helpers	---
Dept. of National Health and Welfare	1 Janitor and X-Ray Technician	1 Cleaning Staff
Dept. of Education	1 Janitor	2 Classroom Assistants and Inuktitut Instructors
Govt. of the Northwest Territories	1 Field Service Officer	1 Social Development Officer
Settlement Council	1 Garbage Collector	1 Settlement Secretary

Total Employed in Settlement Maintenance: 19

II. Resolute Base

Tower Foundation	---	3 Cleaning Staff
Northern Canada Power Commission	1 General Labourer	---
Hudson's Bay Co.	1 Stock Boy	1 Clerk-Cashier
Narwhal Ltd.*	2 Heavy Equipment Operators	1 Cook
Arctic Resources Ltd*	1 Heavy Equipment Operator	---

Total Employed at the Base: 10.

*Both companies hire casual male labour and employ teenage girls after school in cleaning jobs when they need them.

III. Other

Employer	# Male Employees and their Job Capacity	# Female Employees and their Job Capacity
Welfare	-----	2 Widows
Politics	1 Elected Representative for the High Arctic in the Territorial Assembly	-----
Armed Forces	2 teach a 6-week Survival Course each Spring	-----
Little Cornwallis Island	4 Labourers on Cominco Mine Construction Site	-----
Adult Vocational Training College (Fort Smith)	2	-----
Hunting[a]	3	-----
Casual, unskilled Labourer	1	-----
Unemployed	2	7[b]
Total Employed in Other Occupations[c]	--15	

husband is the chairman of the settlement council and has the contract to collect garbage in the settlement. One man is the Field Service Officer who acts as liaison between the Territorial and Federal government agencies and the local settlement council. One 23 year old Inuit woman who was born and raised in Resolute is the Social Development

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[a]Hunting is the sole occupation for three men but is an important part-time occupation and source of food for 21 Resolute Bay men and their families.

[b]Two of these women are 17 year old teenagers who are pregnant.

[c]This table does not include 18 women who are housewives.

Officer, she is also Welfare Officer, Truant Officer, Probation Officer, Employment Officer, and Family Counsellor.

The remainder of the Inuit residents of Resolute Bay are variously employed. Two widows are on welfare; both have sons living at home who are employed full-time. One man in Resolute Bay is the elected representative for the High Arctic in the Territorial Assembly in Yellowknife; his wife is the Land Claims fieldworker for the Baffin Region Inuit Association, an unsalaried position. Two men supervise Arctic survival courses for the Armed Forces in the Spring and are year-round hunters. One man has no source of cash income although he hunts for food and his wife works for Tower Foundation. One man occasionally carves or works as an unskilled labourer but is frequently unemployed; his wife works full-time for Tower at the Base. Four young men in their mid-20's hunt and take casual employment; they are currently working on the construction of the Polaris mine on Little Cornwallis Island.

Population

There are 155 Inuit and 17 non-Inuit living in the Village. Of the non-Inuit residents, three are men living with Inuit women; one is a non-Inuit woman married to an Inuit man, and two are a young married couple who have started a tourist outfitting business and tourist home in the Village. The remainder are transient Southerners who hold key positions within the settlement but who generally only stay in one settlement for a period of one or two years. These include the two nurses, the teachers and their two school-age children, the DPW employees who supervise Inuit men in the maintenance of the

government buildings and the water and sewage systems and the Co-op manager who supervises the business operation and staff of the Co-op store. By the Spring of 1981 all except one nurse had left Resolute Bay for positions elsewhere and none had lived in the Village for longer than one year.

Table 2: Population of Resolute Bay by Age Group (August, 1980)

Age Group	Number of Individuals	Percent	Percent Teenagers between 14 and 19 Years
0-4	24	60	20
5-13	38		
14-19	31		
20-30	32	20.6	
30-40	16	19.4	
40+	14		
Total Population	155		

The demographic profile of Resolute Bay resembles that of other settlements. The Inuit population is young. 60 percent of the community is under 20 years of age; 80.6 percent is under 30. 44.5 percent is of elementary school age. The dependent population in Resolute Bay--those zero to 14 and 65 plus years of age--is 46.5 percent of the total population of the settlement. This is high when compared to the figures of 40 percent of the Canadian Indian population and 30 percent of the national population which is in this age range

(DIAND 1980:23).

Teenagers between the ages of 14 and 19 comprise 20 percent of the Resolute Bay population (Table 2). Like all Arctic settlements, Resolute Bay is experiencing the effects of the rapid population increase which followed upon the movement of the Inuit into the settlements, access to government health care and integration into the Canadian welfare state. All Resolute Bay teenagers come from large families. A decline in the Inuit birthrate is noted by Paine (1977:42) and younger parents who presently have one or two children reported that they do not plan to have a large number of children. Nonetheless, those who are teenagers today all come from families which have an average of seven children and as many as twelve children.

There are 27 Inuit households in the Village. Table 3 identifies five types of households in the settlement and Table 4 lists those households which have teenagers as members. Type A--nuclear families of young parents with from one to four children--are becoming the prevailing type in the settlement. Nevertheless, the households that the teenagers belong to are large and involve a complex web of kinship ties.

The Teenagers

As in other Arctic Settlements, the teenagers are conspicious by their disportionately large numbers and by their hanging around the settlement in groups having the appearance of doing nothing and having nothing to do. When formerly by age 16 or 17 they might have been hunters or wives, today they may be students or drop-outs or labourers and these new roles are not as clearly defined. The majority of young Inuit whether student or drop-out, unemployed or employed, express uncertainty about their place in the community. They look to the time when they will be mothers and wives or hunters or men with families.

Table 3: Resolute Bay Household Types (August, 1980)

Household Type	Description	Number of Households
A	Young couples with one to four young school age and infant children.	12
B	Single Mothers with children	4
C	Widows with children	2
D	Older Couples with teenagers. These are the "founding" families and the parents of many of the younger Resolute Bay parents as well.	8
E	"Hunting unit"*--2 men, one with wife and 2 small children; one with 3 older children.	1

The teenagers number 31 in total. There are 15 boys and 16 girls. Nine teenagers, ages 14 to 15, are in Grades 7 and 8 at Qarmatalik Elementary School in the settl ment. Ten, ages 15 to 19, are attending Gordon Robertson Educational Centre (GREC) in Frobisher Bay and twelve Resolute Bay teenagers for various reasons are no longer in school (Table 5).

Table 5 notes that two of the teenagers who are now working recently graduated from the Clerical Secretary and Settlement Maintenance Pre-Vocational Programs at GREC. Three others left the settlement to begin high school in Frobisher Bay but dropped out at Christmas. Two boys have taken or are taking training at the Adult Vocational Training Centre (AVTC) in Fort Smith. Three dropped out of the settlement school before reaching Grade 8 and have never left

*The term an extended family is not used here because the two men are not related either by descent or marriage. They hunt together and have chosen to live together.

Table 4: Composition of Resolute Bay Households which have Teenagers as Members (August 1980)

Household Type	Number Teenagers	Total No. Children (including those adopted and those now married)	Comments on Household Residents	Total No. Persons living in Household
A	1	N/A	1 Teenage male lives with his sister, her husband and 3 small children.	6
B	2	8	Non-Inuit male lives with the mother.	5
C	1	12		5
C	3	7		6
E	2	N/A	1 Teenage girl is pregnant; 1 man's great-grandmother lives in house.	9
D	1	6		4
D	3	5	2 other children were adopted out.	7

Table 4 Continued: Composition of Resolute Bay Households which have Teenagers as Members (Aug. 1980)

Household Type	Number Teenagers	Total No. Children (including those adopted and those now married)	Comments on Household Residents	Total No. Persons Living in Household
D	5	7	1 adopted daughter; 1 daughter with 1 month old baby; 1 nephew.	9
D	3	10	1 adopted grand-daughter	10
D	3	12	1 Teenage daughter is pregnant. 1 Son lives in the house with his wife as do 1 daughter, her husband and 2 children	11
D	2	6	2 are step-children; 1 is an adopted son.	7
D	2	4	The teenagers are from the father's first marriage.	6
D	3	7	An older unmarried daughter lives at home with her daughter; 2 adopted grand-daughters also live in the home.	8

the settlement. One boy has attended high school in both Frobisher Bay and Ottawa, and has completed Grade 10. His mother works in Ottawa but he now lives with his married sister in Resolute.

Ten of the settlement's teenagers are currently in high school in Frobisher Bay. Five are scheduled to graduate from Pre-Vocational programs in the Spring of 1981. Two are in Grade 11 of the academic program and plan to complete Grade 12. If they do, they will be the first from the settlement to graduate from high school with the equivalent of a southern academic high school diploma. Besides the two teenagers who recently graduated from the Pre-Vocational programs only one other person in the settlement has graduated from high school. He completed the Settlement Maintenance program at GREC in 1980 and is now training with the Armed Forces in Nova Scotia. Although a number of the younger parents attended high schools in Churchill or Inuvik, none completed a high school program. Today's teenagers are the first generation of Resolute Bay Inuit to be anticipating graduation from high school.

The teenagers have grown up as members of large families whose parents are generally away from home either at work during the day or at the Bar in the evenings. The children are left to their own devices. There are no community-organized activities for children or teenagers and few community recreation resources available to them. The Drop-In Centre might be considered such a facility but the teenagers do not view it as their place. The space is too small for any group activity. The Centre is opened at unpredictable hours--"after supper or when it's open" as the teenagers say--by the supervisor, a young woman in

Table 5: Occupations of Resolute Bay Teenagers Not in School (September 1980)

	Number	Age	Occupation	Educational Level
GIRLS	2	16	Helping at Home	Grade 6
	1	17	Pregnant	Grade 6
	1	18	Pregnant	Grade 8 + 1 term at GREC
	1	19	Looking after her 1 month old baby	Grade 8 + 1 term at GREC
	1	19	Clerk at Bay Store	1979 graduate from GREC Clerical-Secretary Program
BOYS	1	19	Clerk at Co-op Store	4 Years at GREC did not graduate
	1	19	Housing Association	1 term at GREC; training at AVTC
	1	19	On training course in welding at AVTC in Fort Smith	Grade 8
	1	19	Labourer for NCPC in Frobisher Bay	1980 graduate from GREC Settlement-Maintenance
	1	19	Hunting and unskilled labour when available	Grade 10, Ottawa
	1	18	Unskilled labour when available	Not known but less than Grade 8

her early 20's who always brings her two tiny children with her. The pool table is often monopolized by men in their mid-20's who are temporarily "barred" from the Bar at the Base. And, whenever there is something going on at the Drop-In Centre, groups of young children descend to satisfy their curiosity, to see "what's happening." The social worker commented that this is always a problem. Whenever in the past they had tried to organize activities for teenagers, the place was soon overrun with younger children who had nowhere to go themselves and the teenagers lost interest. The teenagers prefer to be with their peers and they establish their own arenas of activity.

The Resolute Bay teenagers describe some of their favourite pastimes:

> I like to drive around on a skidoo and be by the Coop with my friends and listen to music. Go to supper at the Base with my friends. Go to movies. Play outside in the night making trouble, bothering drinking peoples. Sometimes I like drinking and going to the boys for fun. (14 year old female)

> In spring I like to go out to Somerset Island and go to Creswell Bay to catch some fish and some caribou. Also some rabbits. The things I like to do in summer is to go riding on a bicycle to the Base or anywhere I like to go. In winter I like to drive around on a skidoo anywhere around the Village or go to the movies at the Base. (14 year old male)

> Summertime we play baseball, football, go boating, Honda around, sleep. Wintertime we mostly go hunting, play street hockey. I don't know what else. (15 year old male)

> I like driving around on skidoo. That's it. (15 year old female)

> Playing outside. Fighting. Sometimes we walk around when it's Friday and Saturday night. (15 year old female)

> We usually stay at home or go out hunting and I don't really know. Skidoo around or walk around the settlement. When we have nothing to do, make trouble. A little trouble. Not too serious. Like break and entering. (16 year old male)

> People who have Hondas go Honda-riding. Hunting, skidooing, things like that. Summertime we used to go to the beach and make fires and have a picnic. (16 year old female)

> Summertime play baseball, football, go out hunting and just stay around, make trouble. Wintertime mostly street hockey, hunting. (18 year old male)

The younger teens spend their time on the street. "Being by the Coop" and "Playing outside" are favourite activities. On winter evenings, street hockey in front of the Coop store, games of tag, talking, teasing and chasing each other keep the teenagers and younger children out of the house for hours. Almost all young teenage boys have bicycles and they ride around the street taunting the girls who are "by the Coop."

In summer "staying up" is the main pastime of Resolute Bay teenagers. With 24 hour sunlight, children and teenagers simply sleep when they are tired. The older teenagers ride around all night on motorbikes or in the settlement's single hotrod car. In the early hours of the morning, the "Arctic Angels" can be heard tearing across the gravel beaches, up the river valley and around the Village. Night is teenage time and teenagers party until dawn, sleeping until 4 in the afternoon in preparation for the next night's activities. There is a timeless quality to the teenager's life in the settlement during the summer months.

They go by boat or truck on picnics or overnight camping trips

to places near the settlement such as Allan Bay or 12-mile Lake. Or they walk or bike together to the Base or the old village.

Also in summer, when their working parents have two or three weeks' holidays, the teenagers may go with their families, or a friend's family, to camp on Somerset or Prince of Wales Island. In a modern settlement like Resolute Bay, short summer holidays in camp provide the only time that many children and teenagers spend with their parents and other families. In the settlement, the teenagers are either in school or working at a part-time job or babysitting or visiting and hanging around with their friends. Meanwhile, their parents are working or are at the Bar or at home. In camp, all ages work and play together. They fish for char and hunt caribou and walk around looking for animals or old campsites. The girls said this was the only time they really talked with their parents. And it is in camp that the parents have their only opportunity to show their children what their own lives as children had been like and to teach them some of the Inuit ways without the interference of the routines of school and work in the settlement. Most parents and children love the time they spend together in camp and look forward to it and talk about it all year long. Although it is practised for such a short time, the idea of living in camp is highly-valued by Resolute Bay Inuit of all ages and partly for this reason, many places on Somerset and Prince of Wales are special to the people.

Back in the settlement, the round of all-night activities begins again and continues until the older teenagers leave to attend high school in Frobisher Bay at the end of August. For ten months things

are quieter for the teenagers who stay behind to work or attend elementary school or do nothing. The girls continue to spend their time babysitting and helping around the house. The boys play street hockey and hunt and work or go to school. "Skidooing around. Going fast" becomes a main activity for all teenagers during the long winter months and ice-fishing and ptarmigan-hunting are popular with some of the older teenagers. Skidooing up to the Base to "meet the plane" is a favourite activity of all teenagers. Four times each week a jet comes into the Resolute Bay airport from either Yellowknife or Montreal--and the teenagers are always there to watch the coming and going. After all, "it might be someone you know." And it might be someone you don't know. Hundreds of people--scientists, engineers, oil men, government people--pass through the Resolute Bay airport. This is especially true in the summer months, but there is activity all year round. The trip up to the Base is entertainment for all the village people and provides contact with the outside world. For young teenagers who are entering the transition to adulthood and beginning to think about the possibilities offered by life beyond the settlement, hanging around the airport terminal is a chance to view different people and new types of behavior.

Throughout the year, the Base serves as a major resource for the teenagers. Besides "meeting the plane" the teenagers enjoy "going for supper at the Base." The MOT Hotel offers a weekly Sunday buffet and special dinners on holidays such as Thanksgiving and Christmas. A majority of village families attend the holiday dinners; children plead with their patents to take them up to the Base for supper and

teenagers often go on their own with a group of friends. The teenagers also enjoy skidooing up to the Base for Sunday night movies and, always, shopping at the Bay store is a favourite excursion. At the "Bay" they can shop for records, tapes, clothing, cosmetics, "Archie" comic books, "True Romance" magazines, cigarettes and junk food such as potato chips, chocolate bars and soft drinks. The Bay manager reported that both teenagers and children always have money to spend--usually between $5.00 and $20.00--and that they spend it mainly on junk food. The teenagers agree that they spend large amounts of money on "sweets" or junk food.

CBC-television reached Resolute Bay via satellite in 1976. In some homes the colour television is always on. The boys watch sports and "Hockey Night in Canada" and otherwise only watch television when they have nothing else to do. The girls tend to watch more television than the boys do. Although they say it gets boring and they only do it "when there's nothing else to do," they seem to have nothing else to do more frequently than the boys. Like their older sisters and mothers all of the girls enjoy the "Edge of Night"--"Lots of action and exciting too"--and watch it when they can. "Dallas" is also popular with the teenage girls. And they watch "Walt Disney" and "Charlie's Angels" because "they're exciting" and "Happy Days" and "Three's Company" because "they're funny."

The Resolute Bay teenagers are also avid movie fans. Besides going to the Base for movies at the "Resolute Cinema," they watch them at home on the VTR. Four families own video tape recorders and the owners are members of the Resolute Bay Video Club. The Club,

run by the Bay store manager, is a member of the Arctic Video Club in Frobisher Bay. The Frobisher Bay club built its own receiving dish and is able to receive, among other American television stations, Home Box Office which plays movies 24 hours a day. The Frobisher Bay Club videotapes the movies--mostly westerns, police adventures, suspense and horror films--and distributes the film cassettes to member clubs in the Baffin Region. Almost all Baffin settlements have a local video club. As many as eight new films on video cassettes come into the settlement each week and each week the teenagers or their parents go to the Bay store at the Base to see what movies have arrived. The Bay manager says the people are not particular about which movies they will borrow; they enjoy them all. The cassettes are loaned for a fee of $3.00 each and the teenagers may watch a movie as many as five or six times before returning them and exchanging one cassette for another. Watching movies is one of the favourite pastimes of the settlement teenagers and groups gather often at one of the homes which has a VTR. Their favourites are horror movies. "They're scary. Exciting too. We don't know what's going to happen and we get scared. It's fun being scared," said one 16 year old girl.

As there is no library in Resolute Bay the teenagers are limited to the small selection of children's adventure and fairy stories at the elementary school and the comic books, magazines and paperbacks sold at the Bay store. One boy reported that he reads "mostly rape novels." When I asked what a rape novel was, he said: "You know. What the Bay sells." Other boys said they read comic books or sports magazines. The majority of the teenagers said they did not enjoy

reading. The girls said they read comic books and magazines such as True Love and Modern Romance which they buy at the Bay or borrow from their older sisters. I asked why they like these magazines and one 14 year old girl replied: "Some are interesting . . . there's a girl being raped in the boy's locker room . . ." Rape was on her mind because that summer, a young Resolute Bay Inuk in his late 20's had raped three young women in the settlement including her best friend, also 14 years old.

Alcohol is an important part of the lives of Resolute Bay young people. Almost all adults in Resolute Bay frequent the Arctic Circle Club and some are there every night that it is open. There are only four adults in the settlement who do not drink at all and two of these are the elderly widows. In recent years the drinking behaviour of Resolute Bay Inuit has begun to change. The younger parents--those in their mid-to-late-20's--drink less than their parents. Unlike their parents, they appear to consider the option of drinking as one form of entertainment but they also identify other things they like to do such as watching television at home, going ice fishing or playing with their children. These young parents grew up in the early days of the Resolute village and they remember their parents being away at the bar every night as well as the trouble that followed on their return home intoxicated. These young parents and the teenagers say that they want to spend more time with their children when they have families of their own. "I don't like the part when they [the parents] go to the Bar every night. I will spend most of my time with my kids and mostly go out camping. Families were a lot closer then,

when they were camping and when there was no Bar," said one 17 year old girl who had recently had a baby of her own. One mother in her mid-20's describes how she feels about the changes she has observed:

> I'm proud of it right now. I'm proud of the parents now. Even though they still drink, they don't always fight now so that's good because when they started fighting it used to be terrifying. Everybody used to be scared. Besides most families that used to get into problems around here, they're gone. Things are quieter now so it's alright.

The teenagers all talked about the "troubles" that alcohol causes in the settlement but they also said that they think they will go to the Bar too when they are old enough. A majority of them had already experimented with alcohol and soft drugs. The proximity of the Base and the large number of transients who travel through or work there makes drugs more readily accessible to the Resolute Bay Inuit and soft drugs especially marjuana and hashish are popular when available. A number of the younger teens and small children sniff skidoo gasoline as a way of getting high. "It makes you feel good." "I'm just used to it. It's a habit," they say. Drugs and alcohol provide a diversion and respite from having nothing to do. One 17 year old girl explains: "It makes us feel high and you laugh a lot . . . . we don't laugh that much here. We do that to have fun, to do something."

"Exciting" and "boring" are the adjectives the Resolute Bay teenagers most use to describe their experiences and "boring" is the more common. The search for excitement, the escape from boredom is the driving force behind Resolute Bay teenage activities. The teenagers enjoy driving around on skidoos, going to the Base for movies, or supper, or to shop at the Bay store. And they enjoy the picnics,

boating and camping trips. But the majority of the time they complain that they are bored and that "there's nothing to do."

Their boredom leads not only to experimentation with drugs and alcohol but also to vandalism: "When we have nothing to do, we make trouble. Not too serious. Like break and entering," said one 16 year old male. One of the local RCMP officers described a behavioural development pattern which he has observed among the teenagers. He says, "It begins with having nothing to do." The teenagers hang around "being by the Co-op" or skidooing about town. "Out of basic boredom," he says, they begin to make trouble. Initially, the vandalism consists of minor acts such as breaking street lamps and windows. In the summer of 1980, a group of young teenage boys broke into the school, the Co-op store and a few of the vacant buildings in the settlement. Besides writing obscenities on the school blackboard, these acts were apparently committed for the sheer excitement of breaking and entering. The boys explained: "It was just something to do." However, as they reach their mid-teens they begin drinking usually under the guidance of their older brothers and sisters. Vandalism now comes to be associated with the search for alcohol. Older siblings may prompt their younger brothers and sisters to actually do the deed. In the summer of 1980 all teenage boys between the ages of 14 and 18 were involved in break-ins to a number of homes and buildings in the Village--all in search of alcohol. Between the ages of 16 and 19 the teenagers will go to great lengths to find alcohol. Now that the acts of vandalism have focussed upon alcohol as an objective, the teenagers will not perpetrate any unnecessary damage in their search.

The RCMP officer reports that even if there are valuables or money in the home they will only take what they came for--a bottle of liquor. And they will only take as much as they think they need at the moment. "If they need more they'll come back." The RCMP officer who had spent 10 years in the service in Toronto parallels the child's life in the settlement to that of the inner-city child: "It's sort of a northern-type slum situation--nothing for the kids to do."

Inuit teenagers are growing up under a particular set of circumstances which are in large measure determined by the structure of the Arctic settlement. The settlement of Resolute Bay is unique in many ways but it also serves to illustrate certain of the dilemmas of modern settlement youth.

Like other Arctic settlements, Resolute Bay is geographically isolated from, yet economically dependent upon, southern Canada. The settlement is the creation of the Government of Canada and has no economic base of its own. Nonetheless, the Resolute Bay Inuit, like the majority of modern Inuit, are now dependent upon wage employment. The settlement provides maintenance jobs and social service positions for some of its residents but there is little potential for local economic development and diversification of employment opportunities. Furthermore, as in other settlements, non-Inuit hold the jobs of teachers, nurses, RCMP officers and Co-op and Hudson's Bay store managers and these positions are generally considered by the Resolute Bay Inuit to be non-Inuit occupations. The Base offers employment to a few of the Resolute Bay Inuit and this alleviates some of the pressure on the settlement economy. Resolute Bay is, however, no

different from other settlements in that it does not have the capacity to expand and provide employment for the young people who are currently enrolled in high school or training programs. The high livebirth rate of the 1960's, the resulting disproportionately young population combined with the lack of employment development opportunities within the settlements, has created a situation which Dyson (1979:196) compares to a "time-bomb." According to Dyson, this situation means that a hamlet such as Igloolik with a population of 737 and approximately 50 wage-paying jobs will have to find at least 250 wage-paying jobs over the next ten years. In the case of Resolute Bay, it would seem that the Base could employ more Inuit people; however, after 30 years of coexisting in the area the Base (which permanently employs 120 non-Inuit all of whom have homes in the South) employs only ten Inuit. There appears to be initiative on the part of either employers at the Base or Inuit in the settlement to change this established pattern.[3]

The relationship between the Resolute Village and the Base is not unique but is comparable to that existent, for example, between the settlement of Cambridge Bay and the Dew Line station on Victoria Island or that between the settlement of Arctic Bay and the Strathcona mine at Nanisivik on Baffin Island. In all cases, the non-Inuit centres create relatively few jobs for local Inuit; the importance of

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[3] This may be partly explained by the fact that, until recently, most Village residents who desired wage employment were able to find jobs locally. It remains to be seen whether the younger generation who are currently away in high school, who plan to return to live and work in the settlement (and for whom jobs are not presently available) will seek to expand Inuit employment opportunities at the Base or seek alternative solutions.

these centres for the Inuit is that they provide adult clubs, bars and recreation facilities. The settlements themselves, however, offer limited recreation resources. The proximity of these non-Inuit centres and the resulting absence of parents from the home aggravates existing socialization problems within the modern Inuit family.

