Great Whale River Eskimo Youth: Socialization into the Northern Town Life

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article décrit l'expérience d'éducation, les activités quotidiennes et le comportement social des jeunes Eskimos de la rivière Great Whale. Cette description est basée sur une observation faite à l'été 1970. Cette étude ethnographique et d'autres semblables devraient amener des développements dans les théories de contact de cultures qui s'avèrent actuellement insuffisantes pour l'explication des processus de socialisation dans les villes du nord.

Eskimo youths of Great Whale River, Quebec are socialized within a culturally plural environment in which the dominant influences are the Eskimo cultural system transmitted in the home and local community, and Eurocanadian culture manifested in the northern school system, the mass media, and daily contact with whites living in the north. While this situation has placed certain pressures and new demands on the youth, it has created opportunities as well. The trend toward nontraditional employment has freed young people from a hunting and trapping subsistence lifestyle encouraging more education and expanded leisure time activities. Contact with Eurocanadians and other groups (e.g. Cree Indians) has resulted in changing styles of dress, taste in music and entertainment, and patterns of friendship. These relatively rapid changes, many of which have occurred in the space of one generation, have created tensions within the community as elders attempt to modify and channel behavioral and attitudinal changes among the youth in directions perceived by them to be desirable.

In 1955, the Canadian government constructed a radar base at Great Whale River, now a town of about 500 Eskimos, 300 Indians, and 100 whites, located on the southeastern coast of Hudson Bay. The base provided the basis for a way of life which interrupted the natives' hunting and trapping subsistence lifestyle and initiated a period of intensified modernization. The base replaced the trading post as the nucleus of the town situation and attracted many Eskimos and Indians into the area by expanded employment opportunities. With the presence of an enlarged and stable native population, government services such as welfare administration, health services, and education were introduced adding opportunities for and demands upon the natives. In 1967, the base ceased its operation, and the Federal and Quebec governments inherited responsibility for maintaining the town and its native population.

This article will describe the educational experience, daily activities, and social behavior of Great Whale River Eskimo youths (defined as unmarried persons from 17 to 25 years of age) observed during my field research in Great Whale River, Quebec in the summer of 1970. It will be primarily ethnographic. I have considered various general theories of culture contact (e.g. Bateson 1935, Linton 1940, and Despres 1970), and particularly those relevant to the youth (Polgar 1960 and Yinger 1960), but found that they obfuscate as much as clarify the situation of these Eskimo young people.[1] Supportive and comparative data is drawn, however, from other studies of northern town life and of young people undergoing socialization in the north (Sindell 1968, Honigmann 1965 and 1970, Graburn 1969, Barger 1971 and others). Further research is probably needed before broader implications of the socialization process in northern towns will become apparent. In collecting my data I used participant observation, interviewing informants (informally) and observing activities around me.[2]

[1] I attempted a theoretical approach in my M. A. thesis (Hall 1971: 8-12) in which I discussed the relevance of various theories of culture contact to the situation of Eskimo youths. I feel now, however, that the fit of these theories to the situation in Great Whale River was forced, hence my present emphasis on an ethnographic approach.

[2] I would like to thank my major adviser, Dr. John J. Honigmann, and my field research supervisor, W. Kenneth Barger, for their incalculable assistance throughout the preparation of my thesis and this report.

EDUCATION[3]

Socialization at home in Great Whale River is an informal, low-key process in which the Eskimo child adopts a model set by his elders (Honigmann and Honigmann 1953, Hall 1971). The mother is the principal child-rearer and the father, older siblings, close friends, and relatives play secondary roles. At the age of five, children attend the Federal Day School in the community which operates through the sixth grade. Their white, southern Canadian teachers have been trained to teach in Euro-canadian classrooms. Therefore, they are usually unfamiliar with the language and culture of the students who are expected to adapt quickly to the cultural expectations of the teacher and school. The contrast between the relatively permissive, low-key environment of the Eskimo and Indian home and the structured, competitive one in the northern classrooms has been commented on by several authors (Honigmann and Honigmann 1965:175, Sindell 1968:154, Stephens 1968:22).

In 1965, the Federal government opened a vocational center in Churchill, Manitoba to meet the demand for a regional secondary school. Churchill Vocational Center (C.V.C.) draws its pupils from a large section of the Central Arctic, dividing its students' time evenly between academic classes and vocational training. Its program is "intended to equip the student to enter into apprenticeship, employment, or an institute of trade and technology" (Stephens 1968:20). Boys and girls live in Churchill nine months of the year and stay in hostels on the school grounds, absorbed in the activities and microcosmic atmosphere of a Western boarding school. Approximately 37 per cent of the youths of Great Whale River have attended or are in attendance at C.V.C.