Demographic changes within the Inuit population have affected Inuit family life and the demographic profile of Resolute Bay is typical. There is a disproportionately high number of people under 20 years of age--60 percent in the case of Resolute Bay. Hippler (1976: 304) notes how this demographic factor intensifies contemporary child socialization problems. When formerly in the hunting camps, the extended family worked together to raise a proportionately small number of children, today two parents in nuclear family households are responsible for raising the large numbers of children which modern health care allows them. The problems individual parents encounter become community problems when the children are left on their own and form groups with their peers. In the absence of parental guidance and the lack of community activities or resources for recreation, the young are able to establish their own group activities and their own codes for behaviour. In Resolute Bay and other settlements these informal youth groups are becoming a conspicuous feature of settlement life.

Young Inuit are growing up under comfortable material circumstances. Homes are well-heated and serviced and most are well-furnished. Wages are high and families enjoy spending their money.

Skidoos, boats, video tape recorders, colour televisions and stereo component systems are all popular items in the settlements. Children almost always have spending money and from an early age enjoy "going to the store." Initially they go to buy "sweets" or junk food. By the time they are teenagers they are experienced consumers who in their adult lives will depend upon steady incomes in order to meet their expanding consumer needs. Given the economic structure and employment opportunities in Arctic settlements it is not certain where these young people will find the jobs they will require to achieve their high material aspirations. Nonetheless, Inuit parents of teenagers believe that they will be assured future employment by obtaining a high school education and increasing numbers of young people are leaving the Eastern Arctic settlements to attend high school in Frobisher Bay.

CHAPTER III

GOING TO GREC

In late August of 1980, 10 Resolute Bay teenagers boarded the jet for Frobisher Bay; they were leaving home to attend the regional high school, the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre. For some it was to be their first time out of the settlement and they were excited at the prospect. They had heard about life at Ukkivik, the student hostel in Frobisher, from the older teenagers and they were looking forward to the activities and meeting teenagers from other settlements. At the same time, they were a little afraid to be leaving the familiar and unroutinized life of home. The senior students who were returning to high school were more reticent in their enthusiasm but they were also looking forward to getting away from home for awhile, being with friends again and escaping temporarily the restrictions of their lives in the settlement.

On their arrival they are met at the Frobisher Bay airport by members of the hostel staff and are taken directly to Ukkivik. Their first few days are spent in orientation both to the facilities, rules and daily routine at the Hostel and to the town of Frobisher Bay.

With a population of 2,636, Frobisher Bay is 20 times larger than Resolute and offers numerous new attractions for the settlement teenager. There is a large drop-in centre, Kativik, which organizes weekly dances and provides a place to be with other teenagers away from the school and the Hostel. There is the modern Ice Arena for skating and playing ice hockey and a swimming pool where the teenagers can take lessons and enjoy recreational swimming. The coffee shop on

the way into town from the Hostel offers pinball machines and fast-service foods--hamburgers, chips and Chinese food. It is open late hours and is a favourite hang-out for hostel students as well as for Frobisher Bay teenagers. Finally, there is the High Rise. The High Rise and the high school are both located prominently on the hill above town. The High Rise adjoins the main office building of the Government of the Northwest Territories and contains apartments for government employees, the Frobisher Bay Hotel, cocktail lounge and coffee shop, the Hudson's Bay store, the Purple Daisy boutique and record store, an ice cream bar, Kodak film outlet and newsstand. Due to its proximity to the high school, at lunch hour or during spare study periods, students can hang out at the High Rise in the hotel coffee shop or the Bay store. The Hudson's Bay store in Frobisher consists of two stores: one a large southern-style department store and the other a large supermarket. The department store offers a wide range of household appliances, fashion clothing, fabrics, records, music listening equipment and other luxury items. "Shopping at the Bay" is a favourite excursion for the hostel students. However, when not in school, the greatest part of the Resolute Bay teenagers' time will be spent at the Hostel.

The Hostel

The Ukkivik Residence, the Hostel, is located about 3 miles from the high school, past the airport, on the outskirts of Frobisher Bay. It is a large green rectangular 3-storey barracks designed originally as a residence for the United States Air Force Strategic Air Command

which was based in Frobisher Bay in the 1950's. The building was turned over to the Territorial Government and renovated for use as a student residence. The Hostel opened in 1971 with the opening of the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre. The Hostel also accommodates older students in the Teacher Education Program (TEP) and participants in short-term adult education programs. The facilities of the Residence, however, are largely maintained for the hostel students, the teenagers. The settlement teenagers describe their first impressions of Ukkivik:

> It was a lot bigger. It's different without parents when they're not around. Back home I used to see them everyday but not here. I miss them.
>
> Exciting. There was a gym here and we could have gym whenever we wanted to. There was ping-pong and pool and pinball machines in town and we could do those.
>
> Well, it was different from home. Some rules you have to follow. Like when you're at home you can go to sleep anytime; you can eat anytime. But in the Hostel it's different, like there's a certain time for supper and a certain time for study hour and a certain time you go to bed and clean up. The rules you have to follow. Regulations.
>
> Pretty strange. The places and the rooms. I was homesick.
>
> Exciting. There's lots to do--like the hockey rink and the gym--and it's different from home.
>
> Lots of teenagers and rules and there are movies and dances.
>
> I didn't like it. I got homesick.
>
> It was a really big place. Lots of people in one place.

On the ground floor, as one enters the building, there is a small office where, from behind a window, a receptionist monitors traffic

in and out of the Hostel. Down the hall to the right, and beside the receptionist's office is the office of the hostel administrator. Further down this hall, and behind solid double doors, is the dining hall.

The dining hall is a large room with kitchen and cafeteria food service system at one end. Scattered randomly throughout the room are small square tables each seating four persons. On weekdays, breakfast and dinner are served here and the students receive a hot lunch at noon in the cafeteria at the school. Breakfast is served at 7:30 a.m., and most students find it hard to get up this early. Dinner is served at 5:00 p.m. and the students begin to line up about 15 minutes before the doors are opened, not because there is any danger of there not being enough food for everyone, but because it is something to do. They sit chatting together along the wall outside the closed doors and are watched over by a member of the hostel staff. When the doors are opened, the students file in and through the food service system for meals of meat, potatoes and vegetables, dessert, milk and coffee. Although there are over 100 people in the room, at mealtimes frequently the only sound is the quiet clatter of knives and forks against china and occasionally conversation in soft tones.

The students are organized into kitchen clean-up crews which rotate each week. They wipe tables and wash dishes and earn $25.00 per week for these chores. This money is in addition to the $5.00 weekly allowance each hostel student receives.

Outside the dining hall at the opposite end of the ground floor on the other side of the reception area are 2 main centres of student

activity. In one room is the Canteen. Here, after school and after study hour in the evenings, the hostel staff opens a tuck shop where the students may buy soft drinks, chocolate bars, potato chips, cigarettes and, occasionally, fresh fruit.

The Canteen is dark; the only light is provided by the color television which is always on. The students sit together in booths munching on the chips and sipping Cokes as they watch movies, and "Walt Disney," "Happy Days" and "Hockey Night in Canada." Some couples spend the evening together in the darkness, but most students do not sit still for long. There is constant activity, an incessant bustle as the doors to the Canteen open and close and students come in to see "what's happening," to "see who's there," or to see "what's on TV." They may sit down with a friend for awhile, but then suddenly jump up and dash across the hall or upstairs.

Across from the Canteen is the Dance Hall, a large room with a ping-pong table to one side of the centre and benches lining the wall. Former students have painted their names and the names of their home settlements in giant letters and bright colours on the walls. In one corner is an "Asteroids" machine, a popular computerized video game. The machine is owned by a member of the hostel staff. Typically, there is a cluster of students dropping quarters into the machine and sounds of mounting excitement or frustration and disappointment ripple out into the Dance Hall from this corner. A juke box along one wall near the "Asteroids" game blasts out the latest and favourite pop songs: "Video Killed the Radio Star," "It's Still Rock and Roll to Me," "Call Me" and "Boogie Oogie Oogie Woogie Dancing

Shoes." The Dance Hall is also dark and couples can enjoy some privacy by sitting along the walls in the evening until 10 o'clock when boys and girls go to their separate floors for a bedtime snack.

Upstairs is the Gym, which is the most important centre of activity in the Hostel. The students' rooms are also upstairs. The second floor is the boys' floor and the third floor is the girls' floor and each is out-of-bounds to members of the opposite sex. The Gym is located on a mezzanine between the two floors. Entrance to the Gym is gained through a small landing on the stairwell between the girls' and boys' floors and this area is a central meeting place for the teenagers. During free time--before supper and after evening study time--the Gym is the stage for a variety of informal activities: boys play floor hockey at one end; a circle of boys and girls toss a volley-ball in the centre of the gym; a few others practise shooting baskets. Girls and boys sit together on the floor of the gym leaning against the wall close to the doorway or they hang around the stairwell outside the Gym watching the activity within. There is cheering and laughter and constant movement as students sporting the latest in Adidas fashions run in and out of the Gym. Students can be observed joining in a game, sitting out to watch, running down to the Canteen for a Coke, returning to pass on secret and important messages.

During free time there is incessant noise at the Hostel. Television sets are on; music blasts from the Dance Hall and students' rooms; there is laughter in the Gym and the resounding thump of balls bouncing; and always there is the loud speaker. Over the loud speaker hostel staff announce: the name of the student who is wanted on the

phone; the time that the bus is departing to take students shopping at the High Rise or to a Ranger's meeting; or the announcement is made that house league floor hockey games are about to begin in the Gym.

The hostel staff circulates throughout the different activity areas. In the evenings there are usually 2 girls' supervisors and 2 boys' supervisors on duty. The supervisors staff the Canteen, monitor study hour and organize the house league ping-pong, pool and floor hockey games. On weekends they may chaperone dances or show movies. Their main duties are to see that the students are busy, and that they behave themselves and obey hostel rules. The staff enforces the "grounding" of students who drink or stay out past bedtime. As a group, the hostel staff may decide to send home to the settlement a student who consistently disregards hostel rules.

The staff are generally much older than the students and assume a babysitting role with the teenagers rather than sharing their concerns or activities. In the Fall of 1980 only two members of the 10-person staff were under 30 years of age and two were over 50. One young female supervisor was a close friend of a number of students. They confided in her, looked to her as a role model and, in the case of several boys, had crushes on her. She was constantly criticized by other members of the staff who felt she was too close to the students. None of the other staff were perceived as role models by the students, nor were there any quasiparental relationships between students and staff. The staff act as disciplinarians and this defines their relationship with the teenagers.

The hostel staff has little or, as in most cases, no contact

with the high school or the students' teachers. While they may occasionally try to help a student with homework, this is done informally and voluntarily. No one at the Hostel has the position of counsellor or academic advisor. There is no one the students can officially go to in their Frobisher Bay "home" to talk with about the problems they are having at school, or elsewhere, or about decisions they are trying to make. Staff members whom the students feel close to do not have the academic or vocational experience to help the students with their decisions in these areas. The staff which does have this background either make themselves inaccessible to the students or are not well-liked by the students.

The Hostel is comfortable and has abundant facilities for the students' amusement. The staff organizes activities such as dances, movies and house league athletics and the primary objective of the institution appears to be to keep the teenagers busy so that they will not become homesick or cause trouble.

The High School

There are three high schools serving the Northwest Territories. The Gordon Robertson Educational Centre was built in Frobisher Bay in 1970-71 and opened in September 1971. It is the first high school in the Eastern Arctic and, as a regional school, receives students from 19 settlements in the Keewatin and Baffin Regions of the Northwest Territories as well as from the village of Frobisher Bay. In the Western Arctic, Samuel Hearne Secondary School opened in Inuvik in 1968 and offers Grades 7 to 12 in a general diploma program. Inuit, Indian and Metis students board at Grollier Hall, which was originally

a Roman Catholic residence. Approximately one-third of the student enrollment at the Inuvik school are Inuit. Sir John Franklin Territorial High School opened in Yellowknife in 1958 and its students stay at Akaitcho Hall. Sir John Franklin offers Grades 10 to 12 and emphasizes an academic curriculum. About two-thirds of the students are from Yellowknife itself. At the hostel, Akaitcho Hall, one-third of the 120 students are Inuit, one-third Indian/Metis and one-third are non-native. About 10% of the total student enrollment at Sir John are Inuit (Nash, 1979:7-10).

The Gordon Robertson Educational Centre is a two-storey building of steel and fibreglass construction with few small windows. Brilliant white and set on a rock outcrop above the town, the school is space-age in appearance. It has 31 classrooms, a gymnasium, cafeteria, large library and central recreational, or common, area. The school was built with a strong vocational and technical bias and is well-equipped with Art, Business Education, Industrial Education and Home Economics laboratories or shops.

The enrollment capacity is approximately 450 and, since the opening of the Centre in 1971, enrollment has varied within the limits of 250 and 325 (Nash, 1979:5). In the Fall of 1980 there were 277 students enrolled. About one-third are hostel students, that is, students from settlements other than Frobisher Bay who live at the Ukkivik Residence. These hostel students are virtually all Inuit and originate in all settlements in the Eastern Arctic and Keewatin Regions.

GREC offers two basic programs: Academic and Pre-Vocational. Grades 7 to 12 in the academic program follow the Alberta curriculum and

credit system. Students from the settlements usually enter this program at the Grade 9 level. Larger settlements such as Cape Dorset and Pangnirtung are beginning to offer Grades 9 and 10 in the settlement school. These grades, however, are not equivalent to the standards of the regional school and some students find themselves repeating Grade 9 or 10 in their first year at GREC. The settlement schools do not have resources, facilities or staff comparable to the modern Centre in Frobisher Bay and the settlement students often are not adequately prepared when they arrive.

Table 6 shows the student enrollment at GREC in October, 1980. These data reflect enrollment early in the school year and, therefore, are not indicative of the number of students who will complete these grades or programs.

Of the 98 Frobisher Bay Inuit students in Grades 7 to 12, 75 or 76.5%, are in the vocational stream, and only 23, or 23.5%, are in the academic program. There are no Frobisher Bay Inuit in Grade 11 or 12. On the other hand, of the 45 non-Inuit Frobisher Bay students in Grades 7 to 12, 43, or 95.5%, are in the academic stream, and 11 non-Inuit students are in Grades 11 and 12.

The settlement students begin to enter GREC at Grade 9 and by Grade 10 outnumber the Frobisher Bay Inuit students. In Grades 10A and 10B there are 33 settlement or hostel students and only 3 Inuit town students. And where there are no Frobisher Bay Inuit students in the senior academic grades, there are 12 hostel students in Grades 11 and 12. Of 61 enrolled in the Clerical Secretary and Settlement Maintenance Pre-Vocational programs, 98.3% are Inuit students.

Forty-two students or 68.8% are settlement students. The enrollment in the Homemakers program is 94.7% Frobisher Bay Inuit girls.

Obviously, a number of non-academic factors influence the experience of the Inuit student at high school. GREC has tried to adapt its curriculum and extracurricular activities to the needs of the Inuit student. The Pre-Vocational programs--Settlement Maintenance, Clerical Secretary and Homemakers--were designed specifically for the Inuit student and enrollment in these programs is almost entirely Inuit (Table 6).

The Settlement Maintenance program is of interest mainly to boys. The program emphasizes the development of basic skills in carpentry, painting, plumbing, sheet metal work, heating repair and service, minor electrical repairs, skidoo repair and maintenance, and welding. Students receive instruction in trade-related mathematics and scientific concepts and effective English communication skills. They are also evaluated in their ability to work safely, co-operate with other workers and attend work regularly and punctually. The program is designed with the objective of providing initial training to young Inuit in the range of trades in which there are employment possibilities within Arctic settlements. Graduation from this program enables the student to enter a Vocational Training program at the Adult Vocational Training Centre in Fort Smith, or to begin an apprenticeship through on-the-job training. Apprenticeships, however, are few in number.

Both boys and girls enroll in the Clerical Secretary program. They learn typing, accounting, business-related mathematics and how to

Table 6

Student Enrollment at the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre,
October 31, 1980
(from GREC Class Register)

Grade	No. Settlement Students	No. Frobisher Bay and Apex Inuit Students	No. Frobisher Bay Non-Inuit Students
7A		9	16
7B		23	
7C		16	
8A		9	8
8B		18	1
9A	2	4	5
9B	7	16	
10A	17	1	3
10B	16	2	1
11	6		5
12	6		6
PRE-VOCATIONAL:			
Clerical Secretary I	18	7	
Clerical Secretary II	4	3	
Settlement Maintenance I	12	7	1
Settlement Maintenance II	8	1	
Homemakers	1	18	
Total Enrollment	97	134	46

TOTAL STUDENT ENROLLMENT 277

perform general office duties such as handling mail, using the telephone, filing and how to operate various office machines. They also learn effective communication skills in both English and Inuktitut. Almost all graduates from the CS program to date have found employment and the

school considers this to be the most successful program with Inuit students. The Clerical Secretary program prepares young Inuit for administrative and office jobs in the settlement such as Co-op manager, settlement secretary, or field service officer. The school perceives the acquisition of these positions by Inuit as a first step toward eventual Inuit control of their community affairs.

The Frobisher Bay students have a special set of circumstances, especially the girls who have responsibilities at home. The Homemakers Program acknowledges this and many of the Frobisher Bay girls are counselled into Homemakers after Grade 7. The two-year program is comprised of a life skills component with basic instruction in English, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies and a Homemakers component which includes such subjects as Nutrition, Family Life, Consumer Education and Child Development.

In addition to the life skills and academic subjects, GREC offers a "cultural curriculum." These subjects include Inuit history and language as well as Outdoor Education in the form of weekend hunting and camping.

In extracurricular activities the school is much like high schools across Canada. The Student's Council organizes social activities such as dances, carnivals, bingos, concerts and special assemblies. Senior students organize and officiate at intramural games and sports activities and receive Special Projects credits toward their high school diploma for assuming these responsibilities.

The staff at GREC are young and the facilities are excellent. There is always something going on at the school, with many clubs and

activities for the interested student to become involved in. The hostel students are thus participants in two social systems, that of the hostel and that of the high school. When they leave the school at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, or after extracurricular activities, they return to Ukkivik, where they are then confronted with house league games, homework, movies and other hostel activities.

Why They Go: The Resolute Bay Students

In the Fall of 1980 there were 94 Inuit teenagers living at Ukkivik. Of these, ten were the students from Resolute Bay. Resolute Bay is one of the smallest settlements in the Eastern Arctic, yet its teenagers represent one of the largest groups at the Hostel (Table 7). Only Baker Lake, Cape Dorset and Pangnirtung have larger contingents of students and these are drawn from significantly larger populations. Baker Lake (pop. 1,053) and Cape Dorset (pop. 684) each have 13 students attending GREC and Pangnirtung (pop. 872) has 14 students at the high school.

Teachers, hostel staff and students note differences among the students from different settlements and some stereotypes are emerging. Teachers consider, for example, that students from Pangnirtung and Cape Dorset are oriented to practical trades goals, are motivated and are likely to succeed because strong leadership and role models exist within their home settlements. Pond Inlet students are less well-represented among the hostel students because they are well-screened by the settlement school principal before they come; those that do come to GREC are likely to be good students.

One of the students from Resolute Bay describes the differences

she notes among the hostel students;

> The Baker Lakers are really noisy, tough. The kids from Pang are really nice, really athletic. The students from Dorset are really fun. They joke a lot. The students from Pond are really smart.

One supervisor who has been at the Hostel since it opened talked about the difference between the Baffin and Keewatin students:

> The Keewatin students are very different. They are gentler. They have a refinement and speak better English. Education has been there longer through the Roman Catholic missions. We have fewer problems with the girls from Keewatin. They cooperate with the rules more than other girls.
>
> The Pang and Dorset kids are similar--all potential shit-disturbers. The Baffin kids are more basic, unrefined. There is great rivalry between them. The Baffin students don't like the Keewatin students.

Some teachers and hostel personnel consider the Resolute Bay students to be anomalies. The Resolute Bay teenagers exhibit a diversity and range of motivations, aspirations and lifestyle orientation and are not as easy for teachers and supervisors to type. One teacher who had been teaching at GREC for 6 years said that some of her best students had come from Resolute Bay. Another teacher, however, said that "they clear the streets of Resolute at the end of the summer" and send all the stray teenagers down to Frobisher Bay to high school--"it's a dumping ground." This teacher viewed the Resolute Bay students primarily as trouble-makers. Another said that Resolute Bay people generally are more mobile than other Eastern Arctic Inuit so that it is easier for them to consider leaving home for school. Twice-weekly jet service between Frobisher Bay and Resolute Bay makes the possibility of going home easier. Resolute Bay

teenagers grow up more accustomed to the idea of travelling even if they have not travelled themselves. Finally, one of the hostel supervisors said that it is the hostel life rather than the high school which attracts the Resolute Bay students: "The boys especially have a good life here. They like the gym and are good floor hockey players. And all athletic equipment is provided here."

Nine Resolute Bay Students Themselves Explain Why They Go To GREC:

1. Andrew

Andrew is the youngest in the Resolute Bay group and a neophyte to hostel student life. He is 15 and in Grade 9. This is his first year at high school and living at the Hostel. He came to Frobisher Bay because he "wanted to have a higher education and a better future." Andrew speaks English well and says he finds it easier than Inuktitut. He says he plans to go on to Grade 12 although the only subject he like is Physical Education. When I interviewed him he had been at GREC only two months. His academic career will depend on his adaptation to hostel life, his family ties at home in Resolute, his marks in school, the guidance of his teachers, the route--Pre-Vocational, Academic, or Drop-out--which his peers take, his personal development of concrete career aspirations, the level of interest or boredom with which he experiences his school program, and other considerations.

Like many teenagers his age, Andrew has not thought earnestly yet about a career or job he might like to have. He identifies the job of mechanic as a possibility "because there is lots of skidoos and trucks that break down easily." He has no work experience and no ideas about other jobs he might aspire to hold. Being a mechanic is one of

Table 7

Numbers and Places of Origins of Ukkivik Hostel Students

October 1980

	Estimated Population	No. of Students
BAFFIN REGION:		
Hamlets		
Arctic Bay	414	5
Clyde River	412	2
Hall Beach	349	1
Igloolik	737	5
Pangnirtung	872	14
Pond Inlet	620	9
Sanikiluaq	320	9
Settlements		
Broughton Island	348	1
Cape Dorset	684	13
Grise Fiord	95	1
Lake Harbour	268	Ø
Resolute Bay	172	10
KEEWATIN REGION:		
Hamlets		
Baker Lake	1,053	13
Coral Harbour	436	2
Eskimo Point	920	Ø
Rankin Inlet	1,056	2
Whale Cove	188	2
Chesterfield Inlet	291	4
Repulse Bay	305	Ø
GREENLAND:		1
Sisimuit		(exchange student)
	TOTAL NUMBER HOSTEL STUDENTS	94

Notes

1. Population estimates were obtained from 1980 Corpus Almanac of Canada except that of Resolute Bay which was obtained through field-work.
2. Population figures include the non-Inuit residents in the communities.
3. Keewatin teenagers also go to Yellowknife to Sir John Franklin Territorial High School. Thus, these figures do not accurately reflect the number of Keewatin students currently attending high school.
4. In the text I refer to students from all of these communities--both hamlets and settlements--"as settlement students."

the dominant vocational aspirations of Inuit male youths because it is one of the most common jobs Inuit men hold in Arctic settlements. Andrew does not know what "a better future" would be or what he might do with a Grade 12 education. He says he does not think about the future. He will "just let things happen."

Andrew easily adjusted to life at the Hostel. At first it was strange: "Lots of teenagers and rules." But now he really enjoys the "activities, the movies and dances." He spends most of his spare time at the Hostel: "I play in the gym or watch television." Occasionally he goes downtown to visit relatives.

Andrew visited Montreal once when travelling with his family to visit relatives in Port Harrison. He says "It was fun down there. There were lots of shops." But he is not curious about other parts of the world and has no desire to travel "except maybe the Caribbean; it's hot and fun down there," friends have told him.

Andrew plans to live in a settlement. He thinks probably he will live in Spence Bay because he has more relatives there than he has in Resolute.

2. Winnie

Winnie is 18 and in CS II. She will graduate from the Clerical Secretary program in the spring and plans to be a bookkeeper or accountant in Resolute. Winnie says she decided to go into the CS program after talking with her older sister who is employed as a clerk in the Housing Association office. "I asked her a few things, I said 'Is it interesting?' and she said it was so I went into Clerical-Secretary."

Winnie's sister did not go to high school; she was trained on the job. She has, however, found work that she enjoys doing. Following a similar career is secure and realistic for Winnie. The experience of older siblings has a strong influence on the teenagers when they make decisions about school and work and lifestyle. Winnie, herself, is now a role model for her younger sister and her younger sister's group of friends who are all in Grade 7 at Qarmatalik school in Resolute. They are proud that Winnie is away at high school and know she is in "Clerical-Secretary." Whenever Winnie is home for holidays they visit her and enjoy being in her room listening to her music and reading her fashion and "True Confession" magazines. Within a short span of years, ideas about education and training and about being a teenager and a hostel student have developed. There is now a well-trodden path for the settlement student to follow--at least for those who choose a 2-year Pre-Vocational program.

Winnie says she came to high school because "I want to be an educated person." She is taking "Typing, Accounting, Business Machines, Math, Inuktitut, PhysEd and Consumer Fundamentals." She enjoys everything about her program at school and, except for the rules, she is happy at the Hostel. She is popular, outgoing, and an active and enthusiastic participant in activities at the Hostel and the high school.

Winnie spends most of her spare time at the Hostel: "I sew, do exercises, do my homework." She goes into town for swimming lessons once a week on Monday evenings and takes the bus to the High Rise with the other hostel students on Friday evenings for "shopping."

Winnie says she is rarely bored when in Resolute. "I like walking around, talking with my friends. I just mostly stay in my room back home. I lay around, listen to music, put posters on my wall, change the furniture around." Winnie has visited different parts of Canada but the world outside the Northwest Territories holds no interest for her. She believes she has everything she needs in the settlement. "I like small places. I don't know, I just like it. I was born there and I want to die there." It is small and she knows everyone and they know her. She feels secure there. Because she has a realistic role model, she anticipates no difficulties in her future life and can find meaning in her present life. She enjoys her life at the high school and the Hostel but will also enjoy her life when she returns to the settlement. She accepts the conditions of her life as the way things should be and believes she has a good life.

3. Moses

Moses, too, has no desire for any life other than the one Resolute Bay offers him. He is 16 and will graduate from the Settlement Maintenance program this Spring. He says he decided to take the Pre-Vocational program because: "It was shorter. I want to go home early."

Moses' father died a few years ago and one of his brothers committed suicide two years ago. His mother is one of the two welfare recipients in the settlement. His older brothers are helping to support his mother and the younger children and Moses is expected to do the same. He came to high school "to get a better job. We need the money. My mother said I need the schooling to find a job."

Moses' idea of a good job is to be a mechanic. He thinks maybe

he will work for Arctic Resources as a mechanic, but he is not certain what kind of job he really wants: "I don't know. I'm gonna wait. Find out." He says he is not prepared to move away from Resolute for better employment opportunities. He will try to find work at home.

He had not been away from the settlement before coming to Frobisher Bay to high school but he has no desire to travel further. He does not want to leave the settlement again, not for better employment opportunities, curiosity, travel, education, or entertainment. He says everything he needs and wants is in Resolute. "Friends. Mother. Everything."

Moses is intelligent, proficient in English and articulate in expressing his thoughts and feelings, but he finds that nothing interests him in school. He finds school boring and he perceives that employment opportunities will be limited no matter how much education he has. Going to high school has not broadened his horizons or expanded his options. He does not think he will miss anything when he leaves school. And the Hostel, to Moses, offers only a gym in which to play floor hockey and a place to get three square meals a day. "I play in the Gym. Watch television. Wait for supper or lunch." Moses has not found that the world outside Resolute has anything to offer him.

The major regret and source of bitterness for Moses is that he was not raised in a hunter's family and so does not have the necessary skills to be a hunter. He had no choice but to go to school in order to get some skills which might enable him to get a job. He does not really believe, however, that school will help him: "It's

boring. I mean just nothing to do. I mean when we finish there's hardly any jobs and they're already taken, most of them."

4. Peter

Peter is 16 and in SM II at GREC. He chose the Settlement Maintenance program "because it's easier work." Unlike Moses, Peter has gone hunting with his father and this is one of the things he loves about living in Resolute. He dreams of being a hunter, but is pragmatic and knows that he also needs a wage-earning job in order to buy and maintain the equipment the modern hunter needs. So he came to high school to "learn about machines and woodwork and to learn more English to get a better job." These are the skills which are most useful to the Inuit male living in an Arctic settlement.

Peter is also a modern teenager. He had never been away from the Resolute area before he came to Frobisher Bay to school. It was overwhelming at first. "It was a really big place. Lots of people in one place." But he is used to it now: "It's really good now" and he enjoys his life as a hostel student especially "the gym activities and playing ice hockey and baseball."

Now that he has been away he sees that Resolute is small and "there is no hockey arena, gym and too few people." He knows he will miss these things when he returns there to live. He is curious now about visiting the South, but only to visit. He considers the settlement way of life as the one he is best suited for and that the way his parents raised him is the way to raise his own children. "My parents worked hard to raise me. I want to do the same."

5. Tommy

Tommy is 16. He is also in the Settlement Maintenance program and will graduate in the Spring. He, too, went straight into the Pre-Vocational program because "I thought I'd get more jobs doing well in carpentry and it was shorter." Tommy thinks he will have no trouble finding work when he finishes school. He would be prepared, if necessary, to work away from home on rotations at an industrial development site, such as the Polaris mine under construction near Resolute Bay on Little Cornwallis Island. To date, his job experience includes maintenance work for the Resolute Bay Housing Association and stocking shelves for the Bay and Co-op stores. He thinks being a carpenter will be a good job because "I like working with wood." He has had other career aspirations, however: "I thought a lot about being a policeman" but he said he had "no idea" how he might achieve this goal.

Tommy is not interested in school. He came to GREC because his father wanted him to get an education. Now that he is there, Tommy is absorbed in the teenage world of high school and hostel. He enjoys hostel life: "It's exciting. There's lots to do--like the hockey rink and the gym--and it's different from home." He is well-liked by his peers, enjoys "playing in the gym" or going shopping at the High Rise with his friends or to dances at Kativik, the Drop-In Centre in Frobisher Bay. He considers Resolute boring and dull by comparison. "A pretty dull place. Not enough activities and it gets pretty boring a lot and there's too much drinking and trouble." Nonetheless, he sees the settlement way of life as his own future way

of life.

Tommy is a pragmatist and is adaptable and accepting of his life circumstances. He chose Settlement Maintenance because he thought it would help him get a job and because it requires only 2 years away from home. He is making the most of those 2 years by immersing himself in the teenage world of the Hostel. And when he returns home to live and work, he will adapt to the lack of local employment opportunities by accepting seasonal labour jobs away from the settlement.

6. Jebedee

Jebedee is 18 and in Grade 10A at GREC. He does not like school but he plans to go to Grade 12 and graduate: "I just want to do it, that's all." He says he came to Frobisher Bay because "My mother hates me hanging around the house." He failed Grade 9 his first year at GREC and dropped out of school at Christmas of his first year in Grade 10: "I got homesick." Thus, to date, Jebedee has repeated Grade 9 once and is now in Grade 10 for the second time. One of his main problems at school is his low level of English comprehension. Lack of proficiency in English has alienated Jebedee from the academic goals of the school system. He has adjusted to his continuing failure by withdrawing. He does not see the value of establishing any goals for himself and he does not recognize as achievements the successes of his peers within these formal structures. He is indifferent to the entire experience. He now goes to school simply because it is temporary respite from his boredom. He is bored often, "especially on weekends." Returning to school on Monday mornings is, at least, relief from the strain and responsibility of having to entertain himself and structure his own

time.

Jebedee is the most apathetic of the Resolute Bay students. He is bored when at home in Resolute and spends almost all of his time watching television. He watches a lot of television at the Hostel and occasionally plays in the gym. He says, "There's nothing else to do." He is a heavy consumer of junk food and cigarettes. He is not interested in school or life at the Hostel or life in Resolute or life outside Resolute. He is homesick at the Hostel and bored at home in the settlement. His mother dislikes him hanging around the house so sends him off to school. If he phones, homesick, she tells him to come home. He is the adopted youngest child in a large family. Although three of his older brothers and sisters have high status and powerful positions in the settlement, Jebedee has no comparable aspirations for himself. He knows his natural parents and brothers and sisters and identifies himself with them. Drinking and violence prevail in this family and his elder sister committed suicide a few years ago.

Jebedee does not think about what he might like to be. He has no ideas about possible future jobs or careers. "I don't know. I don't think about it." He considers a good job is "earning lots of money. because I like to spend lots of money, that's all."

Jebedee has never been South and expresses no desire to visit the South or travel: "Don't like strange people." He will return to live "back home in Resolute. I got used to it."

7. Jonassie

Jonassie is 18 and in Grade 11 at GREC. He enjoys school "especially Art, PE, Math and sometimes English." His English is fluent

and after 3 years at GREC he now finds English easier than Inuktitut. He says he does not know why he is in high school and he is not sure whether or not he will go to Grade 12: "I don't know yet. The teachers will decide." He plans to work after high school but does not know what kind of work he would like to do: "I don't have any idea. Haven't thought about it. Just one day at a time." He thinks a good job is "something like an electrician." Jobs he has had to date include "painting, janitor, garbage-picking and moving boxes."

Jonassie is the only Resolute Bay student who is adamant that he will not return to Resolute to live. Instead, he plans to go South although he does not know what he would like to do there. Despite the wider range and diversity of employment opportunities that moving South might open up to him, he has not reoriented his career aspirations from those he might hold if he were planning to remain in the North. Jonassie's older sister lives in Ottawa and works for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Thus, he has some precedent for aspiring to a life in the South, but he is naive about the competition he will encounter in the southern job market.

He has, however, begun to dissociate himself from settlement Inuit values and some aspects of the northern lifestyle. He no longer likes hunting. He says it is too cold and the settlement is "too small, too boring." In contrast, Jonassie sees the South as offering a better life: "I think it's good down there. I think it's better. Warmer climate. More people. More things to do." Jonassie is uncertain about what he will do when he goes South but he considers this option

preferable to returning to the settlement.

Jonassie is a total participant in teenage activities at the Hostel. He likes hockey and girls, disco and rock and roll, junk food and television. He likes going to school because it is something to do; it provides him with the opportunity to be with other teenagers and keeps him away from the monotony of life in Resolute.

8. Phillip

Phillip is 19 and in SM II. His prime motivation for coming to Frobisher Bay was he says, "just meeting new friends."

Phillip is one of the casualties of the Inuit modernization experience. He witnessed his mother's tragic death in an alcohol-related accident. Afterwards, his father moved around to different settlements in search of work. Eventually he remarried and now has younger sons by this marriage. Phillip's family needs him at home and this has interfered with his progress in school. He says his parents need him "to help them with their problems, mainly drinking." His father called him home last year when Phillip was in the middle of his final year of Settlement Maintenance and asked him to stay at home with the family while his father went away to work at the mine construction site on Little Cornwallis Island. As a result, Phillip did not finish the program. He pleaded with his father and was allowed to return to GREC this Fall. Now he is discouraged because he is repeating the courses he had taken last year and he feels that it is taking him too long to graduate.

Phillip has had problems at school from his earliest years. In report cards in the elementary grades his teachers continually noted

that he worked very hard, was meticulous and dependable, but that he worked at a lower level than the others, was easily discouraged and "a social misfit." At high school he continues to want to do well, but is discouraged almost immediately and at the first sign of failure. He lacks self-confidence and has an extremely negative self-image. Phillip says he would either like to be a pilot or work at a mine, but he expresses no optimism about his future. Instead, he talks about the time he tried to commit suicide a few years ago by overdosing on TB pills--"I got too bored"--and he thinks about trying again. He talks about how lonely he is and how he does not have any friends. He speaks in a soft, barely audible voice. His responses are largely monosyllabic: "No," "Maybe," "I don't know." He spends most of his time by himself listening to rock music "because it gets me more tired and sleepy" and he enjoys smoking marijuana "because it makes me feel tired and happy." Phillip lives under high anxiety, has difficulty sleeping, talks in a whisper and with no expression. He does not want to go South because there are too many people there but he is unhappy living in Resolute. He would like to live somewhere where "there won't be any troubles. More quiet. No more liquor. Maybe like Great Whale River."

Phillip's family experience has dominated his life and inhibited him from more fully benefitting from school and from immersing himself in teenage activities like his peers at the Hostel. He continues to feel responsible to his family and tends to isolate himself from his peers. Feeling inadequate, he is intimidated by the frantic activity of the other students. His main source of entry to

the teenage world is through drugs, which he enjoys because they free him from anxiety, insecurity and loneliness.

9. Alice

Alice is 18 and in Grade 11. She plans to graduate from GREC with a Grade 12 diploma. She originally came to high school "because I passed the grade to go to Frobisher so I went." Initially, her father did not want her to go, but the principal convinced him that it was the best thing for Alice. Alice says she wanted to go because "I just wanted to get away from Resolute for awhile." Although she originally went to high school primarily for social reasons, GREC opened up a new world for her. Now, in her third year, she is one of the best students at the school. She is keenly interested in all that she studies at school and would like to travel and learn about other parts of Canada and the ways other people live.

Alice would like to be a social worker like her cousin but says she will probably go home after she finishes high school and work as a secretary in the settlement because her father would like her to come back to Resolute. She, herself, would prefer to live in a settlement where people do not drink and where there are community activities, "not like Resolute where there's too much drinking and too much trouble and people don't do anything." Alice says she would be prepared to move anywhere that she was able to get a good job but she says she will probably live in Resolute as long as her parents are there.

Alice is happy at the Hostel. She likes "meeting new friends" from all over the Arctic, listening to music and writing letters. She enjoys the "activities"--dances and movies and playing in the gym--

and she likes to go downtown shopping or visiting relatives in Frobisher Bay.

It is evident from a look at this small group of students that Inuit teenagers go to high school for a variety of reasons. The majority consider a high school education as the means "to get a better job"; they enroll in the Pre-Vocational programs because these programs develop employable skills and are, they say, shorter and easier. In some cases the teenagers go to GREC for social or personal reasons. They want to "get away from home for awhile" and "meet new friends." Or, they come because there is a gymnasium at the Hostel and "lots of activities and things to do." Some go to GREC because their teachers in the settlement told them to; others because they cannot find a job and have nothing to do. Still others do not know why they go. The Resolute Bay students illustrate the narrow range of academic, vocational and lifestyle aspirations of modern Inuit teenagers (Table 8). Only one student, Alice, has developed an academic orientation and complementary vocational aspirations. However, she feels an allegiance to her family and recognizes that she will probably return to the settlement. Only one student, Jonassie, plans to leave the North and live and work in the South. His consumer orientation and naive and uncreative consideration of new vocational and lifestyle options, however, foreshadow failure and subsequent return to the North or a native ghetto adaptation to urban life. Phillip has attempted suicide and continues to contemplate this solution to his feelings of uncertainty and inadequacy and his perception of the limitations of his world. Jebedee has withdrawn from the world,

dissociated himself from any system of values or standards so that he experiences no pain, only boredom. Tommy and Winnie have limited their aspirations to goals they can realistically hope to achieve. They accept the settlement way of life and expect to be happy. Andrew is just beginning his student career and it is premature to speculate about his future. Nonetheless, it is apparent that he is a pragmatist and will achieve goals he establishes for himself. He quickly perceived that adoption of the teenage role and full immersion in peer group activities would facilitate adaptation to the Hostel and high school. Peter is unquestioning of his circumstances. He is maximizing his possibilities for a successful life in the settlement by valuing the hunting skills he was raised with and developing trade skills in the Pre-Vocational program. Moses is becoming bitter about his life opportunities. He perceives efforts in school to be futile because there are few job possibilities when he finishes. His family is one of those which abandoned hunting upon moving into the settlement so that Moses does not have the necessary skills to be a hunter. He knows these skills will be difficult to develop now. Rather than confront this dilemma, Moses' solution is to deem everything to be "boring anyway."

The teenagers define their academic and vocational goals in terms of the world as they know it in the settlement. The majority plan to return to live and work in the settlement and only a small number will consider going South to live or pursue higher education.

Table 8

The Academic, Vocational and Lifestyle Aspirations of the Resolute Bay Students at GREC.*

Student	Program in School	Why Go To High School?	Idea of a Good Job	What Do You Want To Be?	Will Live In Resolute Bay?
Phillip (19 Yrs.)	SM II	"Meeting new friends"	Don't know	Miner or Pilot	No (Gt. Whale River)
Alice (18 Yrs.)	GR 11	"I wanted to get away from Resolute for awhile."	"If its interesting"	Social Worker or Secretary	Yes
Jonassie (18 Yrs.)	GR 11	"I don't know"	"Something like an electrician"	"I don't have any idea. Haven't thought about it."	No (the South)
Tommy (16 Yrs.)	SM II	"My father really wants me to have an education."	Carpenter	Carpenter	Yes
Moses (16 Yrs.)	SM II	"To get a better job"	Mechanic	"I don't know, I'm gonna wait. Find out"	Yes

Table 8 Continued

The Academic, Vocational and Lifestyle Aspirations of the Resolute Bay Students at GREC.*

Student	Program in School	Why Go To High School?	Idea of a Good Job	What Do You Want To Be?	Will Live In Resolute Bay?
Andrew (15 Yrs.)	GR 9	"I wanted to have a higher education and a better future."	Don't know	"Maybe a Mechanic"	No (Spence Bay)
Jebedee (18 Yrs.)	GR 10A	"I just want to do it, that's all"	Earning lots of money	"I don't know. Don't think about it."	Yes
Peter (16 Yrs.)	SM II	"To learn about machines and woodwork and to learn more English to get a better job."	Carpenter	Hunter	Yes
Winnie (18 Yrs.)	CS II	"I want to be an educated person."	Clerical Work	Bookkeeper or Accountant	Yes

*For medical reasons, one of the ten Resolute Bay students at GREC was not available for interviewing.

Inuit and the Canadian School System

Why They Leave

90% of Inuit students who start school in Canada leave before Grade 12 and the majority do not even reach the secondary level (Nash 1978:11). In the past, educators arbitrarily offered inferior intelligence, poor home life, "cultural deprivation," lack of proficiency in English and values conflict as possible reasons for the low level of achievement of Inuit students (Whyte 1977:166-7). The education of the native student in Canadian schools is a subject of concern and controversy among native groups, educators, government agencies and social scientists. The problem is a complex one and only certain of the issues will be identified here.

The students themselves offer a variety of reasons for their leaving school: family problems, babysitting or economic responsibilities at home; difficulties with English comprehension and resulting frustration, disappointment and probable failure; homesickness, and not liking the rules and routine of hostel life. Although as individuals they may not be aware of them, numerous other factors are affecting the Inuit student. These factors are related to family background, parental aspirations, hostel life, changing social relationships, values conflict, a lack of role models and the students' limited knowledge about modern careers and consequent difficulty establishing vocational goals for themselves.

Family background and family relationships are among the most important influences on the Inuit student. Brooks (1974:51-2) has noted that parental behaviour and attitudes directly affect a student's

aspirations and achievement; that native parents generally have lower aspirations for grade-level achievement for their children than non-native parents; and that parental aspirations are related to the parents' own level of educational achievement.

Young Inuit have grown up in homes where their parents either did not go to school at all or attended school for only a few primary grades. The majority of Inuit parents would like their children to go to school but they generally associate going to school with vocational training and the development of reading, writing and arithmetic skills and they tend to have little understanding of the context and process of formal education (Vallee 1972:37). Thus, they have not raised their children to aspire to achieve academically. They have not established behaviour patterns in the home which encourage the Inuit child to attend school regularly or to do homework. There is often no quiet place where the teenager can study or read and there are few, if any, books other than the Bible in most Inuit homes. Having had narrow exposure to formal education themselves, Inuit parents tend not to associate such things as regular attendance at school and doing homework with student progress in school.

The hostel environment is radically different. Here the students are provided with desks and bookshelves, study time is set aside each night and the staff endeavour to ensure that students do their homework. Furthermore, students are awakened each morning; breakfast is prepared for them and a bus takes them directly to the high school. Many teenagers cannot adapt to this routinization which is so alien from the way they live at home in the settlement. They

miss their families and the freedom of settlement life. The structure of the Hostel aggravates their feelings of isolation and loneliness and they drop out of school saying "I just couldn't hack the Hostel." One Resolute Bay girl, who withdrew from GREC at Christmas of her first year there, compares life in the settlement with life at the Hostel:

> Here [in the settlement] we are free. I mean like at the Hostel we don't go out much. We go to bed at 10 o'clock and that's too early for us! And we miss our friends and the things we do here. Here we don't have rules and there's too many at the Hostel and we're not used to them. It's a big change and it's too fast. It's too fast.

Those of the settlement students who do adapt tend to achieve higher grades in school than do the Frobisher Bay town students largely because they are away from the home environment and living in the controlled hostel situation (Nash 1979:7).

Expanding horizons and changes in the nature of social relationships may also be factors in the Inuit student's decision to leave school. Brooks (1974:46) suggests that native students function best as members of small groups of peers or relatives. The Inuit students interviewed at GREC all identified themselves with a small number of people and tended to view themselves within the context of a small world. In a majority of cases this world was the settlement, but a few teenagers had broadened their boundaries to include the Northwest Territories or Canada. Enrolled at GREC, the student is suddenly part of the larger institutions of the Hostel and the high school. At least during the initial stages of this experience, they do not know everyone around them as they did in the settlement and they no longer

know their own status within the group. The larger social systems of school and hostel are based on competition, discipline, structure and routine and they emphasise individual rather than co-operative efforts. Achievement in these systems requires that the Inuit teenager develop new behaviour patterns and new types of social relationships. Many students are overwhelmed by this prospect and drop out during their first year at GREC.

Inuit parents would like the teenagers to obtain high school education because they think this will help them get a better job but, at the same time, they are concerned that by going to school their children are becoming less Inuit. It is important to appreciate that modern Inuit parents identify as Inuit such jobs in the settlement as those of mechanic, carpenter, clerk or secretary. Consequently, many parents encourage their children to go away to GREC and enroll in Clerical Secretary and Settlement Maintenance specifically because these programs are designed to prepare young Inuit for these settlement jobs. The teenager, however, who aspires to achieve higher academic or career goals--which parents perceive to be non-Inuit--may ultimately be forced to choose between home and school. This situation has negative consequences for the Inuit student. Sindell and Wintrob (1972:46) note: "Symptoms of psychopathological significance develop because during adolescence students are forced to decide whether to continue their education in the face of parental opposition or return home to help their parents in the expected manner."

Inuit teenagers live in a different world than their parents.

Increasingly there is lack of communication or understanding between parents and teenagers as the foundation of their shared cultural experience dwindles in the face of rapid change and competing socialization institutions. In many cases, communication is difficult, not only due to lack of shared experience, but also due to language problems. Many teenagers are no longer fluent in Inuktitut and find English the easier language with which to express themselves, and their parents do not speak English. Furthermore, the cultural values of home and school are rooted in different cultural traditions. Social scientists (Brody 1977; Cram 1978; Darnell 1979; Frideres 1978; Hobart and Brant 1966; Sindell and Wintrob 1972; Tremblay, Vallee and Ryan 1967; Vallee 1972 and others) have maintained that government policies of cultural replacement in the school curriculum create intense conflicts in self-image, feelings of inadequacy, and problems of cultural identity for native students. These researchers consider that the native student and family hold values and attitudes different from those of the education authorities and the school curriculum and that this is the primary factor in the high drop-out rate and lack of success of native students in Canadian schools.

Recently, two educators (Whyte 1977; Nash 1979) concerned with the drop-out problem and concerned about future policy and planning of educational programs in the N.W.T. independently undertook research into the value orientations of Inuit high school students at GREC. Their studies indicated that the dominant value orientations of Inuit students at GREC were in conflict with those of the school curriculum. The curriculum "transmits, supports and reinforces the ideas of future

rewards, benefits, individual achievement, competition and the need for control" all of which are alien to the Inuit student (Whyte 1977: 67). Inuit students, on the other hand tend to be oriented to the present and require immediate results and gratification. At the same time many are becoming concerned about personal development. The teenagers may talk about becoming a social worker or a pilot. "Training," going for upgrading and "graduating" are common topics of conversation and are important concepts for contemporary Inuit teenagers. However, they have not developed a future time orientation which will allow them to pursue long-term career goals. This contradictory state may be causing further problems for the teenagers who become frustrated at the length of time which is required to achieve many modern career goals. Not realizing this contradiction they may assume that their inability to reach these goals is their own fault and this further aggravates their feelings of inadequacy within the school system.

Two years after Whyte's study, Nash (1979) found that the dominant value orientations of Eastern Arctic high school students had changed. He also found that there were significant differences in dominant value orientations among groups of Inuit students across the North. He found differences between Eastern Arctic and Keewatin students and between Eastern Arctic and Western Arctic students, but no difference between Keewatin and Western Arctic students. Nash suggests that these differences reflect the shorter length of time that Eastern Arctic Inuit have been exposed to the wage economy and to the Canadian education system. The significance of the results of

these studies to the present study lies in their conclusions that the value orientations of young Inuit are rapidly changing, that there is diversity among different Inuit students and that the present N.W.T. school system does not provide for this diversity. The resulting "muddled role perceptions, lack of acceptable role models and the absence of a values consensus" (Nash 1978:11) which the Inuit students experience leads to their dropping out of school.

One of the most important factors contributing to the Inuit student's decision to leave school is that they tend to have lower aspirations and expectations than non-native students. "I want to go as far as I can in Academic--maybe Grade 10," said one student who has more intelligence, self-discipline and ability to adapt to different social environments than many non-native students in southern universities. Inuit teenagers limit their educational and vocational goals partly because, growing up in settlements, they see that only a few types of jobs are held by Inuit. They have little knowledge about other types of jobs and careers and this restricts them in establishing their own career goals (Nash, 1979:138). They also set limited goals because they simply do not perceive themselves to be capable of achieving higher academic levels. Inuit students have few role models for native achievement in secondary and post-secondary institutions but many role models for failure. Fear of failure dominates the school experience of native children and contributes to their limiting their aspirations.

One academic counsellor said that most hostel students "learn to fail gracefully or go home." Inuit students respond to impending

failure in different ways. They may, as Jebedee has done, simply withdraw from the competition but stay in school because it is "something to do." Others may try to memorize, mimic or fake their way through school. Still others may reject the formal education process but identify reasons of their own for continuing to attend school; they may establish non-academic goals for social, athletic or other achievements. Or, the Inuit student facing failure may decide to drop out altogether.

A counsellor at Akaitcho Hall, the student hostel in Yellowknife, provided the graphic example of one girl who was confronted with failure in high school. Jeannie had been one of the best students in her small Central Arctic settlement. She was the eldest child in a family of 6, grew up in a small settlement and left home for the first time in order to go to high school. When she came to high school in Yellowknife she found herself in larger classes comprised of better students, and she found that her English proficiency and academic preparation at the settlement school were inadequate. Nevertheless, she worked very hard and managed to achieve the necessary 40% to pass her first year. When she returned for the second year, she realized that she was not going to be able to keep up with the other students. She tried for awhile, then she started going downtown, drinking and not coming home, or returning to the Hostel drunk. Then she started staying out all weekend and began staying out on weeknights as well. She would return to the Hostel bruised and with cigarette burns on her back. She did not care what men did to her because she claimed, "They really like me." The Hostel eventually sent her home. As the supervisor

explained: "You have to be good at something and they told her she was good in bed." Jeannie was 16.

Why They Stay

A great deal has been written about why so many Inuit students leave high school. Little is said about why they go to school and why they stay. And little is said about those students who go to high school, adjust to the Hostel and plan to graduate. Increasingly they stay in high school for two reasons. The first is the GREC curriculum.

The GREC curriculum recognizes that the Inuit students are attending high school for a variety of different reasons and that parents, government, educators and other external agencies have differing views concerning the appropriate role and direction of the school. Some critics say the school should be more academic and less life-skills oriented; some say there should be more Inuit culture in the curriculum; and, others argue for a less-developed cultural curriculum. A few parents want a strict, academic education for their children, others would like a "cultural education" only and the majority express no opinion. The principal says: "The school can't waffle; it has to assume a direction. We try to offer something of everything and this requires a creative developmental approach."

The GREC curriculum shows the impact of this developmental approach. It has developed in response to the perceived needs and expressed interests of the Inuit students, as well as to the views expressed by parents and external agencies. GREC now emphasizes a practical life-skills approach because this has been found to be most successful. That is, students have responded best to the life-skills

programs and have had greater success finding employment after graduation from these programs. The academic option is still available and a student who is academically inclined and aspires to post-secondary education is encouraged to pursue this course. As previously noted, the majority of Inuit students at GREC are, however, pursuing the Pre-Vocational option.

School officials strongly believe that a mixed hunting and wage economy is the reality of contemporary Inuit life in the North and that "these kids have to see the value of hunting skills." Consequently, the school organizes weekend camping trips which provide Inuit teenagers with the opportunity to learn land survival and hunting skills under the direction of local Inuit hunters. The school has also assumed the responsibility for teaching the Inuktitut language and Inuit history because, the principal explained, many parents are not providing this cultural support at home. The school's philosophy is based on the assumption that the majority of Inuit students plan to live in settlements in the North and that the school's function is to prepare them for that life.

There are many advantages to the GREC curriculum. The school's sensitivity to the Inuit student has encouraged increasing numbers of Inuit teenagers to consider going to high school. The high success rate in the graduation of Inuit students from the Clerical Secretary and Settlement Maintenance programs provides role models and inspires younger adolescents to feel that they, too, can graduate from high school. Thus, increasing numbers of Inuit are, at least, experiencing higher levels of formal education and life skills development.

Curricula in schools teaching native students have been criticized for being too alien and assimilative. It is possible, however, that the GREC curriculum is now too tailor-made for the settlement student. The Pre-Vocational programs complement and are extensions of settlement life and values. The vocational options these programs open up for the Inuit student are consistent with existing Inuit role models in the settlements. Nevertheless it may be argued, that the responsibility of the school is to broaden the horizons of any modern child. Going to school represents "the crucial transitional passage for the child's introduction to the social world at large." (Ishwaran, 1979:21). The world of the contemporary Inuit child is larger than the settlement. The students' parents and peers do not have the experience or world view to aid the modern Inuit teenager in negotiating a relationship with Canadian society at large. Increasingly the media are playing the dominant socializing role in this area of the modernization of young Inuit.

The school, however, also has a role to play. Arctic schools do attempt, through exchange programs, to expose Inuit students to other Canadian lifestyles. Nevertheless, the overriding objective of the GREC curriculum is to prepare young Inuit for contemporary settlement life. This goal ensures a high success rate for the school, but it does not increase the mobility of the Inuit within Canadian society. This approach to Inuit education continues to limit young Inuit to the range of options available to them within the Arctic settlement.

In addition to the custom-tailored GREC curriculum, there is a second reason that a greater number of Inuit students are staying in

school and completing high school programs. Inuit students like those from Resolute Bay appear to be identifying reasons of their own for going to high school, reasons which increasingly have little to do with the academic goals of formal education. Increasingly they are going to high school in order to be with other teenagers and in order to participate in the activities of a youth culture which the hostel environment nurtures, a youth culture which prescribes values, attitudes, behaviour and activities for being modern teenagers.

CHAPTER IV

BEING HOSTEL STUDENTS

The following seven case studies illustrate different patterns of adjustment--or, as in one case, non-adjustment--of Inuit teenagers both to their lives as hostel students and to their individual life circumstances. As well, the studies suggest certain conditions under which the youth culture comes to play a significant role in the lives of modern Inuit youth. The case studies are presented in Appendix A and are annotated for discussion here.

Elisapee (Case 1, Appendix)

Elisapee is 16 and this is her first year at GREC. She is the third of seven children, and the first in her family to go to high school. Her father is a mechanic and learned to read and write English when doing his apprenticeship in Winnipeg. Her mother did not go to school and speaks no English. Both of her parents were born in camps and moved into the settlement in the 1960's. Her father no longer goes hunting. He is often drinking and this is a part of family life which Elisapee does not enjoy. Her parents want Elisapee to obtain a high school education, but Elisapee does not enjoy school. She is out of her depth in Grade 9, and her teachers are recommending that she transfer to a Pre-Vocational program. Elisapee plans to move to the Clerical-Secretarial Program next year. "I don't really like being in Grade 9. So that's why I want to move somewhere else. I think I'm going to move to Clerical-Secretarial instead. They do a lot of typing and I like typing."

Elisapee's predicament is one a number of settlement students

experience when they come to GREC. At home in the small settlement school they have been among the top students in their class and they are accustomed to this status. At GREC they meet competition in the form of students from other schools. They frequently discover that their English is not adequate or that other skills such as reading or math are less well-developed. Many are confronted with failure for the first time. They seek other ways to salvage lost self-respect and self-confidence.

Elisapee has adapted quickly to the prospect of her impending failure. She has responded in two ways. First, she has convinced herself that the reason she is not doing well is because she does not like school. She will transfer to a program which allows her to do something she enjoys--typing. At the same time, she is ensuring herself that she will not fail.

The second component of her adjustment to failure is that she will concentrate on enjoying the social life which accompanies "going to GREC." Being a teenager is central to Elisapee's life. "It's great." Being a hostel student provides opportunities to participate in a range of teenage activities. Elisapee enjoys hanging around the Dance Hall or the Canteen or going to dances in town at Kativik. She has a boy-friend at the Hostel and used drugs for the first time at the Hostel this fall with new friends. "It's great. A lot of young people here. That's what I like. A lot of other young teenagers here, so I have quite a lot of friends and that's what I like about it here."

Elisapee energetically pursues social activities with her friends not only because it is fun and because for her it is part of being a

teenager but also because in this arena she is among equals. She can have a boyfriend, be a good dancer and learn to smoke marijuana without fear of failure. Thus, she secures status and success for herself in her immediate predicament and she salvages her self-esteem.

Elisapee is not concerned about her future. "I don't really think about the future. Things are pretty good now. I like being a teenager." When asked about her goals she says she thinks of becoming either a secretary or a clerk at the Bay store. And she thinks 19 is a good age to become a mother. Thus, she sees limited options for her future. Nevertheless, she confines herself to choosing from among these options. She has selected roles which women fill in Arctic settlements and thus has assured herself greater success in achieving her goals. She lives in a small world and is striving to keep her world small--and manageable.

Elisapee went on a school exchange to Toronto and indiscriminately considers that the South is "Great. Much more nicer than the North." She finds life in the settlement boring by comparison and says she does not want to live there. At the same time, she knows that at least in the settlement she is likely to be successful at what she chooses to do. In the South, she faces failure and alienation. Boredom is preferable.

Levi (Case 2, Appendix)

Elisapee is just beginning her hostel student career; Levi is completing his career. He is 19 and in Grade 12 at GREC. He exemplifies the Inuit student who through his active participation in youth culture activities has adapted successfully to high school and to life at the hostel.

Levi is one of eight children. His parents were raised in camps and did not go to school. They are now wage employed in the settlement. One of Levi's older brothers graduated from Grade 12 last year and is currently enrolled in a business program at Algonquin College in Ottawa. This brother serves as a role model for Levi who is also considering going South to continue his education. However, Levi is caught in a dilemma. He is a good student and excels in Mathematics. He would like to go to university and become a math teacher. But he also knows that in the settlement the majority of jobs which are open to Inuit are trades jobs. He is concerned about being able to get a job and he sees his peers planning to take up a trade. Accordingly, Levi thinks about training in heavy-duty mechanics. He is uncertain about his future and expresses his confusion: "I was thinking of taking heavy-duty mechanics and heavy duty operator or become a math teacher. I'm not too sure . . . . After high school I'll probably go to Fort Smith for training, become a mechanic or either get a different job, go for a course and probably take the job or go back to school for more education. After Grade 12 probably might settle down at home. Stick with a job for awhile . . . . Or go down South for more education. I don't know." An additional complicating factor is that Levi's parents are pressuring him to return home and get a job. They are getting older and Levi feels that he should go back to the settlement and help out the family.

The way that Levi copes with these future uncertainities and responsibilities is to focus on his present life as a teenager and hostel student. Levi enjoys all of the activities at the Hostel and

gets bored when he has nothing to do. He plays sports and reads sports magazines and watches "Hockey Night in Canada." He likes rock and roll music and disco music and enjoys dancing. He thinks it is important to know the "Top 10" hit songs and albums and he follows them on the radio and in pop magazines. He enjoys smoking marijuana and drinking alcohol occasionally. He is an enthusiastic television viewer and enjoys movies of almost any kind. His greatest and most immediate worries are "girl problems."

Levi needs organized activity and constant stimulation. For him, going to school is partly a means "to get a better job," but mainly going to GREC provides him with relief from boredom, the chance to get away from home, the opportunity to be with other teenagers.

Levi has travelled South on school exchanges and enjoyed what he saw of the South. He would like to travel more and thinks he could adjust to studying in the South. Because of his modern and competitive orientation it is likely he would adapt and succeed if he should pursue this option. Nevertheless Levi accepts that he will return to the settlement to work just as he has accepted the rules and routines of the Hostel and just as he accepts without question the behaviour of others around him. This resignation is an adaptive strategy and one common among Inuit teenagers who do not consider that they can change their life circumstances. Levi will work at a trades job in the settlement and will raise his own family the way his parents raised him. He finds some satisfaction in considering that his life today is better than it would have been in an earlier era: ". . . it's better living now than in the old days. I'm happier living now.

You get better education. Can get a better job. Make your own money and you can go out hunting on your own time. Learn the old ways if you want."

Louisa (Case 3, Appendix)

Louisa is 16, the eldest of five children. Her natural father was non-Inuit but she never knew him. She has always treated her mother's Inuit husband (and the father of her brothers and sisters) as her own father. Her parents earn a living carving. They are frequently drinking and Louisa has spent almost her entire life baby-sitting the younger children in the family. She resents her parents' drinking and she resents the time that she is required to spend baby-sitting. She thinks families have too many children and that they cannot control them.

At an early age, Louisa started escaping from her troubles at home and hanging around with her friends in the settlement. In Louisa's settlement, gas and glue sniffing have long been an activity of the five-to twelve-year old children. Louisa joined the other children in these activities and later started using soft drugs. She does not associate drugs with having a good time, however. She becomes afraid and unhappy when smoking marijuana or hashish and says she quit doing it altogether over a year ago. Currently her escape is a 19-year old boyfriend who has a job and money.

Louisa came to high school in order to get a better job and because her parents wanted her to. She has problems with English comprehension when reading and gets tired quickly when conversing in English so she is destined to have difficulties in school. This is

her first year and she is in Grade 9. She is the first in her family to go to GREC. Although her parents support her going to high school, they do not have a clear idea of what is involved. "My parents want me to come to school. They don't really understand what it's about. They don't really bother. But they want me to keep on going. They want me to get a job." The only role model Louisa has identified is a friend of hers who is in the Teacher Education Program. Although she has not decided what kind of job she would like, she suggests "maybe a teacher . . . . teachers are making good money."

She does not believe, however, that she would actually achieve a career goal if she did set one for herself. Rather than fail at becoming a teacher, she says she does not really think she will ever be one. "I always think to be something, but I don't think it'll ever come true."

Louisa has visited the South and enjoyed "the things that are different from our settlement" but found it too big. She says she could never live there. She plans to live in the North and thinks she will probably marry and have a baby when she is around 20 years old. Louisa does not enjoy hostel life. She misses her boyfriend and her family. She thinks there are too many people, the place is too big, and that there are too many rules. Louisa would rather have the freedom to hang about downtown with her friends. She is dependent upon her friends and her family. In the settlement she likes dancing and listening to rock and disco music, and she enjoys going to movies and watching television, especially "Edge of Night." Although attractive and well-liked by everyone at the Hostel, Louisa remains

aloof from many teenage group activities there. There are several reasons for this. She is no longer interested in drugs when most of the first-year students like Elisapee are experimenting with them for the first time. She has an older boyfriend at home in the settlement and so is also removed from the romantic attachments and sexual experimentation which are an important dimension of peer group activities at the Hostel. But the main reason is that Louisa has already lost hope that she can be happy in life. She has already been confronted with a great deal of the difficulty that lies ahead of her in adult life in the settlement and she has perceived few satisfying roles for her to play. She is overwhelmed by anything new--the South and the Hostel were both "very big" and so she is tied to what she already knows. Louisa is bitter about certain of her life circumstances. She does not accept that this is the way things should be. At the same time, she is afraid to allow herself to hope for anything better and she does not think she can change her prospects. She looks to the past as a time when life was better for the Inuit, when there were "not much bad things to do or some people telling you nice things to do or doing the things that your ancestors have been doing."

It is doubtful that Louisa will finish school.[1] The goals of formal education are not ones that Louisa feels she could ever achieve so she will not be able to work to overcome her language problems and compete with better students at the high school. Further,

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[1] In fact, she dropped out at Christmas of Grade 9, two months after this interview.

she considers her prospects to be bleak and she cannot see changes in the future. She has not identified any alternative goals in the way that Elisapee has removed herself from the academic arena and focussed on her social life as a high school student. All that Louisa wants is "to grow up and get a job that has good pay and if I ever get married be happy with my family." She is not optimistic of achieving this, but she will concentrate on these goals for her life.

David (Case 4, Appendix)

David is 16 and this is his first year in Frobisher. He is in Grade 10. Members of his family have attained high levels of education. His father teaches adult education in the settlement and his older brother and sister both graduated from Grade 12. His parents want David to finish high school as well. David himself does not like school. "It's kinda boring and hard work sometimes." He failed Grade 9 once in the settlement because he slept in the mornings and would not attend school until after lunch. To meet his parents' wishes he will try to do his best in school. He also considers that having a high school education will help him to find future employment in the settlement. "It's good to go to school. For the jobs. You have to have more than Grade 10 or finish high school. I just want to be able to apply for a job with no problem. So I'll get the job easier." He has no strong feelings about the type of job he would like. He has considered opening up a tourist business in his home settlement.

Money is important to David. He values the symbols of modernity and the antidotes to boredom which money can buy. David is knowledgeable about the prices, models and benefit of consumer items which are

popular in the settlements. His family owns a videotape recorder, valued at $1,150.00 and David's dream is to buy a $9,000.00 jet boat. "You know those jet boats? You know, 185 horse-power? Those very fast ones?" With a jet boat he would enjoy going "very fast" as well as being able to reach more hunting places on weekend or day trips from the settlement. David is totally oriented to the settlement way of life. He describes this life in terms of hunting, watching movies on the VTR, skidooing around and going to dances at the community hall. David is well-travelled in the South and enjoys the things that he is able to do there such as going to the Electric Place pinball arcade in Vancouver. But he does not think he could have a better life by living in the South. His entry to the modern world is through consumer items. As long as he is wage employed, he will be able to acquire by mail order or purchase locally at the Bay store, the items which he considers necessary for a satisfying life. And in order to secure wage employment in the future, he is going to high school now.

David is fortunate that his English is excellent and that he has strong family support. He will be able to complete high school without too much difficulty. Although he enjoys many of the teenage activities at the Hostel, he finds hostel life boring at times. He does not depend heavily on his peers for support and role models for behaviour. He is more oriented to settlement life than the teenage world. His consumer orientation and high material aspirations are the prime motivating forces which keep David in school, not the excitement of the teenage social life. David is going to school solely to get a job.

George (Case 5, Appendix)

George is 18 and in Grade 10 at GREC. He plans to continue in the academic program and graduate from Grade 12. He hopes to go to university and perhaps some day have a business of his own. He knows that he could not live his entire life in the settlement. "I think I'd like to live in the South . . . I couldn't live in a settlement all my life. I couldn't. I get bored pretty easily . . . In a settlement there's never much to do . . . The settlement is too small, way too small. In a city there are more people, more activities, more things to do."

When living in the settlement, George solved the problem of boredom by reading. His best friend was a non-Inuit boy, the Co-op manager's son, and the two of them read a great deal when they were growing up. This has both separated George from his peers and developed his powers of critical thought and his ability to obtain some perspective on himself and his circumstances. He says that most of the teenagers are bored. He says they don't enjoy reading because it is difficult for them and "they don't understand what's happening." They play sports, watch television and listen to music and go dancing but most of the time "we have nothing to do, nowhere to go. Most of the teenagers are bored and get into grass and booze, stuff like that." George also enjoys dancing and listening to music and smoking marijuana, and is an enthusiastic consumer of junk food, records, and clothes. He is unlike many of his peers, however, in that he does not depend upon these activities to develop and maintain his self-esteem. He finds teenage activities ultimately boring as well. "At first living

at the Hostel was exciting. There was the gym here and we could have gym whenever we wanted to. There was ping-pong and pool and pinball machines in town and we could do those. But now, well, I'm sorta tired of playing in the gym."

George is the second youngest of nine children, but none of his older brothers and sisters have achieved a high school education. All of them live and work in the settlement and the majority are married. Thus, George has no immediate role models for academic achievement within his family.

George has always received special attention from his father, Simeonie. Simeonie named George after his own stepfather whom he had loved very much, and Simeonie always spoiled George because of this affiliation. Simeonie's natural father was non-Inuit and although Simeonie was always ashamed of this, George identifies strongly with his non-Inuit heritage. George believes it is important to try to live in both worlds "if that [is] possible." But he admits he leans more toward the non-Inuit world. "Like I'm sorta trying to live in both worlds but I think I'm being more towards the white world. Maybe because of my grandfather. I'm not sure but I usually think it's because my grandfather was white."

George's father has encouraged George in his non-Inuit aspirations because he himself has experienced dissatisfaction and boredom in the jobs he has been able to hold in the settlement. He hopes his son will have a better life, and he considers that this means George must develop new and non-Inuit skills which will allow him greater mobility than the majority of settlement Inuit now possess.

Simeonie was born and raised in a camp and moved into a settlement with his family when he was about 40 years old and George was not yet of school age. Simeonie was able to find work as a guide for awhile and later as a carpenter, but he does not value the work that he does. He thinks going to school will help George find a more satisfying occupation. "My father thinks that the best thing for me to do is to finish school so that I won't have a labour job or stuff like that. I think he thinks that it's not like you're sorta not so good at things. Like I think he thinks if it's possible for me to use my head to work it's better than using brawns. I think he wants me to not be like him, you know, not have to use muscles to work. Sorta just use my head. To go to school and learn things that he never had the chance to learn so that I won't have to have jobs like he does."

George himself has experienced discontentment with the opportunities settlement life offers Inuit. When he finished Grade 9 at the settlement school, his father was reluctant to send him away to Frobisher for high school because he thought George was too young. George spent two years in the settlement before he was able to convince his father to let him go away to school. "For two years I did absolutely nothing. I didn't have a job or didn't go to school. To me that's like doing nothing." George accepts the non-Inuit structures of education and wage employment as viable systems for self-expression and self-fulfillment. Although he sees the symbolic values of keeping hunting and the Inuktitut language in order to "keep the culture" he is more oriented to education and a career or business.

George values the idea of economic independence. The hypothetical windfall of a million dollars would allow David to buy a jet boat and Elisapee and Louisa to buy more clothes and records. But George sees money as a source of freedom. With a million dollars he would establish a business and be his own boss. He would, however, capitalize on the consumer orientation and favoured leisure pursuits of his peers. He knows that a pinball arcade would be a successful venture in the settlement and says this is probably the business he would open. Nevertheless, he would not lose sight of his personal goals. ". . . even if I did open a business, I'd probably leave it in the hands of my family and go finish school."

Silas (Case 6, Appendix)

Silas is also able to remove himself from the youth culture, but for different reasons than those which allow George to do so. George has well-defined academic and vocational aspirations. Silas has a strong identification with Inuit culture. In addition, the members of his family have developed a variety of bicultural adaptations to the contemporary North and these serve as role models for Silas in making his own adjustment to his life circumstances.

Silas is 17 and the youngest of eight children. His father is one of the local hunters; his mother earns money through the preparation and sale of skins and crafts. His two brothers are hunters and have steady employment in the settlement. One of his sisters works for the local cultural organization; one sister works at the adult education centre and another sister is at university in the South. Two other sisters are married to hunters.

Silas' parents have taught their children the value of retaining some of the Inuit cultural ways. Silas has learned Inuit legends and songs. He goes hunting with his brothers and his father and he knows how to build an igloo and drive a dog team. Unlike many of his peers, Silas does not romanticize the past or lament the coming of alcohol and the non-Inuit. He accepts that the Inuit way of life is rapidly changing and he sees it as his responsibility to cope with change. He would like to live in camp and survive on the land in the old Inuit way but he accepts that life has changed in the North and that he will probably live in the settlement and combine hunting with wage employment.

Silas' parents have a strong influence on the way that Silas views his life and he admits that he is extremely dependent upon them. His parents are attempting to raise their children in a manner which allows them to experience the best of both Inuit and non-Inuit worlds. They are secure in their Inuit identity and have raised Silas with respect for his Inuit heritage. At the same time, they recognize that life in the North is changing rapidly. They consider education the key to mobility in the modern world. As Silas says, "My parents want me to go to school because life is not the way it used to be. It's important to go to school now. We won't be able to keep the old ways as much so we need education."

Silas is going to GREC not primarily in order to get a better job but, rather, in order to ensure himself of the flexibility and freedom to retain what he chooses of the old ways and to adopt what he wishes of the new. He considers that education is one of the

benefits that has come with modernization and he views going to school as an opportunity to learn and as an investment in the future. At present he does not know what kind of job he would like but he considers "a good job is something I'm really interested in and where the money is enough to get by."

Silas is disturbed by the behaviour and values of his peers. He says they do not want to keep the old ways. He says they are bored in school, they find nothing to interest them and they are dependent on drugs and alcohol to make them feel happy. "Teenagers are lazy now; that's why they're bored."

Silas considers that the future of the Inuit people is the responsibility of the Inuit and he is worried. "The future is bleak for Inuit if they don't try to improve themselves. If they just keep sitting around saying they're bored and getting into drugs."

Silas finds security in his family relationships and in his Inuit identity. He enjoys some teenage activities such as listening to music, dancing, and smoking marijuana but he has not accepted the entire youth culture package. He does not enjoy watching television or movies, disapproves of alcohol and makes an effort to save his money rather than spend it on comic books and junk food. He does not see himself exclusively as a teenager but as a person becoming an adult, and he considers that he has opportunities for self-expression and options open to him which can enable him to have a satisfying life.

Sophie (Case 7, Appendix)

Sophie is 18 and in Grade 11 at GREC. She plans to graduate from Grade 12. She thinks about becoming a social worker because, she

says, "I like helping people." But she thinks she will probably return to the settlement and work as a secretary because her father would like her to be at home. She feels a commitment to her family and expects that she will do as her father wishes.

Sophie has one older brother and three younger brothers. As the only girl in the family she spends a large part of her time baby-sitting and doing household chores when she is at home. Her father and stepmother have permanent janitorial jobs in the settlement. They also drink frequently when they are not working. This adds to the burden of responsibility which Sophie has assumed for the younger children. Sophie's own mother died after a skidoo accident which happened when both her father and mother were intoxicated. Although Sophie was only three years old, she has never forgotten this. She resents her step-mother and has a hatred of alcohol. She has also begun to resent her household duties. Last summer, in order to get out of the house, she started hanging around with the other teenagers: "I got so disgusted with my parents always drinking all the time that I didn't want to be around the house and I got tired of babysitting so I just stayed out all the time. Did a lot of drugs and drinking. There was nothing else to do so I hung around with the other teenagers and did what they did." As a result of her summer activities, Sophie found herself pregnant in the Fall when she was back at the Hostel in Frobisher Bay. She arranged to have an abortion so that she could continue with school.

Sophie is an "A" student at GREC. She was offered an opportunity to study in Greenland for a year but her father insisted that she continue at GREC. He does not want her to be any further away from home

than she already is in Frobisher Bay. Sophie says she originally came to GREC because "I just wanted to get away from home for awhile." Now, in her third year, she thoroughly enjoys school and is proud of her academic accomplishments. She devotes almost all of her evenings to homework and during spare periods at school she is always in the library. At an early age Sophie learned the way to satisfy teachers. She was diligent, cheerful and willing, showed interest in class and was proficient in English. She worked hard in these areas and has been rewarded for her efforts within the school system. Teachers invariably mentioned these qualities in her school report cards. Sophie is now considered one of the best students at GREC. She derives status, self-confidence and a positive self-image from the recognition she receives.

Sophie has compensated all her life for her family situation and will continue to do so. Many of the circumstances of her life are beyond her control but the reward system of the school and the routine of hostel life have, at least for the moment, brought some order to her life. At present, she has her life under control. She does not look to the future beyond her life as a hostel student. She enjoys the social life, the constant activities, and being with friends at the Hostel. She enjoys her friends but is not totally dependent upon her peers. She tends to be self-centred and aggressively independent. She is critical of other teenagers who are non-achievers in school. She says they are just lazy. She is not sympathetic to the problems they are coping with or to the adjustments they may by trying to make. In her view, she did it, so can they. This role of resident critic is one of the survival tactics Sophie has developed to help her find

security in her own accomplishments.

Sophie feels that going away to school has changed her. She feels more comfortable now speaking English and enjoys being with friends participating in teenage activities rather than pursuing more traditional Inuit ways. But she is confused. She says her father gets angry with her when she speaks English at home. "He doesn't like me speaking English too much and wants me to try to be more Inuit. I guess he cares about our culture and wants me to carry it on. I would like to . . . but I don't know what to carry on. Maybe it's mostly our language, maybe some games or making things like parkas and stuff." At the same time that her father becomes angry with her for not maintaining her Inuit ways, he has not assumed the responsibility for helping Sophie to develop an Inuit identity. As a result, Sophie does not find support in her Inuit heritage. Her sources of identity are the school and the youth culture.

This group of hostel students presents a range of the values, attitudes and lifestyle orientations of modern Inuit teenagers. These teenagers come from similar backgrounds and share a similar set of circumstances and alternative future options but there is a complex diversity in their individual aspirations and expectations and in their personal adjustments to modernization.

The students all come from settlements which offer a limited range of employment opportunities. They are members of large families. Their parents were raised in camps and generally did not go to school and do not speak English. All parents except Silas' are wage-employed and expect their children to find jobs in the settlements as well. A

majority of their parents want their children to have a high school education; they see education as the key to a better job and a better future.

The students themselves, with the exception of George, plan to return to the settlement to live and work. They have restricted their vocational and lifestyle aspirations to goals which they feel they might realistically be able to achieve within the existing socioeconomic structure of the settlements. Thus, the girls plan to marry and have babies and the boys consider a skilled trade and a steady job to be their destination. Combined with these goals are high material expectations for a consumer lifestyle which depends upon having a steady income. Finally, for a majority, leisure pursuits are more important than progress at school or work.

Upon her arrival at GREC, Elisapee quickly perceived that she was going to fail Grade 9. She decided to transfer to the Clerical-Secretary program in which she can expect to be successful and she began to concentrate instead upon the teenage activities at the Hostel. She replaced academic goals with social goals which she can achieve and which will help her adapt to her student life away from home.

Levi is a seasoned hostel student who has persevered and reached Grade 12 partly because he has immersed himself in the youth culture. He is ambivalent in his aspirations for the future and, instead of worrying, concentrates on the present and the sports, romance and pop culture complex of activities associated with being a hostel student. Going to school meets his immediate needs to get away from home, find relief from boredom and have an opportunity to participate fully in the youth

culture.

Louisa dropped out of school when she went home for Christmas in her first year. She had not adjusted to hostel life and had problems with English comprehension in school. She had not been able to absorb herself in teenage activities in the way that her peers do because, having a history of family problems, she had sought out many of these activities at an earlier age in the settlement. She had learned that while the youth culture activities might temporarily alleviate the pain they do not lead to resolution of the problem.

George is one of the minority of Inuit teenagers who are considering going South to live or continue their education. George is able to aspire to a university education and to achieving economic independence through owning a business because he has had special relationships with his father and with non-Inuit. He is proficient in English, reads extensively and is a critical thinker. He does not want to live the life of the majority of people he sees around him in the settlement.

Silas, too, is able to remove himself from the mainstream of Inuit youth because he was raised in a family which retains a strong identification with Inuit culture. Thus, although he plans to live in the settlement and work at a trade, he will do this in order to maintain Inuit traditional values and skills. He will live in the settlement and achieve goals of his own whereas the majority of his peers will live in the settlements in order to achieve their material aspirations for a life which assures them that they are modern but which does not require them to leave the North or to pursue formal education and competitive

careers. David's consumer values are typical of this majority.

Sophie who receives no support from her family has taken refuge in the school system and the youth culture. She enjoys the structure and routine, the constant activities and being with friends. She values the recognition she receives in school for her academic accomplishments and she actively participates in teenage activities in order to escape her problems at home.

From these case studies, it is evident that a youth culture plays an important role in the lives of modern Inuit teenagers. That role seems to be related to assisting young Inuit in adapting to the hostel and high school environments in particular and, more generally, the youth culture appears to play a role in the adaptation of young Inuit to urbanization and industrialization in the North. Further, it seems evident that the degree to which individual teenagers participate in the youth culture is related to the degree of satisfaction they derive from their other social relationships--particularly those with family and school.

CHAPTER V

BEING TEENAGERS

The occurence of adolescence within Inuit society is an important social-structural change which has accompanied industrialization. Yet few studies (McElroy 1975, 1977; Matthiasson 1979) have alluded to the predicament of the modern Inuit adolescent.

Adolescence is a social and psychological stage in human development in industrial society. Margaret Mead (1928) established the importance of cultural context in the definition and experience of adolescence and suggested that rebelliousness and other stereotyped adolescent behaviour were not so much a "natural" part of maturation as a specific product of modern social conditions. Nonetheless, the biopsychological view of adolescence as a time of "storm and stress" (Hollingshead 1949:5) is still widely held in Western society. In this view, emotional instability and deviant behaviour have a biological basis in the rapid physiological changes of puberty. Sociologists have traditionally viewed adolescence as a transitional period in the socialization process, as a period of transition from childhood to adulthood (Ishwaran 1979:13-14). Adolescence is considered a liminial state; the adolescent is sociologically "neither here nor there" but is, rather, "betwixt and between" (Turner 1969:95), in a social and psychological "no man's land" (Hollingshead 1949:149). The adolescent is a person of marginal status belonging to neither the world that precedes nor the world that follows his present state.

It is well-documented that with industrialization and changing social and economic conditions, family patterns change (Casparis and

Vaz 1979:47). Extended kinship ties weaken, lineage patterns dissolve and the nuclear family becomes a more independent kinship unit (Goode 1970:6). Simultaneously, occupational diversification and technological complexity require that child socialization increasingly take place outside the family. In rural and preliterate societies, the necessary social and technical skills for adult participation in society are passed directly from generation to generation and, most frequently, from parent to child. Becoming an adult is often clearly defined by initiation rites or other rites of passage. Thus in such societies, a child more readily achieves adult status. In industrializing societies, increasingly few occupational and life skills can be passed on within the family. The young must go outside the home to attain social proficiency (Gottlieb and Ramsey 1964:24). Modern occupations require lengthy apprenticeships or highly technical training which prolong the period of time during which the young person is neither child nor adult. In addition, there is no consensus on when adulthood is officially achieved. Laws establishing the different legal ages for drinking, driving, voting, leaving school and marriage attest to this ambivalence.

The weakening of the family unit further intensifies the dilemmas of modern youth. Under conditions of rapid change, the gap between parents and their children widens as, through their newly-acquired skills, the young achieve greater social mobility than their parents. Parents may recognize their inability to provide their children with all required life skills and be uncertain which traditional skills to pass on. The result is ambivalence about their parental role and about the family's responsibility in child socialization

(Casparis and Vaz 1979:47).

In modern society, adolescence is a time of seeking--seeking an individual, sexual and vocational identity. With the breakdown of the family and the increasing importance of the school and the mass media in the socialization process, the young are confronted with conflicting role models for behaviour and contradictions in social mores. Increasingly, they turn to their peers who at least share their feelings of uncertainty and insecurity. Casparis and Vaz (1979:22) note:

> When normative consensus in the society is lacking, young people will likely validate their behaviour against standards evolving in their own worlds.

The study of youth group behaviour has tended to focus on two main aspects: deviance and delinquency and the role of the high-school in facilitating the necessary peer-group associations to nurture a youth culture. Both of these approaches tend to emphasize the social problem aspect of youth group behaviour.

Within American sociology, research into the adolescent sub-culture begins with Frederic M. Thrasher's study, The Gang (1927), based on a survey of 1300 Chicago youth gangs and clubs. Although he does not describe a separate youth society, Thrasher relates the development of the gangs to the socialization process. He takes the position that the various agencies responsible for the socialization of the child--the family, the church and the school--have failed in fulfilling the needs of the young. Thrasher writes: ". . . the gang represents the spontaneous effort of boys to create a society for themselves where none adequate to their needs exists" (1927:37). This view of the breakdown of social institutions and resulting unfulfilled needs as a major force

leading youth into intimate peer associations has been a consistent theme in the American model of the emergence of youth cultures. In his study of the subculture of delinquent boys, Cohen (1955:59) considers that:

> The crucial condition for the emergence of new cultural forms is the existence, in effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment.

Gottlieb et al (1966:45) documented the emergence of youth societies as a cross-cultural phenomenon associated with social and economic change. They elaborate upon Cohen's thesis:

> When there are significant groups in similar circumstances that perceive conceivable solutions to their problems which do not exist as a cultural model, a new solution may have more appeal than previously institutionalized responses.

Study of the American high school as the generating milieu for the American youth culture is the second major theme developed in the literature. The landmark studies in this genre are Elmtown's Youth (Hollingshead 1949) and The Adolescent Society (Coleman 1961). Both of these studies contain ethnographic descriptions of youth activities.

Hollingshead (1949:6-7) provides one of the first sociological definitions of adolescence:

> Sociologically, adolescence is the period in the life of a person when the society in which he functions ceases to regard him (male or female) as a child but does not accord to him full adult status, roles, and functions. In terms of behaviour, it is defined by the roles the person is expected to play, is allowed to play, is forced to play, or prohibited from playing by virtue of his status in society. It is not marked by a specific point in time such as puberty, since its form, content, duration, and period in the life cycle are differently determined by various cultures and societies. Sociologically, the important thing about the adolescent years is the way people regard the maturing individual.

Hollingshead (1949:7) views adolescent behaviour as a "type of transitional behaviour which is dependent upon the society and more particularly upon the position the individual occupies in the social structure." His central proposition about the social behaviour of adolescents is that it is "an adaptive, complex adjustment to their status in society." In viewing youth behaviour as an adaptive response, Hollingshead complements the work of those in the delinquency school, attributing observable differences in youth behaviour to the class structure. He identifies and describes five classes operating within Elmtown society and documents a direct relationship between the social behaviour of Elmtown adolescents and the positions their families occupy within the status system. He finds that the lower class youth have adjusted their job desires to what they may hope to achieve and by so doing have limited their horizons to the class horizon (Hollingshead 1949:287). Furthermore, he says, they will continue to occupy the same class levels as their parents do and their choices and opportunities will continue to be restricted to those they already know. Hollingshead considers that the indecision he observed concerning vocational aspirations among the lower classes is indicative of the limited job horizon which prevails in these classes. And, finally, he considers that the jobs adolescents hold and their ideas about desirable jobs reflect significantly their family's position in the class structure.

Similarly, Hollingshead found that participation in voluntary organizations and choices of recreation were class-related. The structured activities of organizations, such as the Boy Scouts, which teach "constructive" use of leisure time were almost exclusively the domain of the middle class youth (Hollingshead 1949:298). Meanwhile,

the majority of Class V adolescents, those of the lowest class, whiled away their free time in the company of other adolescents far from the eyes of adults who might constrain their activities. Their chosen activities invariably were connected with the illicit pleasures of sex, smoking, gambling, alcohol, and driving automobiles fast (Hollingshead 1949:299). Hollingshead went on to systematically describe the class factors which governed where, how often, and with whom, the adolescents went to dances or movies, their reading patterns, participation in team sports and attendance at pool halls, coffee shops and other hang-outs.

Among the most important results of Hollingshead's study were those which described the adolescents' school experience. Hollingshead (1949:330) found that class position and family life are important factors in a child's adjustment to school and that by the time of adolescence, while all teenagers in Classes I and II were in school, 88% of Class V adolescents had dropped out. He attributes the failure of lower class youth to achieve in the high school system to both the lower class socialization process and the middle class school system which denigrates lower class students. He identifies both the reasons the adolescents themselves give for dropping out of school and the sociological roots of the phenomenon (Hollingshead 1949:340). The adolescent may say he or she hates school or finds it boring. A girl may drop out because she is pregnant or a boy because he would rather work in order to save money to buy a car. But the sociological factors of economic need, teacher attitudes, peer group isolation and discrimination, as well as the class basis of the school social system, are perhaps more important reasons behind their leaving school.

Hollingshead (1949:353) considers that dropping out of school, the choice of peer group affiliation and leisure activities, and the attitudes to work and money of the lower class adolescent are all adjustments to "the pressures and demands which [bear] upon them as maturing members of families who occup[y] low ranking positions in the social structure."

Elmtown's Youth is the first empirical study documenting the ethnographic details of American youth culture. The data were collected during the 10 months in 1941-2 that the Hollingsheads lived in Elmtown and participated in school, community and family life while carrying out interviews with adolescents, parents and teachers. The activities and behaviour of North American teenagers have been studied and restudied by numerous social scientists following Hollingshead. Sophisticated quantitative methods have been employed to poll the attitudes and aspirations of an adolescent population. As a result, we now have seemingly endless tables recording the percentage of teenagers who approve of necking on a first date or cheating on a school examination. However, few studies since have achieved the intimacy of detail and the level of personal understanding of the adolescent experience which Hollingshead achieves in Elmtown's Youth. Twenty years later in a synthetic study and review of the literature on the American adolescent, Gottlieb and Ramsey (1964) also acknowledged that although there had been sophistication of method in youth research there had essentially been no new theoretical contribution.

Parsons, writing in 1942, coined the term "youth culture" and, because he was emphasizing age grading and an emerging generation gap in

American society, saw the youth culture as opposed to the "adult culture." He described the youth culture as emphasizing consumption, hedonistic leisure and irresponsibility--the inverse of the "adult" values of productive work, conformity to routine and responsibility (Parsons 1942:91-3).

In The Adolescent Society (1961), Coleman takes the view that the high school isolates adolescents from the larger society and provides an environment where they can associate solely with their peers and generate the youth-specific activities, behaviour and attitudes of the youth culture as described by Parsons. Coleman (1961:3) maintained that because, at the high school, adolescents are isolated in a world of their own, adults remain uninformed about the way teenagers spend their time. He took upon the task of describing the activities and values of American adolescents in high school. In 1957, Coleman administered a series of highly-detailed multiple choice questionnaires to the entire student population--approximately 9000 students--in 10 high schools. The Adolescent Society contains the most detailed statistical description to date of the values, behaviour and activities of American high school students.

Coleman avoids the implications of the class factor in teen-age school experience which Hollingshead had identified and instead concentrates on viewing the high school as an example of pluralism at work in American society (Murdock and McCron 1976:14). He argues that it is degree of involvement in the youth culture which affects student achievement, and describes different "value climates" which he sees operating in the 10 different high schools which he places on a rural-

urban continuum. The different "value climates" establish different sets of values and codes of behaviour for students. In one school, athletic prowess is crucial for boys and "popularity" for girls; in another school a different set of values defines status. Coleman (1961:220-9) goes on to argue that it is exclusion from full participation and status in the "adolescent social system" which leads to the youth behaviour as stereotyped by Parsons. Coleman is especially interested in studying the pursuit of vicarious pleasures through the media, for example, escapist reading or excessive television viewing. He finds that adolescents who experience greater rejection from the "adolescent social system" as it operates in the high school are more dependent on finding gratification through the mass media (Coleman 1961: 236:243). Coleman's thesis is based on the premise that adolescence is a time of "storm and stress," that adolescents need the support of their peers and that, when they cannot obtain this support, they seek substitutes. Even the evidence as Coleman presents it indicates that the factor of social class affects adolescent media consumption patterns and attitudes toward school but Coleman declined to confront this dimension of the youth culture and focussed attention instead on the role of the high school.

In The American Adolescent, a review of the youth literature, Gottlieb and Ramsey (1964) lament the emphasis sociologists place upon the high school as a generating milieu for youth culture values and activities. They are also concerned that the more irresponsible and deviant activities of youth continue to be emphasized. They suggest that, within industrial society, youth find themselves in a position where frivolousness and "social delinquency" (Casparis and Vaz 1979:97)

are accepted and condoned forms of youth behaviour. The structure of modern society offers few opportunities for youth participation in other spheres. Youth involvement is limited to the purely social and athletic programs provided by schools and communities. Gottlieb and Ramsey (1964:42) argue:

> The major problem does not seem to be a lack of zeal or motivation on the part of the young but rather a shortage of worthwhile and meaningful activities in which they can become a part . . . Sufficient evidence is certainly on hand to verify the proposition that given an opportunity to play the role of citizen of the community and nation, many young people will turn their creative efforts to significant pursuits.

They go on to place contemporary youth values and behaviour within the context of industrialization, pointing out that under circumstances of rapid change, the tension between adults and youth is especially great because traditional sources of status are questioned. The prestige and power which elders achieved by virtue of their age are challenged as the education and training which the young are acquiring become the keys to social mobility and status (Gottlieb and Ramsey 1964:20).

Finally, Gottlieb and Ramsey recognize that although modern industrial youth share many circumstances, the adolescent experience is not uniform. Factors of sex, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, residence and education all play a part in establishing the norms and behaviour of young people. The result is that there is more than one subculture or lifestyle in operation.

The term 'teenager' came into use in the early 1950s and was intimately bound up not only with images of delinquency and irresponsibility but also with the idea of the consumer society (Murdock and McCron 1976:15). In the affluent 50s, teenagers were identified as a growing market with enormous profit potential. Youth became big

business and a sizeable section of the entertainment industry began to cater almost exclusively to teenage tastes. The emergence of a youth market has been used to support the view that adolescents are becoming increasingly segregated from the adult world and that a homogeneous culture of youth has emerged. The mass media are identified as major contributing factors to the "homogenization of youth across regional and class barriers" (Murdock and McCron 1976:15). Studies of adolescent pop music tastes have tested this assumption (Brown and O'Leary 1971; Hirsch 1971; Murdock and McCron 1973; Robinson and Hirsch 1972; Tanner 1981; Willis 1978).

Murdock and McCron (1973) collected a national sample of British secondary school students and found that there are marked class differences in adolescent responses to pop music. The main social division within the sample was between the academically successful pupils and those who wanted to leave school as soon as possible. The latter group was predominantly working class. Murdock and McCron found that the "early leavers" and working class youth preferred reggae, soul and hard rock--music which was good for dancing and "being with the crowd." The middle class and academically-oriented preferred progressive rock and considered themselves "people who listen deeply to records and think about them." They considered those who liked hard rock to be "stupid skins" and "CSE cretins." The self-identified "skins" considered those who liked progressive rock to be effeminate and referred to them as "freaks" and "scoobies" (Murdock and McCron 1973:691). Tastes in pop music not only symbolized subcultural and class differences, but confirmed and solidified these differences among adolescents. Thus there are divisions within the youth culture

which the authors consider are rooted in the different social class positions of the adolescents (Murdock and McCron 1973:691). The progressive rock fans value intellectual ability and individualism, middle class values which are consistent with those propounded within the school system. The working class students who have not integrated these values experience boredom and failure within the school system. They respond by generating an alternative value system based on the values of group solidarity, physical competence, toughness and action all of which are expressed in their preferred choice of music.

Willis (1978) in Profane Culture, a study of British motor-bike boys and hippies, elaborates upon this theme. The motor-bike boys prefer the 50s rock'n'roll music of Elvis Presley and Buddy Holly because it exudes "movement, noise and confidence" as well as masculinity (Willis 1978:36). They hang out in coffee bars and endlessly play and replay 45 rpm singles on the jukebox. Their choice of music is good for dancing, and dancing provides opportunities to display confidence and movement. Movement is the antidote to boredom and good dance music and fast motorbikes meet this need to alleviate boredom (Willis 1978:68). The hippies, on the other hand, prefer progressive rock in the LP record medium and enjoy sitting quietly for long periods in private places listening to the music. They value technical excellence in music production and the intellectual articulation of themes of social protest, spirituality and drug use.

In the United States, Robinson and Hirsch (1972) related pop music preferences to race and social class. They found that white middle class high school students prefer social protest songs, white lower class students favoured the mainstream Top 40 hits and black

adolescents preferred rhythm and blues.

In a Canadian study Tanner (1981) considers the relationship between pop music and adolescent peer groupings in an Edmonton high school. He found that delinquents and working class school rejectors preferred heavy rock music and he argues that heavy rock provides a symbolic rejection of the prevailing values and assumptions of the schooling process and an affirmation of a subcultural solution rooted in action, physicality and collective solidarity. The largest majority of students, however, preferred the mainstream of the Top 40. Tanner says that this majority also endorses the assumptions and values of the school structure and is "not, therefore, in need of oppositional symbols and imagery" (1981:11). A third group is the largest minority which is neither rebellious nor conformist and consists of the middle class progressive rock fans.

Obviously, pop music preferences are not simply and directly class-based, but involve a complex interplay of age, sex, social class, commitment to school and delinquency factors. Nonetheless, what these studies do demonstrate is that, far from "homogenizing" youth, the pop media is clearly used by youth to symbolize, express and affirm their differences. British sociologists Murdock and McCron (1976:17) use this evidence in their convincing argument that the teenage consumer and leisure-oriented culture rather than replacing class-based cultures is further complicating the interaction between youth and class.

Within British sociology, the study of youth has focussed upon working class boys and the class framework is well-developed in the British sociology of youth. The origins of different subcultures are traced to the different class backgrounds of the members. Thus, Willis

discusses the motor-bike boys as a working class phenomenon and hippies as a middle class phenomenon. As Murdock and McCron point out, the mediation of class in youth experience is complex and problems, for example presented by the coexistence of mods, skins and motor-bike boys among working class youth, remain to be explained. They also point to the crucial gaps in the literature in the study of both girls and minority ethnic youth and acknowledge that the problem "is not only to discover how the class system is experienced and negotiated by adolescents but also to determine what difference it makes if they are also female and black" (Murdock and McCron 1976:26).

Discussions of class and youth have traditionally been relegated to the fields of delinquency and educational research. In Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang, Cohen (1955) describes the education system as operating primarily to reproduce the prevailing class structure and asserts that schools provide one of the major means by which class inequalities are mediated into the everyday experiences of adolescents. The majority of working class adolescents are thus disadvantaged within the school system and experience education predominantly in terms of cumulative failure and loss of self-esteem. They dissociate themselves from the school's activities and values and orient their lives around their leisure activities. And, Cohen argues, they create their own leisure-based subculture through the inversion of the school's core values. Thus, hedonistic leisure, immediate excitement and defiance of authority replace hard work, conformity to routine and subordination to adult authority. This view of the class origin of youth culture values is useful, but not entirely adequate. It does not explain the increasing pursuit of youth culture

goals and activities by non-working class youth, nor does it explain the occurrence of delinquent behaviour in other classes.

Sugarman (1967), in a study of the relationship between degree of involvement in the youth culture and level of academic achievement of London school boys, considers that these teenagers are caught between two opposed cultures: the culture of the school representing the "official middle-class, adult culture," and the youth culture, sponsored by the teenage leisure and entertainment industry and centred on pop music and fashion clothes. Sugarman finds that among these teenagers a high level of commitment to the teenage role is associated with unfavourable attitudes toward school. He suggests that the key conflict revolves around the values of deferred gratification and future orientation. In Sugarman's model, the pupils who fail to meet the school's expectations and demands, who are overwhelmingly working class, respond by rejecting the school culture and orient themselves instead around the youth culture. The youth culture in this view is primarily the culture "of the non-mobile working class, the downwardly mobile, and those who cherish hopes of mobility along channels where the criteria of school do not apply" (Sugarman 1967:160). Thus it is no accident that the heroes of the youth culture--pop singers, song-writers, clothes designers and others--have often achieved their positions without long years of study, work and sacrifice. Sugarman (1967:160) sees the youth culture as "the new opium of the [teenage] masses. What they want to forget is not any material hardship but the futility and failure of school days, the frustration of being sub-adult with one's life restricted by unsympathetic and square teachers, and the dullness of adult life ahead."

Downes (1966) The Delinquent Solution: A Study in Subcultural Theory extends the class analysis not only to the spheres of education and work but also to leisure opportunities. Working class adolescents face monotonous and alienating labour both at work and at school and concentrate instead on living in their non-work time. Leisure, therefore, becomes the means by which they attempt to retrieve some sense of enjoyment, excitement and autonomy. This is the lifestyle which is well-portrayed in the movie "Saturday Night Fever" in which the hero is bored and dissatisfied with his job in a paint store and seeks to display his competence and achieve status and feelings of self-worth on the disco dance floor during his leisure hours. The working class adolescent may discover, however, that he is doubly disadvantaged and that class differences also exist in leisure opportunities and patterns of consumer behaviour. Downes (1966:134) argues that this adolescent then reacts by pushing the legitimate values of the youth culture to their logical conclusion. This is the delinquent solution. The class perspective does not, however, illuminate the meaning of the existence of the "Saturday Night Fever" syndrome among non-working class youth. The search for alternative status systems and the pursuit of immediate gratification and rewards characterize youth subcultures of all classes and suggest that the experience of the majority of young people within industrial society is monotony, boredom and alienation.

In "The 'Straight' World of Middle-Class High School Kids," Vaz (1971) considers that the lack of opportunities for adolescent involvement and commitment in the larger society is a major factor in the emergency of youth cultures. Using questionnaires he conducted

a survey of male students in five predominantly middle-class Canadian high schools. He (1971:174) describes the "straight" pursuits, that is, "relatively normal, correct conduct, interests and activities," of these adolescents as revolving around cars, high school athletics and relationships with girls. Orientation to the peer group is strong and these activities are central to status achievement among peers. Vaz suggests that the boys orient themselves to this status system because there are few other rewards available to them as adolescents within contemporary Canadian society.

Vaz places the youth culture within the context of social and economic change which in Canada has fostered a culture of leisure and an affluent, highly industrialized society. According to Vaz (1971: 175): "An unforeseen result has been the growth of a prestigious youth culture and the highly glamourized, socially celebrated role of teenager." Collective norms for middle-class adolescents are now virtually institutionalized in the youth culture. Vaz (1971:174) writes:

> With the growth of the middle-class youth culture teenagers have been accorded a prominence hitherto unknown. They have been flattered, cajoled, glamourized, and their easy indulgence in whatever behavioral fad or sartorial fashion emerges tends to consolidate their collective self-image and to increase their popularity . . . The status, rights and obligations of the role of adolescent have become increasingly legitimized, morally accepted. Today it pays to be a teenager, and adolescents know it (1971:174).

Casparis and Vaz (1979) in Swiss Family, Society and Youth Culture conducted a survey of 1000 adolescent boys and girls at the technical trades school in Zurich and their results offer a comparative perspective on the North American youth culture. Unlike North American teenagers, Swiss youth are not segregated from the adult world by the institution of the high school. They attend school only part-time and otherwise work side-by-side as apprentices with adults in crafts occupations. They have their own resources and commitments within the socioeconomic structure of Swiss society. Yet, the researchers found that the kinds of behaviour, attitudes, values and interests of these teenagers closely resemble those of Canadian and American teenagers. "The consumer leisure items of youth"--radio, stereo, camera, sports equipment--are important objects for Swiss teenagers to acquire. Most socializing takes place with peers and informally on the street or in bars or restaurants and sports, popular music, reading and dancing are popular hobbies (Casparis and Vaz 1979: 27). Drinking, gambling, late hours, petty theft and varying forms of sexual behaviour are also important activities in the Swiss youth culture.

Casparis and Vaz (1979:1) consider that the youth culture is now a systemic property of urban-industrial society. They describe the process by which youth groups come into prominence:

> In the transformation of society into an urban-industrial complex structural change has wrenched many of the established relationships to basic institutions, and weakened ties to adult authority. Structural change in the family has highlighted the role of adolescents in the decision-making process. Youths more often look to themselves for direction and orientation. They share common attitudes and values, participate actively in common events, and,

> more often than not, are oriented towards similar interests . . . Peer group standards are the crucial criteria by which a young person gauges his conduct, forms his opinions and develops his self-conception (Casparis and Vaz 1979:76-8).

Casparis and Vaz attribute the development of youth-exclusive activities and values not to the insularity of the teenage environment of the high school or the frustrations of being held back from the work force. Rather, they see the emergence of a youth culture as a consequence of social and economic change and an expression of the social position of adolescents within competitive, affluent industrial society. Both in Switzerland and in North America,

> . . . youths are being "apprenticed" to a system that is geared to performance, discipline, profit and competition, and demands compliance . . . the vast majority of young people share a relatively common fate; they will take their place in a production system whose means they do not own and over whose direction they are likely to exercise little control (Casparis and Vaz 1979:44).

In summary, the emergence of youth cultures is a phenomenon of industrialization. The youth culture represents an adaptive response by adolescents to their social status in industrial and complex society. The youth culture, although varying locally, universally prescribes values, behaviour and certain types of activities which oppose those endorsed by adults and by such social institutions as the high school. And, finally, degree of involvement of individual teenagers in a youth culture is related to a variety of factors which include the nature of their relationships with school and work as well as family background, age, sex, ethnicity and geographic location.

The development of a youth culture among contemporary Inuit adolescents has not previously been documented but is an important

development in Arctic settlements. How is the youth culture manifested among Inuit youth? What are the particular circumstances which led to the development of an Inuit youth culture? And, what is the meaning of the participation of Inuit teenagers in a youth culture?

The Inuit Youth Culture

The values, behaviour and activities of modern Inuit youth resemble those which characterize other groups of North American teenagers.[1] Four main elements of the Inuit youth culture will be discussed here: 1) active consumption of the paraphernalia of popular culture; 2) the importance of friends and peer group solidarity; 3) the prominence of activities which allow movement; and 4) the search for excitement and pursuit of the altered state of being "high."

Inuit teenagers are enthusiastic consumers of popular culture items such as fashion clothing, junk food, popular music and the mass media in the form of magazines, television and movies. Like other North American adolescents, Inuit teenagers enjoy fashion clothing and clothing which projects an image. The Bay store and Sears catalogue offer them a selection. For boys, variation in personal style ranges from the "jock" or "macho man" (as he is locally known) to the "hippie." The former is active in sports, concentrates on body-building and displays himself in tight T-shirts, Adidas footwear and corduroy pants on the street or athletic sweat-pants worn around the hostel. The "hippie" is a local expert on rock and roll music and soft drugs, has long hair and wears headbands, dark glasses, black T-shirts and leather jackets and blue jeans. The girls are also competitive in sports and, accordingly, often wear T-shirts and sweatshirts or "kangaroo" shirts

[1] Specifically, much of Inuit adolescent behaviour compares with that British and North American sociologists describe for working class youth.

with blue jeans and Adidas running shoes. They enjoy wearing coloured nail polish, perfume and make-up and popular hairstyles. Tight blue jeans, T-shirts and high leather boots comprise one feminine image some Inuit girls emulate. For both sexes, blue jeans, plaid western-style shirts, baseball hats and dark glasses are popular; jackets bearing crests, and "colours" identifying one's settlement, hostel or school are worn with pride as are T-shirts displaying pop slogans and decals.

Active participation in the youth culture is expensive and the teenagers obtain money from their parents and from babysitting, wage employment and gambling. In addition to clothing, the teenager's money goes toward the daily purchase of junk food and cigarettes. These habits can be costly to maintain when, in one settlement, cigarettes are sold for $1.60 per king-size package, chocolate bars $0.75 each and soft drinks $1.10 per 12 oz can. Yet many young Inuit have been cigarette-smoking since age 9 or 10 and are now accustomed to smoking as much as 2 packages each day and all Inuit children and teenagers consume large amounts of high carbohydrate, quick-energy junk foods. The purchase of tapedecks, stereos, Instamatic cameras as well as larger items such as skidoos and motorbikes also absorbs a major portion of the teenager's financial resources. Tapedecks and stereos are especially popular.

Inuit teenagers are avid followers of popular music. At the hostels, a majority of students own a tapedeck or stereo and during free time they continually play music. The teenagers are accustomed to a background of constant music and complain of boredom when there is no music playing. By far the majority favour the Top 40 record hits of such musicians as Leo Sayers, Blondie, Queen, The B-52's, The Who, Rod

Stewart or the Bee Gees and they enjoy disco music at dances. A large number of older (17 to 19 year old) boys prefer the heavy metal of AC/DC and Van Halen as well as REO Speedwagon and April Wine and a minority of boys and girls listen to country and western which, they say, is the music their parents also enjoy. They purchase tapes and records from the Bay store or by mail-order through membership in record clubs in the South. They tape music from the community radio station or from the CBC Saturday morning show "60 Minutes with a Bullet" which is also an important way for them to keep up-to-date on recent record releases. In almost every settlement there is at least one rock band of teenage boys which plays at the weekend teen dances and the boys spend many hours each week practising together.

Popular music is important to teenagers for a variety of reasons. It offers an arena within society in which the teenager can be an expert. Inuit teenagers may devote great amounts of their time to learning about the history of music, the individual styles and stage gimmicks of particular musicians and the language and technology of record music production and listening. Rock and roll offers an alternative value system which meets the needs of many adolescents. Rock music artist, Bruce Springsteen (1981:58) expresses the sentiments of his teenage fans:

> Rock was the first thing that gave me self-respect and strength. When I started to play it was like a gift. I started to feel alive.

Playing loud rock music defines and protects the adolescent environment. Music blasting from the teenager's room in the family home or at the hostel or the drop-in centre or the coffee shop proclaims: "This is our place. We set the rules here." Rock and roll

allies teenagers with other teenagers affirming their identity which exists outside adult authoritarian structures. For Inuit teenagers, acceptance of rock music allies them with other North American urban and modern teenagers as well.

Among other forms of media consumption, movies are especially popular with Inuit teenagers. In most settlements, movies are shown at least one or two nights each week and the teenagers go regardless of what movie is showing. The teenagers also enjoy getting together at a friend's house to watch westerns, detective adventures and horror movies on the videotapeplayer often watching the same movie four or five times. Watching television is not an activity the teenagers enjoy. Rather, they say they only watch it when they are bored or have nothing to do. Both sexes, however, watch "Hockey Night in Canada" and other sports broadcasts and girls faithfully follow "The Edge of Night" and "Dallas." Reading by most Inuit teenagers is confined to the comic books and sports, teen, fashion and "True Romance"--type of magazines the Bay store sells. The teenagers say they find the magazines interesting and they learn new things from reading them. A few teenagers enjoy fiction in the form of western and adventure stories and the adult paperbacks also sold at the Bay.

Although comparisons are difficult, it appears that Inuit teenagers are excessive media consumers. The vicarious pleasures of the media offer them excitement and a psychological escape from the boredom and restrictions of the world in which they find themselves. Thus, watching television serves as an escape from boredom, viewing adventure and horror movies generates excitement, and listening to loud rock music insulates them from their immediate environment.

A second element in the Inuit youth culture is the high value the teenagers place upon "being with friends" and "meeting new friends." Among Inuit teenagers the need to have a large number of friends and to "be" with friends seems almost urgent. This urgency is especially pronounced among hostel students who are away from the emotional support systems of family and community. Exchanging items of clothing and other belongings is one way that the teenagers seek to establish bonds with friends. Girls wear jackets and baseball hats belonging to male friends and boys may wear bracelets and head scarves belonging to girls. Exchanges take place between members of the same sex as well. For hostel students, friends are important because they increase one's opportunities. Friends offer access to drugs and alcohol, opportunities to meet boys (and girls), places to stay overnight and opportunities for parties.

The activities Inuit teenagers most enjoy--and those which figure prominently in the youth culture--are those which they share with a group of friends: dancing, competitive sports, parties, gambling, shopping, hanging out at the coffee shop or drop-in centre or going picnicking, fishing, camping, boating or skidooing. Group activities are "more fun." They provide ways to make friends--as one boy explained, "you might get a girlfriend." And they establish arenas where adolescent standards of competence and status are recognized.

Dancing is one of the most popular group activities of Inuit teenagers. Teenage dances, which tend to exclude and alienate adults, provide occasions for adolescents to display their physical competence, sexuality and peer group solidarity. Team sports such as basketball, volleyball, baseball and floor hockey are also important activities.

Again, sports provide the opportunity for display of adolescent achievement, individual skill and the physical competence of youth not only to adults but also to one's peers. Those who excel in sports are awarded status and prestige within the peer group. High status within the group allows a teenager greater access to such desired commodities as girlfriends, drugs and alcohol and invitations to parties.

"Being with friends" at the coffee shop or other teenage hang-outs is perhaps the most important activity of Inuit teenagers. Here, by monopolizing booths or tables and selecting the music on the juke-box, they create a social arena which they control. Here they share experiences which generate peer group solidarity and reinforce in-group norms and they talk, joke and carry on in a manner which excludes those who are not members of the group.

Belonging to a group allows the teenagers greater control and the chance to create their own sphere of activities away from adults and non-Inuit structures. The prominence of the teenage peer group helps to validate the values and activities of the youth culture. Belonging to a group of people who share a similar predicament also helps to alleviate personal stress. Membership in a group provides a source of security and escape from the loneliness and isolation which many adolescents feel.

In order to be a member in good standing within a group a teenager may set aside personal preferences in order to pursue group goals:

> You want to be respected by your peers and be liked so you work hard at being a member of a group even if it's boring and you're thinking of other things. Even though the teenagers only talk about rock music or movies and it's boring, it's better than being alone (17-year old male).

> I wanted to do bad things 'cause all my friends have done it before and I was the only one who had never done those things. They say you're still a baby 'cause you go home early and I didn't like that so I started joining them when they were making trouble. I felt alone when they were talking about the past. I felt really alone. So I started doing bad things like maybe breaking into a house and messing up the whole house. And drinking--just to see what it was like (18-year old female).

The teenagers recognize that group solidarity and expression of adolescent concerns may be an effective means of communication with adults. One 18-year old boy explains:

> The Teenagers stick together so that people will notice them . . . Last summer I tried to get the boys together to cause a lot of trouble smashing windows and things so that the big shots would sit up and take notice and do something for the teenagers.

In his view, the problems of the teenagers--and the reason they are bored and get into trouble--lie in there being nothing for them to do. This boy was lobbying for the building of a gymnasium in his settlement but he was not successful in either organizing the teenagers or interesting the "big shots."

The emphasis on group solidarity and group expression represents a response by Inuit teenagers to the problems of marginality, dependence and boredom which they experience as a group within Canadian society. A useful interpretation of teenage group behaviour is offered by Corrigan (1979:125) in his study of the street activities of British working-class boys. According to Corrigan, the emphasis on group activities represents recognition that the solution to the problem of their socioeconomic status--which they experience as a group--requires collective action.

Many activities of the Inuit youth culture--dancing, sports, skidooing, motorbike-riding--are valued by the teenagers simply because

they provide occasions for movement. The teenagers are often restless and concentrate on sedentary activities such as reading and sewing for short periods only. The priority given physical activities is a third important element in the Inuit youth culture. Movement is an antidote to boredom and physical activities provide relief from boredom as well as stimulating feelings of excitement.

The search for immediate excitement and the pursuit of altered states of consciousness represent a fourth and final component of the Inuit youth culture. Inuit teenagers enjoy activities which bring a "high" and a majority of the activities endorsed by the youth culture have this objective. Dancing, movies, sports, sex, rock and roll, fast skidooing all generate excited states. Drugs and alcohol stimulate and prolong the state of being "high." Smoking marijuana, one girl explained,

> . . . makes us feel high and you laugh a lot . , . we don't laugh that much here. We do that to have fun, to do something.

Being "high" is "something to do," is fun, and alleviates boredom. Many Inuit teenagers are rejecting alcohol because of the problems which they see within families in the settlements and which they attribute to alcohol. Since the mid-1960's, soft drugs have become significant alternatives to drinking for the younger generation. Increasing numbers of teenagers and young adults maintain a regular supply of marijuana or hashish for personal use. Drugs also play an important symbolic role for young Inuit. Not only does drug use represent a rejection of their parents' alcohol dependence but it also represents emulation of non-Inuit peers and becoming modern.

The interests and activities of Inuit teenagers are not unlike those of teenagers elsewhere in North America. Some understanding of the meaning of Inuit participation in the youth culture of modern, industrial society is reached through consideration of the particular adolescent predicament of young Inuit. The problems of adolescence are intensified by a set of unique and specific Arctic circumstances.

Young Inuit are growing up as members of a dependent population in isolated communities which generally have no local economic base, which were created by the federal government and which depend upon external government and industrial initiative for the development of economic opportunities. They are members of families whose bread-winners generally hold labour or casual jobs, whose parents are not educated or professional members of Canadian society. Instead, their parents were raised as hunters and have undergone a rapid adjustment to settled town life.

Adaptation to settlement living has been difficult for many of today's parent generation. Health care and government assistance has allowed the survival of greater numbers of children and increased family size. Settled living in nuclear family, government-maintained houses has disrupted the process of Inuit child socialization which traditionally depended upon the presence in the household unit of extended family members who would share the responsibility. Dependence upon the wage economy has changed traditional economic relationships among family members. The introduction of new types of employment requiring new skills challenged the authority and status of elders within the community and disturbed the relationship between old and young. Teenagers now often have more skills and greater access to jobs than

their parents.

Many Inuit parents are dissatisfied with their own adaptation to settlement life and are uncertain how to prepare their children for what they might consider to be a better life. They tend to look to the schools and to other non-Inuit agents--nurses, RCMP officers, missionaries--for assistance in child-rearing. A majority of Inuit parents would like to see their children obtain the education they themselves do not have. At the same time, they have seen that the more their children go away for training or schooling the less familiar they are with their own Inuit cultural tradition. The present parent generation is, as a result of these dilemmas, ambivalent in the raising of their children. Some parents have abdicated entirely their responsibility for child socialization.

Many teenagers perceive their parents' uncertainty and helplessness and the effect is that there has been some reversal of roles within the modern Inuit family with teenagers playing a central role. Parents and grandparents tend to look to their teenage children for guidance in navigating in modern society while younger children look for role models to their teenage brothers and sisters rather than to their elders. The teenagers themselves increasingly look to their peers for support and direction.

Stress within the family is acknowledged by both parents and teenagers to be one of the greatest disadvantages which have accompanied modernization and industrialization (Brody 1975). This stress is intensified by excessive use of alcohol by the parent generation and aggravated by the cultural discontinuity and linguistic barrier which presently exists between generations. Young Inuit speak

more English and are unable to communicate effectively in Inuktitut with their parents who are unilingual in Inuktitut. And, teenagers pursue activities and interests which are alien to their parents.

Despite the dissatisfaction many Inuit teenagers experience in their family relationships, modern Inuit place a high value on the idea of family, on the sense of community and on maintaining a relationship with the land and the Arctic environment. These values act as strong forces in the lives of Inuit youth, forces which bind them to the settlements. Few Inuit teenagers anticipate a life or a career which will take them away from their home settlement and away from the North.

Within the settlements, non-Inuit typically hold the positions of teacher, nurse, store manager and RCMP officer. Although this situation is changing, these positions are still generally perceived by the Inuit to be non-Inuit types of jobs. Thus, not only is there a small number of actual jobs in the settlements, but within each settlement a certain number of jobs are considered locally to be non-Inuit. The jobs available to Inuit in the settlements generally require few skills and provide little incentive for young Inuit to pursue more specialized training or professional careers. Growing up in this environment, Inuit teenagers tend to have a narrow view of their vocational options. For a variety of reasons, Inuit teenagers pursue vocational programs in high school. Thus their high school education also limits them to acceptance of the employment and life-style opportunities of the settlement.

The factor of their ethnic affiliation also has important consequences for the Inuit adolescent. Although class and ethnicity

theoretically refer to different domains of life experience, in practice they tend to operate together. Within modern nation states, "majorities tend to perceive minority groups as, by definition, situated 'down'" (Paine 1980:5). The Inuit like other minority groups tend to operate socioeconomically within the "lower" class echelons of society (Paine 1980:5). Thus, for modern Inuit youth, their ethnic minority status tends to define their socioeconomic status within Canadian society and to negatively affect their experience with the education system, their economic opportunities and their other relationships with the majority group.

Interrelated factors of economic dependence, geographic marginality, rapid socioeconomic change as well as history, culture and ethnicity have created a particular adolescent experience. That experience is characterized by stressful and ambivalent relationships with family, community, work and school. The Inuit youth culture offers at least temporary resolution of these conflicts. The youth culture defines immediate and realizable goals for adolescents--winning the floor hockey game, finding a girl friend, "scoring" some marijuana for week-end partying or buying the latest "Foreigner" album. The youth culture provides young Inuit with a defined role to play in modern society--the role of teenager. And, by prescribing models for behaviour and a set of activities, the youth culture alleviates the feelings of insecurity and dependence, adolescent feelings which, for Inuit youth, are intensified by the rapid change occurring within Inuit social institutions, by the conflicting social mores and role models presented to them by industrial society and by their limited access to roles and status in that society.

The Inuit youth culture thus represents an adaptive response to both the general predicament of adolescence and to the special circumstances of rapid social change and contemporary Arctic life. Participation in the youth culture also has, however, important symbolic value for young Inuit. For these young people whose parents were hunters, strong commitment to the values of the youth culture represents entry to modern industrial society. Values associated with being teenagers are, for Inuit youth, intimately associated with the values they identify with being modern.

CHAPTER VI

BEING MODERN

> There's no way I'm gonna stay in S_____ for the rest of my life and be unhappy like all the people I know. It's too small. Too boring. And there are no jobs.
>
> I guess my Dad has trouble understanding me because all my brothers are living at home. But me, I want to travel, man! I want to be somebody, man!
>
> I don't know what I want to be. My parents think I've got too much education now. They don't really want me to go to school anymore but I want to keep on going. I want to graduate.
>
> But it's up to me now. Like, I'm on my own. (17-year old male).

One aspiration seems to be shared by young Inuit and this is their desire to be modern. In his academic and vocational aspirations, anticipation of geographic mobility and possible severing of family ties, the path chosen by this young man represents that chosen by a minority of Inuit youth. A majority of his peers are choosing a different avenue of entry to the modern world, one which allows them to remain in the settlement and one which does not require that they compete in non-Inuit employment and educational systems. The youth culture is a key tool in developing this alternate route.

The case studies presented in preceding chapters suggest that a majority of young Inuit hold vocational aspirations consistent with the role models and employment opportunities available to them in the settlements. That is, a majority of boys aspire to be skidoo mechanics, heavy-duty equipment operators, or to work in other trades. Girls hope to be mothers and wives before they leave their teenage years and, perhaps, to be clerks in the Bay store or settlement office. They plan

to live in the Arctic settlements and to live near their families, "Our tradition or culture is having to be near parents," one girl explained. In terms of academic aspirations, they plan to go as far as they can in high school in order "to get a good job." For a majority, the measure of a good job is the high wage paid and, for Inuit in Arctic settlements, high wages are paid for trade jobs. 90 percent of Inuit students leave school before completing a secondary education and, at the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre, for example, of those who remain in high school, 76.5 percent are in vocational programs.

These aspirations and expectations of young Inuit are not those of the socially mobile in Canadian society. By thus limiting their aspirations, Inuit youth are restricting their future opportunities. Their vocational and lifestyle aspirations do not, however, necessarily reflect their ideal choices or desires. Many of the teenagers have thought of becoming pilots or psychiatrists or teachers but they do not pursue these goals because they do not believe they will be successful.

Although the majority consider that by comparison with life in larger urban centres and other parts of the country, settlement life is ultimately dull and confining, they profess allegiance to the settlement way of life and to the options offered them there. The settlement represents the known, the familiar and the secure. The goals they establish for themselves are, in a majority of cases goals which they feel they can realistically hope to achieve in the settlements. They do not see the future in terms of advancement or change. Their insecurity, inexperience with competition and their legitimate fear of failure bind them to the settlements. For them, there is no real choice.

Limiting their aspirations and expectations is an adaptive response to their socioeconomic position in modern industrial society. Accepting the settlement way of life is a means of coping with socio-economic circumstances which will allow few an opportunity to use newly-acquired skills or higher levels of education, life circumstances, which make it farcical to hold higher aspirations.

Today's Inuit youth need not, however, move South, achieve in school or compete in the wage economy in order to achieve their aspirations of being modern. For young Inuit, the greatest single indicator of modern status is a high material standard of living and Inuit teenagers have high material expectations. The values of the youth culture have played a dominant role in developing these material aspirations and in nurturing this conception of being modern.

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the youth culture successfully meets adolescent needs for behaviour role models, a sense of identity and an alternative system for status achievement. Although intensified in Arctic settlements, these are needs which Inuit teenagers share with other Canadian teenagers. The youth culture provides Inuit youth with a set of defined teenage activities and immediately realizable goals. Being a teenager is fun and the youth culture provides escape from boredom and failure in school, from unemployment in the settlement or from the unhappiness and responsibility of family problems. In the case of young Inuit, however, the significance of their participation in the teenage activities of the youth culture goes beyond simply meeting these adolescent needs.

Being a teenager, as defined by the youth culture, symbolizes being modern and the youth culture is a powerful, but as yet unrecognized,

socializing agent in the modernization of Canadian Inuit. Young Inuit are being integrated into the modern social and economic structures of the contemporary Arctic not through the high-budget acculturation efforts of government-endorsed education, health, local government or employment programs but through the more unorganized and informal means of the youth culture: teen magazines, rock and roll, soft drugs, movies, shopping at the Bay, and others. Through these avenues Inuit youth are developing their ideas about being modern.

The primary orientation of young Inuit to modern society is as consumers. Their desire to achieve and maintain a high material standard of living will be the main incentive for their participation in the wage economy and in the industrial development of the Canadian North. Material rewards offered by the consumer pop culture serve both as a stimulus to participate in development and as a pacifier to accept their present inferior social status.

The youth culture is a culture of leisure and fun. Its values and activities emphasize consumption, immediate gratification, the pursuit of pleasure, and the rejection of existing social and authoritarian structures. These are not values conducive to success in school or career, to social mobility or to greater political or economic control. They are, rather, the values and pursuits of the non-mobile groups in industrial society. In becoming modern teenagers, Inuit youth are developing values and consumer behaviour patterns which will inhibit their social mobility and ensure that their integration in modern society as adults and future parents will be as members of the lower echelons and that conditions of inequality and dependence will continue to define the socioeconomic status of Inuit in Canadian society.

Like other teenagers, Inuit adolescents are driven to pursue youth culture goals and activities partly because they are bored and because they cannot, by themselves, identify ways to alleviate their boredom. They are bored because their parents have not offered them a consistent system of values or the means with which to establish and achieve personal goals. They are bored because they attend schools which are rooted in non-Inuit values and in which they will more often experience failure and humiliation than reward and recognition. They are bored because they know that there will not be enough jobs in the settlements for their generation and because they perceive that the available jobs will require few skills. And they are bored because, like other teenagers, industrial society expects little of them and in doing so allows them few opportunities to commit their talents, energy or interests. And finally, as Inuit, they are bored because they have no real choice. The boredom of Inuit teenagers is directly related to urbanization and modernization and to the nature of the relationship of Inuit to the larger society. That there is no real choice for Inuit youth is a reflection of their peripheral, dependent and inferior status in Canadian society.

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APPENDIX

CASE STUDIES OF HOSTEL STUDENTS

Case 1 Elisapee

I first met Elisapee as we were both walking from Ukkivik into town about 10 p.m. one Friday night. She was with two young male friends and I was alone. We started walking together, Elisapee, in the middle of the two boys, giggling. She is attractive and vivacious, wears wire-rimmed glasses and has long hair, a captivating smile and a contagious laugh. She was curious about who I was and when I told her and explained what I was doing, she said: "I'll tell you about being a teenager! It's great!" We agreed to an interview time the next day. She and the boys headed off to the Kativik and I went to my boarding house. I met her again the next afternoon.

Elisapee is 16 and the third of 7 children. She is the first in her family to go to high school. Her older brother, age 23, is married and has a daughter. Her sister, 20, is unmarried and just had a baby. Both live in the settlement.

She grew up in a small Baffin Island settlement where her father is a mechanic. Both of her parents were born in camps and moved into the settlement in the early 1960's. Her father lived in Winnipeg while doing an apprenticeship. There he learned to read and write in English. Her mother did not go to school and does not know English. Elisapee's father has been a mechanic as long as she can remember and he no longer goes hunting. He has been active on the local education committee and went to meetings in Frobisher Bay in the early years of GREC. Both of Elisapee's parents think that a high school education is important but

Elisapee does not enjoy school:

"I don't like school but my parents want me to go. I hate Math. I mean, that's the subject I really hate now. I like Home Ec. and English. I'm in Grade 9 now, but I think I'm moving to Clerical next year. I don't really like being in Grade 9, so that's why I want to move somewhere else. I think I'm gonna move to Clerical-Secretary instead. They do a lot of typing and I like typing."

Elisapee's life centres around being a teenager and a hostel student. This is her first year at the Hostel and she has found a boyfriend who is from another settlement, Sanikiluaq.

"It's great! A lot of young people here. That's what I like. A lot of other young teenagers here, so I have quite a lot of friends and that's what I like about it here.

"I spend most of my spare time at the Hostel with my friends. I hang around the Dance Hall or the Canteen and listen to music in my room or at the Dance Hall. Sometimes I go to the Kativik or to visit friends in town.

"I love disco and rock and roll music. My favourites now are Kiss, Bony M and Mac Davis. I like listening to the words they're saying and when it's good for dancing. I like horror movies. They're exciting. And other movies too. Movies about teenagers. Two weeks ago we saw a movie at the Hostel called 'Little Foxes' and it was about teenagers, about four teenage girls. I liked that movie a lot. I don't like reading. I watch TV now at the Hostel but we don't have TV at home. My favourite programs now are 'Dallas' and 'Happy Days.'

"Usually I have lots of spending money. From my parents and

from my sister. I don't have to phone. They send me money every chance they get, so I always have money. I spend it on things for my family. I buy things for my sisters and maybe buy some junk food or records.

"What would I do with a million dollars? Buy a new jacket, some pants, new glasses and some things for my family.

"Yeah, I like grass, I mean, I like hash. My friends they usually buy some. When I got here it was my first time. I only did it twice since I came here.

"I don't like drinking because my father always used to drink and I don't really like the way he acts when he's drunk.

"I went to Toronto last year on an exchange. I think it's great! It's much more nicer than the North. I think so. Nearly everything. I like trees and in the North there's too much snow and it's too cold. I think that's the reason. I want to travel more. First to Pond Inlet and all around the Northwest Territories. Then maybe Toronto. Just to meet people.

"I don't want to live in the settlement. I don't know where I'll live. Maybe go to other places and see which one I like.

"In the settlement we usually go out for walks and go up the hills to have campfires in the summer and in winter we usually skidoo around the town or on the ice. My family doesn't go camping but usually in summer we go visiting relatives in Igloolik or Hall Beach. My father usually stays home because he has to go to work. We go with my mother.

"I think being a teenager is great! We do all sorts of things.

Visit each other and talk and go out for walks and skidoo-riding and many other things. But sometimes it gets boring. Sometimes there's no place to go. I mean when there's no place to go it's not fun. So when I have nowhere to go, I mean, I really want to get out of the settlement.

"I had a summer job last summer, I mean at the radio station. Announce news and things like that. It wasn't really fun. I mean, we went there from 9 in the morning until 3 or from 3 until 11 so it sometimes got boring. The kind of job I would like is maybe a secretary. Or maybe work at the Bay and be a clerk. I want to be a mother because I like children. Maybe when I'm 19. When I'm old enough to be a mother. I don't want to have children when I'm too young and I think 19 is a good age to be a mother.

"But I don't really think about the future. Things are pretty good now, I like being a teenager."

Case 2 Levi

Levi wears glasses taped across the nosepiece, a Montreal Canadiens shirt, and patched blue jeans and Adidas running shoes. He is always busy and always on the move. He dropped into my apartment at the Hostel one night as I was writing notes; he was curious about who I was. When I explained, he agreed to be interviewed sometime. A few days later I intercepted him on his way to watch 'Happy Days' in the Canteen after school, and we talked until suppertime. He is fluently bilingual in Inuktitut and English and was relaxed and in high spirits for the interview.

Levi is 19 and the fifth of eight children. "I think I was adopted. I'm not too sure." Three older brothers and sisters are married and work and live back home. Levi is not certain how far they went in school or what their jobs are. His closest older brother graduated from Grade 12 at GREC last year and is in Ottawa taking business at Algonquin College. Two younger brothers are at school in the settlement. One younger brother who had been at GREC last year decided not to come back to high school: "He didn't want to come back. He was tired of school and the Hostel. My parents didn't want him to come back. He was better off coming back since it was his last year. He had a job for awhile. Now he stays at home most of the time. Drives skidoo. I wanted to come back and finish my school and probably go back home for awhile and after go to college for Math.

"My parents did not go to school, but they think it is good that I'm going to school. They feel that I should go to school and finish my schooling and come back and help them out. My parents were born in camps and don't speak English but I was born in the settlement. My

Dad works at MOT and my Mum used to work in the Hotel, I don't know if she's working anymore. My Mum usually goes out on nets, eh? Or goes fishing--jigging. My Dad usually stays home. He's been busy at MOT all the time."

Levi comes from one of the larger settlements in the Eastern Arctic and there are a lot of teenagers:

"They usually go play around, play outside. Usually stay home. Some babysit and usually walk. Usually anything they want to do. In wintertime, if they're not in school sometimes they go out hunting with their parents or their father and sometimes they learn how to build igloo, how to set up traps. And in summertime they usually go out hunting by boat or go fishing. Same thing in springtime. They go out fishing. Usually they go with their families or older brothers.

"There's a coffee shop. They hang out in the coffee shop or the Bay. Usually in the nighttime the gym is open. Young kids and teenagers play volleyball, basketball and some nights there's a movie in town and they usually go there. And there are dances on the week-end, Friday and Saturday nights. Adults and young people organize the dances. It's like a committee.

"Some are bored if they have nothing to do or when they dropped out of school and don't know what to do. Usually they're not that bored. Sometimes they've got things to do like help their parents, go shopping or either watch TV or whatever they want. Some do watch TV, mostly sports like hockey or they go out skidoo-riding and all that."

I asked Levi what was his own favourite way of spending his time and what was boring for him. "Probably do mostly hunting or fishing

and get a job or stay home on the weekend or go to the dance on the weekend and watch hockey. Most of the time relax at home.

"What's so boring is when you're not in school or when you don't have anything to do. I can learn and there's things to do in school and when you aren't in school there's not much to do at home. Not unless you have a job. There aren't too many jobs now. Like there's quite a few jobs opening but usually for the educated students or older people take the job."

Levi is in Grade 12. He came to GREC for Grade 10 and failed his first year in Grade 10 in Frobisher Bay. He is now in his fourth year at GREC and living at the Hostel. He is a good student and enjoys school. "Socials, Math, and English, those are the three main subjects and the others are optional. I'm taking Gym and I'm taking Arctic Ecology and the other one is Music. I'm working on the Inukshuk Project for Special Projects, learning how to use the camera, how to use all the equipment.

"I'm going to school so I can get a better job. I was thinking of taking heavy-duty mechanics and heavy-duty operator or become a Math teacher. I'm not too sure. Probably go to college or settle down at home. Get a job."

After four years, Levi has adjusted to hostel life and spends most of his spare time at the Hostel: "It was different from home. Some rules you have to follow like when you're home you can go to sleep anytime; you can eat anytime. But in the Hostel it's different. Like there's a certain time for supper and a certain time for study hour and a certain time you go to bed and clean up. I got used to it. The Hostel is O.K. but the rules are hard to follow this year. It's the

same rules from last year but they're enforcing them more and its hard to follow.

"I mostly hang around the Hostel. Like you go to town for shopping and come back and you can play in the gym or you can do your homework. I usually play in the gym and watch TV.

"I don't really like Frobisher Bay but it's O.K. Just to get away from home for awhile. I've been down South twice on school exchanges. Only to Winnipeg and Trout Lake, Ontario for 2 weeks. Went there for exchange trips. It was good. Staying in native people's homes. Enjoyed it. They came up here first and then we went down. Winnipeg was another school exchange trip. To see how their school is and show them up here. It was great. We went to the farms, the school, the houses. It's a nice place down South. It's nice and hot and I like it.

"After high school I'll probably go to Fort Smith for training, become a mechanic or either get a different job, go for a course and probably take the job or go back to school for more education. After Grade 12 probably might settle down at home. Stick with a job for awhile. Depends how long I like to stay in town. Or go down South for more education. I don't know. Like help out my parents--they're getting old--and support them like. There's still time in the future; you can go back to school whenever you want to.

"Most of the teenagers when they finish school they usually go down to Fort Smith for courses or some settle down. Some go back to school. Most of them are drop-outs. Some of them didn't go back to school like they don't like some teachers and their parents want them to stay home. Some of them they just drop out by themselves. Like

they don't like the school. They just don't want to go back to school."

For now, Levi does not think about the future and what he will do when he finishes high school. He is immersed in the life of a hostel student.

"I love rock and roll and disco music. Turns me on. Like when you want to have a great time. When you want to dance to the good music. And some music is to listen to for pleasure. I like sad songs or happy songs like when you lost your girlfriend or some love songs. That's the songs I like the most. I like 'Please Don't Go,' 'Funky Town,' Blondie--'Call Me'--and Billy Joel. Usually the ones that go on Star Chart. Like there's all kinds of music like the Greatest Hits and Super Chart. It was on TV for about a year and, I don't know, but they stopped. Like the Top 10 for this week. Now I listen to the radio or get them from magazines.

"I like scary movies and westerns and watching TV. 'Hockey Night in Canada.' Mostly sports, comedy shows and all that. 'Happy Days' or 'Dallas.' There are three channels. One is HBO--Home Box Office--mostly movies and the other one is Channel 10 or 8--well, it's more like comedy. I prefer to watch movies on TV.

"Once in awhile I read books. Sometimes it bores me. Sometimes I hate reading. It makes me fall asleep. I read Maclean's or sports magazines, hockey magazines. Most of those. Maclean's has interesting stories on people, sports, things happening in the world.

"I like soft drugs. Yeah I do. Once in awhile I'll take it when I feel like it. Grass--Columbian dope--or hash. Smoking up. I never take drugs with needles, or cocaine. I know it's bad--bad for

your health--and so I don't take it very often. Once in awhile I feel like taking it and I take it. When you feel that you want to have a good time. I'm usually with my friends. Listen to music or usually freak out. Listen to music or relax.

"Once in awhile I drink but my parents tell me not to drink often because they say it's bad for me. Oh, I drink once in awhile when I feel like it. They don't drink. Some of my brothers drink though.

"I usually get money from my parents or a job. I worked in Housing like carpentry, well, labour work in Housing. We were rebuilding the old houses in the summertime. I always work. One time I worked at the Hudson's Bay and two summers with Housing.

"I bought a camera and some money I give to my parents. I usually help my parents like if they want to pay for the phone or pay for their house or buy some food. I usually help out my parents.

"If I got a million dollars? Probably I'd split it exactly in half and send the other half to my parents. Maybe do some shopping or go down South. Probably live down South for awhile."

Levi is interested in current affairs: "It's part of my school--Socials--like what's happening in the world. I'd like to travel. Yeah I feel like travelling to other communities to see how it is. Some down South like I'd like to go to cities like Ottawa, Toronto and Edmonton and some small communities like Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet. Just to see how it is different from my home town or the difference between the communities in the North and the communities down South.

"My big problems now are girl problems." Levi plans to marry

someday and have a family of his own. He says he will live in the North and try to raise his children the way his parents raised him: "It would be the same thing as my parents brought me up. Hard to say. Like they treat us equal and tell us what's bad for us and what's good for us. Like: 'Don't drink at your young age'; 'Don't start taking drugs at your young age'; 'Start doing things by yourself'; 'Learn from your parents;' and all that. I would make sure my children go to school and teach the boys how to hunt, use a rifle, build an igloo and how to hunt by themselves. Usually let my wife or whatever teach the girls about how to sew, make parkas or kamiks or teach them how to cook."

Levi says the biggest change for the Inuit has been the media: "TV and radio and movies which are changing the young people's lives and getting them away from the old ways.

"But it's better living now than in the old days. I'm happier living now. You get better education. Can get a better job. Make your own money and you can go out hunting on your own time, learn the old ways if you want."

Case 3 Louisa

Louisa is one of Winnie's roommates and I met her when visiting Winnie after supper one night at the Hostel. Winnie explained that I was an anthropologist doing a study of teenagers and that I was interviewing students at the Hostel. Louisa was agreeable to being interviewed although she did not understand why I was studying teenagers. Louisa has beautiful fair, clear skin and fine, straight medium brown chin-length hair. She is slim and dresses fashionably in tight sweaters and polyester slacks and casual shoes. She mixes Inuktitut and English as she speaks and told me that she always changes when talking to kudluna. "I don't know why. I try not to. I've always been this way. Inuktitut is easier than English and I get tired of speaking English. When I don't understand something I just skip over it." By the end of the hour-long interview she was tired of thinking in English and was lapsing more and more into Inuktitut.

Louisa is one of the most attractive and popular girls at the Hostel but she is not happy there. This is her first year and she is homesick and misses her family and her boyfriend back home. She was going home the day after the interview for a week. Her boyfriend had sent her the money. He is 19 and works at the weather station in the settlement.

Louisa is 16 and the eldest of 5 children. Her own father is not the father of her brothers and sisters: "I'm half an Inuit and half an English. I've got a white father and an Inuit mother. I've never seen my real father. They split when I was in my mother's tummy. But now I'm with my mother's husband but I call him my father. He's an

Inuit too."

Louisa was born in Frobisher Bay and the family moved to another settlement on Baffin Island when she was 8. Both of her parents earn their living carving. Louisa is the first in her family to go to high school. She is in Grade 9 and says she will try to go to Grade 12.

"I came to high school to get a better job. My parents want me to come to school. They don't really understand what it's about. They don't really bother. But they want me to keep on going. They want me to get a job.

"I haven't decided what kind of job yet. I mean, I don't really know what kind of job I want. Maybe a teacher. I've got a friend who is in TEP [Teacher Education Program]. She's trying to be a teacher. And teachers are making good money.

"I will probably work at home in the settlement. I want to live somewhere in the North.

"I went to Edmonton once with my parents. I was about 10 years old. Two years ago we went to Toronto on a school exchange. Very big. I like the things that are different from our settlement. Like when we were in Toronto we went to a farm and went for a horseride and there's no farm here. But I don't know if I could ever live there."

This was Louisa's first year at the Hostel:

"Very big. A lot of people. I like meeting students from other settlements but it's different without my parents around. I'm used to seeing them every day and I miss them. And I don't like the rules. Like coming home early when you want to stay downtown with your friends. I like to go downtown with my friends or, at the Hostel, I sew, read, or

write a letter. Watch TV. Laundry. Play ping-pong or pool.

"At home in the settlement, I'm usually knitting or sewing something. Skidoo around. I usually clean up my room or do something. Make something. A hat or a blanket or anything I can make myself. With machine and hand-sewing.

"My brothers and sisters are usually playing and my mother sews and knits. Like when there's the TV on --a good program on the TV-- we are all usually watching the TV. Or my parents sometimes go gambling or we go visiting or go to the movies.

"The teenagers usually stay up until morning and sleep in the day. Do the things they want to do anytime. I don't know. Usually walking around town. I don't know what they do walking around town. Going back and forth. I used to do that. Not anymore. I got tired of it. Now I stay home or visit. Do something. Go watch floor hockey. Watch TV.

"My favourite program is 'Edge of Night.' Most of the teenagers watch the hockey game. Younger kids usually watch 'Sesame Street' or 'Pencil Box.' My parents usually like 'Police Story' and 'Mission Impossible' or other programs that are investigating or doing some other things that are interesting to my parents.

"I like movies too, but not horror movies. I just don't like them. I like movies with cowboys and Indians around. Movies I can learn something from. Some other movies. I don't know how I would describe them.

"We used to see movies at the Community Hall but they don't show them anymore because there's the TV. But sometimes at the school they

show movies. At the Hostel too.

"I don't really like to read. When I try to read a book or something, when the words are sort of hard I just quit them or don't read them. Find another one that's interesting like when the words are easier they're interesting to me and when it's about something I like to do or want to know.

"I like rock and disco music, especially disco. I like dancing to it or try and listen to the words but sometimes I don't bother listening to the words. Just listen to it and enjoy it. I like Pink Floyd, 'The Wall,' and most of them. I don't know their name, like I don't know the group. I just hear them and don't bother to see what they are. I hear them at the Dance Hall or on TV or in a friend's room.

"I get $5.00 allowance at the Hostel and I get money from my parents whenever I ask for it. They send me $10.00 to $30.00 and whenever I want more they send it to me. I spend it on things I want like usually on cigarettes, a notebook or wool, comics, clothing, sometimes junk food.

"I don't know what I would do with a million dollars. I don't know what I would buy.

"I used to smoke dope, but not anymore. I quit it a long time ago. One and one-half years ago. I don't like it. Like whenever I had something like that I'd get scared of other people. Whenever there's somebody around they know you're high by your eyes and I get scared pretty easily. Worried and scared.

"I used to sniff gas when I was younger but I don't do it no more. I don't know. It used to be fun. Makes you feel high. I

I don't know what I was doing back then.

"I used to drink back home but I don't do it no more. Like if you don't drink too much it's probably O.K., but it probably affects your life or your body and if you drink too much it might let you get into trouble or something and affect you for life."

For one month each summer Louisa lives in a hunting camp with her family. For a short time she is happy with camp life but if given a choice she prefers the settlement. "When we're camping we try to find things that are, I mean, like bones, try to find things that are from a long time ago or take a little walk or make a fire and make tea outside or go hunting in a boat.

"But it's sometimes very lonesome with your family when you're alone in camp with only your family like when you don't have friends around so I want to go back to the settlement."

I asked if she will raise her own children the way her parents raised her: "Families have too many kids and can't control them. I don't want to have too many babies. I asked my mother when I get tired of my baby brother, I asked her why she keeps having a baby when she's not always with the baby and she said that if she keeps having birth control pills and if she quits them when she tries to get another baby her baby might have a missing part of the body or be crippled or something like that.

"I would probably raise my kids almost like my parents but I don't want to be an alcoholic. Sometimes I don't like it when they're drinking. They drink quite often and we never used to hunt that much because we didn't have no boat or motor. Only in wintertime we used to

hunt — go camping or hunt with everybody in the family.

" I don't know how I would want it to be. Sometimes I think about it but most of the time I forget it and don't really think about when I get older. Like if I get a family I don't really think about that.

"I think they were better in the old days. Maybe it used to be quiet. Not much bad things to do or some people telling you nice things to do or doing the things that your ancestors have been doing. Like probably their lives didn't change that much in the old days but now it's changing. Like the dances or stores. Cars and schools and other things like drinking alcohol, smoking dope, doing the things that their parents don't want them to do. Just wanting to do something bad."

Louisa thinks she will probably marry and have a baby when she is around 20. I asked about a career or job: "Sometimes I think of that too, but I don't think I'll ever be like that. I always think of to be something but I don't think it'll ever come true. Maybe someday it will."

What does Louisa want for her life?

"To grow up and get a job that has good pay and ff I ever get married be happy with my family."

Case 4 David

David wandered into the apartment that I used for interviewing at the Hostel one evening about suppertime. He asked where I was from and what I was doing. He was interested in being interviewed. We had supper together and spent most of the evening talking. He is relaxed and outgoing, fluently bilingual in English and Inuktitut, and he was at ease in the interview situation.

David is short and muscular, wears brown corduroy pants and a marine blue "Ukkivik" T-shirt. His face is pock-marked and he wears his hair short with bangs across his forehead.

He is 16. This is his first year in Frobisher Bay. He completed Grade 9 in his home settlement and is now in Grade 10 at GREC.

David was born in Ottawa. His family lived there for a few years while his father was on an adult education program. The family returned to the Baffin Island settlement when David was about 4 years old and he has lived there since. Both of his parents were born in camps near the settlement. His mother did not go to school and does not speak English. His father is an adult educator in the settlement. There are six children and David is the third eldest. His older brother and sister both graduated from Grade 12 at GREC. His sister is now a classroom assistant back home and his brother is working in the settlement but David does not know what he does there. The younger children attend the settlement school.

"I've been to Montreal maybe five times and this year we had an exchange trip to Richmond, B.C. We had a great time there. Every night sometimes we'd go to, you know, those Electric Palace and the PNE? You know all those roller coasters? I like the threatres and

movies and I like going swimming down South. But the air is kinda polluted and it's hot and I don't like high buildings. I don't like going way up high and looking down. Kinda makes me feel sick.

"I couldn't live in the South. I'll live somewhere in the North. Maybe be the mayor back home or run a restaurant for tourists. Maybe be a chef. Sometimes at home I do my own cooking when they're asleep and I kinda like it.

"Well, I was working for the settlement, eh? We were making those boxes for the garbage. And sometimes I work for the Hudson's Bay on the sea lift. I think I want to work in an office. I want to stay in and not do outside work and I'm just thinking that they pay more in the office jobs than working outside."

David likes the life of the teenager in the settlement: "Some of the teenagers go hunting. Some of them just stay at home and do nothing. And some of the guys just get a part-time job. In summer some of them go hunting with their parents. Some of them try to raise money so when they get here they'll have enough money to spend and some of them just stay home so their parents can go out camping. Sometimes they get a job from the settlement.

"Skidooing. They do a lot of skidooing. Like me too. I like riding around town. Going very fast sometimes. Some of them go down to the ice when the snow is soft. They go very fast,eh? It's really fun when you're going fast on soft snow.

"With friends? Mostly I go skidooing, watch movies and go dancing. There's a community hall now and they go dancing every Friday night. Everybody not just teenagers. There is TV and video-tape cassette movies and some of the older people who can't go dancing, they

just watch movies in their houses. You know the VTR? A lot of people have them. I guess they're around $1,150.00. We have one and I like watching movies. The Co-op manager has them. We borrow them for $3.00. My father watches a lot of VTR. Whenever there's a film that comes in, eh? Skin movies, eh? He always watches them, only him. He invites other people, but not me. I watch them sometimes when he's not there.

"My favourite is to watch horror movies and James Bond on the VTR. There seems to be more action in them. I used to watch a lot of TV when it first came. When we got TV at first every day I watched TV but I got kinda bored of the programs. Sometimes they go over and over. Like, for instance, Mary Tyler Moore. Now I mostly watch the VTR but sometimes I watch something like 'All in the Family' or 'Mission Impossible' or 'Hockey night in Canada.' 'I watch TV when there's nothing to do."

David is close to his family: "We help each other like we do some cleaning in the house. We clean up our rooms. And I help my father sometimes with the skidoos when they break down.

"My parents try and tell me what kind of person is good. About the girls how good they are--about their backgrounds. They used to tell me about not getting married to a girl who goes after every guy in town.

"They tell me to lead a good life not doing all the bad things like getting into drugs and being an alcoholic. I used to sniff gas a lot when I was younger, but not anymore. I haven't tried drugs; I don't know if I will.

"And alcohol, it tastes awful. It causes trouble. Some of the

families they just separate and some of the people that get drunk just go out and freeze to death.

"My parents drink. They can't stop it, eh? My father has been an alcoholic for maybe 20 years. He gets really drunk sometimes. He quit maybe in 1975 but he couldn't take it anymore and he started again. He stays home. Just drinks and passes out. He changes. He orders me to do things. Like I had long hair. He never told me to get a haircut, but when he gets drunk he tells me to get a haircut and he gets mad.

"Every summer we go out camping. We go caribou-hunting and narwhal-hunting. We go with other families. About 80 or 90 miles from the settlement. By boat and sometimes by skidoo.

"I like living in camp. Just go down to the beach and wait for a seal to come up and try and shoot it sometimes. And rabbit-hunting by Honda.

"Which is better? Living in camp or living in the settlement? Half and half, I guess. I like to stay in the settlement, but sometimes I just want to go out camping. But in camp I miss the store, TV, some of my friends." When asked to choose between Ottawa, Montreal or Frobisher Bay and the settlement, David chose the settlement as the place he would prefer to live.

"I don't like school. I failed Grade 9 at home because I missed school in the mornings. Sleeping. 'Cause I don't really like school.

"My parents wanted me to come to high school. Everytime they always said I should go to Grade 10 and finish school and they keep on telling my brother and sister to go to school and they tell me to keep on going so I'm trying to do my best.

"It's good to go to school. For the jobs. You have to have more than Grade 10 or finish high school. I just want to be able to apply for a job with no problem. So I'll get the job easier.

"I'm in Grade 10 in the Academic program but it doesn't really matter. I didn't decide. They just told me. There was a list that said I'm gonna go to Grade 10A. I don't know if I'll go to Grade 12. I guess I'll try to keep on going."

David had visited the Hostel once before when his brother and sister graduated but he found it strange when he started living there this Fall:

"Strange. Too many people here in this one building. Like I'm kinda used to staying in one place with few people around but every morning I wake up and there's lots of people I see.

"I like some of the games. Sometimes it kinda gets boring when you're not doing something. I watch TV. Some of the guys tell me to play ping-pong or go down to the Dance Hall and play with the Asteroids machine. Sometimes when you're bored and want to do something and they ask me, I just go along."

In addition to his $5.00 weekly allowance from the Hostel, David's parents send him about $50.00 every three weeks. "I spend it on anything. Like what I need. Pants. Books for school. Sweets. On taxi, too, sometimes to go to the High Rise. I go to the Purple Daisy record shop. I like Mac Webster and things like that. I can't really remember them. I like sad songs sometimes. Love songs. I like the words and the way they play it.

"I don't know what I would do with a million dollars. Quit

school. It's kinda boring and hard work sometimes. Maybe just go out hunting. Buy a boat. You know those jet boats? You know, 185 horse-power? Those very fast ones. Very fast when you're trying to go to another place out camping. It takes only a couple of hours. Like Jonah, eh? He has one of those boats and we were trying to get to this place and it took 6 hours. It only took him 3 hours. They cost a lot of money--around $9,000.00. Last year they were $7,000.00. There are three of them now at home. People use them to get out hunting. Like on the weekends, eh? When they're not working. They go out caribou-hunting only for a few days and come back."

We talked about hunting and some of the other changes in the Inuit way of life:

"Things are changing because some of the young people are trying to be more like English people. Seems like they are making me follow them. But I'll try and do my best to keep our own culture, keep our hunting every summer. Hunting is important to keep our culture. In summer, young people they just stay in town doing nothing. And go out hunting, they don't even know what to do. Like Eli never goes out hunting because his father stays in town and when we were cutting up our seal he kept asking: What is that? What is this? And we had to keep telling him.

"It would be better to go back to the old days because you don't have to buy food; you don't have to get a job to buy your own food. You went out hunting. You made your own things. And dog teams don't break down.

"What about the 185 horse-power boat? You got me! Yeah, but we're changing. There's nothing we can do about it."

Case 5 George

I met George when I went to his room at the Hostel to meet one of his roommates whom I was going to interview. Evening study time was just ending and George was lying on his bed reading. I remembered having seen him at school that afternoon. I was talking with one of the teachers and he came up to ask her when they were going to start some exercise in class. He is slim and, whenever I saw him at the Hostel, he was wearing a brown T-shirt and brown corduroys. He has short hair parted in the middle and wears glasses.

George is equally at ease speaking English and Inuktitut: "Sometimes it mixes me up like if I'm trying to say something in English and don't know how to say it, I'll switch to Inuktitut and vice versa. Sometimes I get mixed up but usually I just go through."

"My father thinks that the best thing for me to do is to finish school so that I won't have a labour job or stuff like that. I think he thinks that it's not like you're sorta not so good at things. Like I think he thinks if it's possible for me to use my head to work it's better than using brawn. I think he wants me to not be like him, you know, not have to use muscles to work. Sorta just use my head. To go to school and learn things that he never had the chance to learn so that I won't have to have jobs like he does. He likes it that I'm learning things. He likes it that way."

George is 18 and in Grade 10 at GREC. After finishing Grade 8 in his home settlement, he remained at home for two years before he started high school in Frobisher Bay. "I've been out of school for awhile and the reason I wanted to get back was that it made me feel bad to think that other people, students my age even though they were my age

they knew things that I didn't know so I decided to come back. My father wouldn't let me come here. He thought I was too young. I kept asking him and finally he said that he thought I was old enough.

"For two years I did absolutely nothing. I didn't have a job or didn't go to school. To me that's like doing nothing."

George's father, Simeonie, is in his mid-50's. He and his wife were born and raised to a life on the land. They did not go to school and did not learn English. All of their nine children were born in camp. George is the second youngest and was not yet of school age when the family moved into a Baffin Island settlement about 70 miles from the camp. Simeonie was then about 40 years old. He first earned a living working as a guide but now "he's sort of a carpenter and after work when he goes home he carves." George's mother died a few years after the move into the settlement and since then George has lived at different times with his grandmother, his older sister and his father. He has three older brothers all of whom work and live in the settlement. One works for the settlement filling water tanks and George is not sure what the others do. One brother attended GREC briefly but did not graduate and none of the others went to high school. George has four older sisters. All are married. Two live in his home settlement; one lives in Igloolik and another lives in Arctic Quebec. George and his younger brother now live with their father.

"My father treats me sorta different because he used to spoil me a lot but I sorta tried to get away from that role. He named me after my step-grandfather so I think that was why. He had a white father who he said he used to be ashamed of when he was a boy. When he went back down South my grandmother remarried. When his stepfather died, my

father named me after him and I think he loved him very much for he spoiled me a lot.

"When I was young I used to go with my father when he went guiding. When he stopped going I'd go with my brother to go hunting and I liked that, but I haven't gone in awhile and I think this summer was the first time since I'm not sure when. This summer we went to the place where I was born. We camped there for about a month.

"I think that with the oil companies and all they'll probably scare away the game and stuff like that. If they have an oil spill they'd probably wreck the marine life. So you can't live in camp anymore.

"I'd like to live in a city. Maybe Montreal. The settlement is too small, way too small. In a city there are more people, more activities, more things to do.

"I visited Montreal once. I just walked around and did some shopping. And I went on a school exchange to Richmond, B.C. and Mississauga, Ontario. In Vancouver, there was a lot of drugs, people selling them to you on the street, and it was pretty dirty. Yeah, those parts I didn't really like. And in Toronto, I'm not sure about that. Sorta liked Toronto better than Vancouver. But there were a lot of what do you call it?-hobos?-around.

"I'd like to travel more. A whole lot more. I'd like to get to see all of Canada if that's possible. I'm a Canadian so I might as well get to know my country.

"I think I'd like to live in the South. I couldn't live in a settlement all my life. I couldn't. I get bored pretty easily. Yeah, like if I start doing something after a while I get bored. And in a

settlement there's never much to do so I probably couldn't live there all my life.

"I like doing sports and such. I'm not sure like in the settlement there's hardly anything to do so I don't do anything. We usually walk around and I don't know. If there's a dance we go dancing. If we're outdoors, skidoo riding or maybe a car. I guess that's it. There isn't a gym and the community hall isn't very good so we have nothing to do, nowhere to go. Most of the teenagers are bored and get into grass and booze, stuff like that.

"I like reading when I'm bored. Sometimes the Bay has books or I borrow them from the school library. I like it a lot. It's sorta like, I don't know, maybe watching a movie but this way I could tell what the characters were thinking. I like reading science fiction. Stories about the North and compare them with life now. There was one, I think, Top of the World, which was really stupid. And Land of the Long Day. I liked that. It gave me a chance to see what it was like back then. It was different from life now.

"The only friend that I had for a long time was a white boy and when I tried to have friends, Inuit friends—like I used to be a real bookworm and they didn't really read much—we didn't have hardly anything in common. I think most of the teenagers my age, I think they don't read because they can't read very well or they don't understand what's happening. So they don't really read much. Just comics and such.

"But now we have TV and radio and the kids everyday listen to kudluna talk and they'll know more what's called white man language so they'll probably be reading a lot. I think we got TV around '76 or

'78. When it first came, I watched it, like really watched it. Now not that much. I just forget TV. I'm reading a book or doing something else. I used to watch Star Chart, but it's not on anymore. The settlement has community TV in Inuktitut and just about everybody watches it. I don't watch 'Hockey Night in Canada' because it's on Saturday night. I used to watch it but now I prefer to go dancing. I like any kind of rock and roll music that's good for dancing."

Dancing is one of the things George enjoys about being a hostel student in Frobisher. He is a regular at the weekend dances at the Kativik Drop-In Centre and at the Hostel. And he likes to go downtown shopping: "Mostly I buy junk food. Books. Some clothes. Records. I get $5.00 allowance and my father sends me money. But I plan to get a part-time job at the Bay. I can't save money!

"At first living at the Hostel was exciting. There was the gym here and we could have gym whenever we wanted to. There was ping-pong and pool and pinball machines in town and we could do those. But now, well, I'm sorta tired of playing in the gym. Pool, I can't. Mostly I lose all the time so I don't really play it. But just about every day after school I play ping-pong.

"I don't drink. They're all into it. They seem to be. Maybe because everyone else does it. Maybe because their parents drink. Maybe they drink to forget their family's drinking. Maybe they drink for that, I'm not sure. If my brothers would invite me, sometimes I'd say yes, but not always. Like I don't plan to get into booze. I've seen what it does to people and I don't like it. It wrecks families and they could buy food with the money they buy booze with and their children go hungry.

"With friends I like smoking dope sometimes. Just to feel good. Like if we were at the dance, we'd dance a lot and if we weren't at the dance, I don't know, listen to music."

Someday he hopes to have a family of his own: "Not too big. Two or three kids. I'd try to teach them to go their own way. Try not to let people influence them. And try to do things for themselves. Not always have the kids ask somebody to get them this or do this for them. Try and make them do it on their own.

"I think I would try to teach them how to live in both worlds if that was possible. Like I'm sorta trying to live in both worlds but I think I'm being more towards the white world. Maybe because of my grandfather. I'm not sure but I usually think it's because my grandfather was white. Because I hated Inuit food without a reason. It wasn't because it was Inuit food. I just sorta didn't like it.

"It's important for Inuit to keep their language and to keep hunting to keep the culture. I wouldn't mind hunting but also have a job. I'd like to have a good-paying job. Maybe be my own boss. I've only had labour jobs. Painting houses and sorta carpentry. Making boxes for the settlement.

"If I got a million dollars tomorrow? Well, if I was back home I'd probably open a--what do you call it?--a pinball arcade and make money. Probably open a business of some sort. But even if I did open a business, I'd probably leave it in the hands of my family and go finish school."

Case 6 Silas

I first met Silas on Somerset Island where he had a summer job working as a crew member on a scientific field party. I met him again in the Fall in Frobisher Bay where he is in his second year at GREC.

Silas is short, stocky and bow-legged. His face is weathered and he has shoulder-length black thick hair. He looks people straight in the eye; his eyes sparkle and he grins warmly. He lumbers around the halls of the Hostel in old blue jeans and work boots. He circulates independently but wherever he goes--the Canteen, the Dance Hall, the Gym--he is soon surrounded by a cluster of girls. Through the frantic busyness of hostel life, Silas calmly cruises. I found him after supper one night standing by the stairs outside the Gym enjoying a cigarette in conversation with three girls.

"I came to Frobisher last year. It was my first time away from home. The Hostel is O.K. I got used to it. I wasn't homesick after a few days. It is different though. We have to do our own laundry and go to sleep early--at 10 o'clock. The activities are O.K. Like the house leagues and games. I was disappointed in Frobisher Bay. I thought it would be big, but it seems small.

"Usually I visit relatives in town or hang around the Hostel. I'm not into movies and I'm not interested in TV. We don't have TV at home. But in the Hostel every night after study hour it's so noisy that the best thing to do is join them. So I go to the Canteen to watch TV.

"I like reading. It used to be fiction but now it's non-fiction. And I enjoy most music. Disco and all that--what young people like--as well as listening to old Inuit songs.

"I get spending money from my brother and my father. I'm trying to budget. Save for a jacket and tapes. Probably with a million dollars I would buy something that my parents want and a boat for the family.

"I don't like alcohol. And it's not good for you. I enjoy smoking grass though. It's not necessary, but I enjoy it. With other people. We listen to music or go to the dance. But most teenagers are dependent on drugs. They're homesick, not interested in anything. Just want a happy time instead of thinking about things."

When living at the Hostel, Silas frequently calls his parents: "I'm very dependent on my parents. I can't discuss things with the other teenagers. I feel not equal. I feel different. We just talk about everyday things. Most teenagers just talk about the dance or the movie instead of things they're thinking about or other things you can do besides movies and dances.

"My friends don't want to listen to legends. They think they're just a thing of the past--old-fashioned--because parents don't tell their children the old ways because they themselves don't know. I was raised with the old ways--legends, songs, driving dog teams, building igloos. My father taught me everything. My parents are so patient. I couldn't be so patient. They never get mad. Even though they never scold, we obey."

Silas is 17 and the youngest of 8 children. He was born in a camp on the southwest coast of Baffin Island and moved into a settlement when he was 4 years old. His parents did not go to school and do not speak English. The family speaks Inuktitut at home. Silas mixes English and Inuktitut when speaking with friends. He says he finds

Inuktitut easier, but he is fluent in English.

Silas' father is one of the local hunters and his mother earns money through the preparation and sale of skins and crafts. Silas has 5 sisters and 2 brothers. With the exception of two sisters, all are married and have children. Two sisters are married to hunters. Two brothers work for the settlement. One drives the fuel truck; the other is a mechanic. One sister works for the local cultural organization, one at the adult education centre and another sister is at university in the South.

"My parents want me to go to school because life is not the way it used to be. It's important to go to school now. We won't be able to keep the old ways as much so we need education and university to become lawyers in the North. But most of the teenagers back home don't go to school if they don't want to. They can get a job at home.

"When I have children I will make sure they are educated. But I will make sure that they know how to hunt and that they speak Inuktitut because language is important to Inuit culture."

Silas completed Grade 9 in his first year at GREC and started in Settlement Maintenance this Fall. "I'm trying to transfer to Grade 10 because the academic subjects in Settlement Maintenance are too easy and besides I'm not good in shops. I'd like to get as far as I can in Academic--probably Grade 10--and then go into Settlement Maintenance for a trade, maybe a carpenter or electrician. I want to go as far as I can go with education.

"I don't know where I will live. It will depend on where there's a good job. As close to home as possible. A good job is something I'm really interested in and when the money is enough to get by.

"I went on a school exchange to Edmonton in Grade 8. I might go back South but only for a holiday. I wouldn't live there. It's so different from the North. I'd rather live in camp. I want to learn survival without houses and machines. But I'll probably live in the settlement."

I asked what teenagers do in his home settlement:

"On weekends we go about 10 miles out of town with dog teams. On weekdays we go to the coffee shop. They tried to start a club but it didn't work.

"Myself? I like to help my father hunting or fixing skidoos or feeding the dogs. Feeding dogs is a bad job. Sometimes I'd rather go to the coffee shop. I like to visit old people. My parents always taught respect for elders. When I'm lazy, I get bored. When I'm bored, I try to read. Teenagers are lazy now; that's why they're bored. They used to play outside; now it's too cold. So they get bored.

"It was better in the old days. Most of the time was spent trying to survive. People don't have to do anything now. They can stay in the house without trying to keep it warm. It's better physically, but mentally they were better then. They were both physically and mentally healthy in those days. Everything's so easy. If we want it, we get it. In those days they had to work.

"The future is bleak for Inuit if they don't try to improve themselves. If they just keep sitting around saying they're bored and getting into drugs."

Case 7 Sophie

Sophie has fair clear skin, a large round face and thin waist-length black hair. She is petite and wears tight blue jeans, T-shirts and sweatshirts bearing crests and slogans and a khaki-coloured "Baycrest" bomber jacket. She is 18 and in Grade 11 at GREC.

Sophie was born and raised in a small settlement and is the second eldest of 5 children. Her mother died in an alcohol-related skidoo accident when Sophie was 2 years old and her older brother was 3. Her father soon remarried but Sophie does not consider her step-mother her mother. There are three younger boys from this marriage and Sophie spent a large part of her adolescence babysitting and looking after the house. The younger boys are at school in the settlement and Sophie's older brother works at the Coop store. Both her father and her stepmother are wage-employed in maintenance jobs in the settlement. Her stepmother did not go to school and speaks little English. Sophie thinks her father went "as far as about Grade 3" in school. He has been active in the settlement council and Inuit politics and has travelled extensively on business. In his job as DPW electrician, Sophie's father has worked with non-Inuit all his adult life and is at ease speaking English and being among non-Inuit.

"My family does not go camping but I think I'd like to live on the land. I go with other teenagers for fishing trips or picnics outside the settlement. I like the view. I like the weather and I like the way it is--except for those mosquitoes! It would be fun being with friends and going out hunting and seeing different animals and just being with friends. But when you have nothing to do or when the weather gets bad it would be kinda boring.

"It's fun living in the settlement because you know everybody in town and you stay up with them and you be with your family for awhile. You go to the movies or go for walks or go for picnics or skidooing.

"But sometimes it gets boring. Not very many people do anything. They mostly just stay home and watch TV--even when it's a nice day--and that gets pretty boring.

"Frobisher is fun because you can play sports in the gym or go swimming and go to town and visit people. Also meeting new friends and going to school.

"A big city like Montreal or Toronto might be fun--learning about new lifestyles and seeing new things. But it gets boring if you don't know very many people and you don't know where to go. That would get boring.

"I don't know where I'll live when I finish school. Maybe I'll live in the settlement as long as my parents are there but I wouldn't want to live there all the time.

"If there's a good job, I'd go to that place. I like places where people participate in things and not too much alcohol and that--some place like Sanikiluaq or Pangnirtung. In Pang there are dances, movies and a coffee shop. People don't drink there so it's more fun that way. People seem to participate more in things when they don't watch TV or drink. I like being places like that."

We talked about the old days and the future of the Inuit:

"My parents don't talk about old days. Sometimes my grandmother does and she says we used to live in igloos and used to go out hunting but I don't know very much about the past. I guess it was better then,

I don't know. They make it sound better.

"Going to school and being with different ways of life, you change gradually and you go home and you find it's different. Once my father got mad at me when I spoke too much English at home and he told me to speak more Inuktitut, and sometimes he tells me he doesn't like me speaking English too much and wants me to try to be more Inuit. I guess he cares about our culture and wants me to carry it on. I would like to carry on, but I find that my friends are used to me for speaking English so they mostly speak English to me so it just keeps going. I don't know what to carry one. Maybe it's mostly our language, maybe some games or making things like parkas and stuff."

Sophie is an avid photographer and over the past few years has collected a number of albums of snapshots. Most of the pictures are of people: friends at the Hostel and at parties or picnics in the settlement. She can while away hours lying on her bed in her room looking over the albums, recalling names and times past. One night in Sophie's room at the Hostel, we were lying on her bed looking at the albums. There were pictures of Christmas at home, girls in pyjamas eating a snack before bedtime at the Hostel, and girls and boys cross-country skiing in Frobisher. There were pictures of her old boyfriend who now works in the Bay store back home. He is a few years older than Sophie and had been away at high school for three years while she remained at home finishing elementary school. When Sophie came to Frobisher to high school herself, her esteem for him diminished.

"I got tired of him. He didn't really want to do anything with his life. Too lazy. He's living in a dream world. All mixed up. He said he didn't want to drink or do drugs, but now he'd doing it. He

was here for four years, but only finished Settlement Maintenance. He started in Grade 9, then went to SMI, then went to Grade 10, then he went to SM II.

"I was really surprised when I came here. I had heard about all these kids graduating; they had been away at school. But they weren't really doing anything just CS or SM. And they call that graduating! They tried to put me in Homemakers but I kept complaining and finally they put me in Grade 9 halfway through the year. I caught up. All it took was hard work. Most of the teenagers are too lazy to do more than SM or CS."

Now in Grade 11, Sophie is in her third year at GREC and living at the Hostel. After supper each night at the Hostel, one and one-half hours is set aside for homework and hostel staff patrol the halls to see that students are spending time with their books. Sophie happily devotes most of her evenings to homework and during spare periods at school she is always in the library. She is an "A" student and is highly rewarded within the school system. Teachers consider her one of their really excellent all-round students. Sophie candidly tells others of praise teachers give her and is quite superior about being in the academic program. She has represented the school at conferences in the North and has had the opportunity to study either in Greenland or down South for a year. But she returned to GREC because her father did not want her to be any further away from home than she already is in Frobisher Bay.

In report cards throughout elementary school teachers commented upon Sophie's proficiency with English, both written and oral. Teachers also lamented the fact that Sophie missed a lot of school because of

babysitting responsibilities at home. However, they said that she worked very hard and independently, was interested in learning, and managed to keep up with her classmates.

"I do well in school because I work hard. That's all it takes. Most of the teenagers don't listen to their parents and the parents don't try to discipline them, so they don't care about anything.

"I didn't decide to go to high school. I just passed the grade to go to Frobisher so I went. My father didn't agree at first, but a few days later he said it would be alright. My teacher wanted me to go and I think he persuaded my father to let me go. I just wanted to get away from home for awhile.

"I will go to Grade 12 if my father lets me. I want to be a social worker. I like helping people and I talked to this lady in Frobisher at GREC--we had this job information thing and she told me about social work and it seemed interesting. But I'll probably work back home in the settlement as long as my parents live there. Do secretarial work or any kind of work for the experience because I haven't had very many jobs.

"Hostel life is sort of mixed. It could be fun; it could be boring. We have breakfast at around 7:30 and go to school quarter after eight and we stay in school until 3 o'clock and after school we usually watch TV or do anything we want and on Monday we go swimming and in the weekends we have dances or movies and we make a lot of new friends from different settlements and also they have different dialects so we learn different dialects too and we play in the gym or go to town shopping or just go visiting.

"Seems like the girls have more rules than the guys. They

couldn't get the boys to do what they wanted like we have to sign out if we're going shopping or going to town and we have Roll Call to get mail and the information they have and we're not allowed on the boys' floor and we go to our bedrooms at 10 and on weekends at 12 and there's a lot of rules.

"I was homesick at first but I got used to it. I like meeting new friends and I like the activities--dances, movies, games in the gym, playing pool or playing ping-pong, or watching TV in the Canteen. Or I go shopping at the High Rise and visiting relatives in Frobisher."

Hostel personnel and some of her peers consider Sophie to be self-centred and selfish. She is always first in line for evening snacks in the girls' coffee room in case they run out of snacks. She protects her own interests and insulates herself from things she does not like or does not want to become involved in. Unlike many of her peers, she has no trouble entertaining herself. She crochets, writes letters and listens to music in her room. If she feels like it, she joins the others for awhile watching TV in the Canteen after supper or in an informal game of volleyball in the gym, but she leaves when it no longer suits her.

Returning home for the summers after the winter in the Hostel in Frobisher can be hard:

"I got so disgusted with my parents always drinking all the time that I didn't want to be around the house and I got tired of babysitting. So I just stayed out all the time. Did a lot of drugs and drinking. There was nothing else to do so I hung around with the other teenagers and did what they did."

In the Fall, Sophie had an abortion. When she found out she was

pregnant she told no one. She went by herself to the hospital and the staff made the arrangements for her to fly to Montreal and board there for a week to have the operation. I spoke with Sophie several times during the week after she returned. She was very matter-of-fact. The government paid for everything, so she took her own money and went shopping buying junk food, boots, shoes, clothes and records. The man at the boarding house tried to sleep with her, so she says she always had to stay in her room when she was in the house.

"I was really upset before the abortion and got really drunk on Southern Comfort one night, but I'm glad now it's over. I phoned home to tell my parents. My father said: "I have nothing to say." My stepmother cried and said she would have looked after the baby."

Sophie has no regrets. "I just want to get down to schoolwork. I want to finish school, travel, have a job, freedom."