After graduation from Churchill, some Great Whale River young people have continued their education at trade or academic schools in such diverse locations as British Columbia; St. Johns, New Brunswick; Great Whale River (Quebec Trade School); and Ottawa. The number of students involved thus far is small,

[3] This section is presented for information and background. I did not directly observe classes in session, but did interview some of the teachers and discuss educational experiences with the youths.

but more youths continue their education beyond the secondary level each year. To my knowledge, all of the youths educated outside the town have subsequently returned to live in Great Whale River.[4]

DAY TO DAY ACTIVITIES AND DRESS

The daily routines of the youth are difficult to categorize because of broad differences in the interests and activities of this age group. Those in their late teens are generally in school and often unemployed during the summer because of a shortage of part-time work. Those in their early twenties generally hold full time jobs or live in summer hunting camps outside of town. Interests and activities also vary with sex, individual taste, day of the week, and other factors.

The Hudson's Bay Company Store (the Bay) and the Eskimo-Indian Cooperative (the Coop) function as unofficial community social centers during store hours and attract most of the unemployed boys and many of the unemployed girls at some time during the day. At the Bay or the Coop, boys and girls sit outside on the steps or on their Hondas and talk, browze through the magazines and newspapers, or congregate in the new Coop snack bar. Unemployed young men also visit friends, hunt or fish, ride their Hondas, carve soapstone, swim, read (mostly magazines and comics), or sleep.[5] Unemployed girls baby-sit, perform household chores, shop, stitch sealskin or duffel (a blanket material used to line parkas), read, visit, or walk with their friends.

Jobs have become increasingly scarce in Great Whale River since the base facility was closed in 1967. Because there is no indigenous industry other than handicraft production, the youth are employed by service agencies such as the Department of Indian Affairs and Natural Development (D.I.A.N.D.), the Quebec Provincial Government Agency, or the Nursing Stations; with the

[4] Although everyone eventually returned, a few of the young people did obtain employment and live in the south for a time, usually less than two years.

[5] There were about 60 Hondas and the same number of skidoos in town during the summer of 1970, according to the Hudson's Bay Store manager.

stores, Hudson's Bay Company or the Eskimo-Indian Cooperative; or in more traditional pursuits such as hunting, trapping, and fishing. Some have attended trade schools and thus are employed as qualified carpenters, electricians, and heavy equipment operators. Those who have not attended school beyond the primary level in Great Whale River may work as cashiers or stock boys for one of the stores or as laborers, agency drivers, radio operators trained on-the-job, or mechanics for the electrical generating plant, Hydro-Quebec. Several young people have been hired by the agencies as interpretors while others become teaching assistants in the classrooms of the Federal Day School.

At first glance it would appear that the town has had fair success in keeping out-of-school youths employed. My adjusted unemployment figure (excluding full time hunters, students, and "no record") for the 18 to 25 age bracket is about 9 per cent, probably comparable to the figure for the same age group in southern Canada (Hall 1971:35). This figure is subject to several qualifications, however. Full time hunters may not be employed in town because they were unable to find a job there. Those listed in the "no record" category may be unemployed and hence less visible. Also, as mentioned above, students are usually unable to find employment and hence are idle for the summer. Indeed, the moderate rate of unemployment indicated by my figures does not jive with the often discussed unemployment problem in Great Whale River.

Many Eskimo young people carve soapstone and manufacture other handicrafts. Most soapstone carving in Great Whale River is done by the men; some young men say they learned to carve from their fathers or other male relatives while others claim to have learned the art by experimentation. Girls make sealskin polar bears, miniature sealskin kamiit (Eskimo boots), parkas, and do many types of embroidery and beadwork. They also knit Eskimo wool caps and scarves.

The ability to solve technical problems independently and to work with one's hands is a skill highly valued by these young people. Many boys repair their own Hondas and skidoos (snowmobiles), often without training or a manual. One boy who

learned to repair outboard motors by trial and error now repairs most of the engines in the village. The self-reliance and technical proficiencies of the Eskimo youth impressed me often during my fieldwork.

The dress of the young people is primarily modern, in many cases virtually indistinguishable from the dress of their counterparts in southern Canada. The Hudson Bay Store carries many different lines of contemporary clothing and various mail order firm catalogues circulate throughout the village making practically every modern clothing style readily available.

During the summer, girls wear denim jeans, bright slacks, bell bottoms, and occasionally mini-skirts and pant suits. A blouse or sweater is worn outside the jeans with a nylon parka outer layer. Pierced ears are becoming popular and many different styles of jewelry are experimented with and worn. One girl occasionally wore a leather, bead-fringed head-band with the word "LOVE" emblazoned in pink beads across the front. Hair is generally worn long and straight although shorter lengths are not unusual.

The boys wear jeans, striped bell bottoms, cuffless slacks combined with pullover sweaters or wash and wear long sleeve shirts. They dress in many styles of footwear; cowboy boots and various styles of half boots are particularly popular. For the square dances, it appears that boots with heavy heels are favored for the vigorous stomping which the dance requires. For church services, some of the young men put on well tailored suits with a relatively conservative shirt and tie and well polished shoes. More commonly, however, boys attend church in clean slacks and a windbreaker. The boys' hair is usually moderate in length. Some say that their hair was long while they were away at school, however, when they were "hippies".

From a description of their dress, it would be difficult to discern any significant differences between the dress of these Eskimo youths and that of young people in many parts of southern Canada and the U.S. Methods of incorporating traditional dress into modern styles have developed, such as one girl's practice of dying her sealskin kamiit (sealskin boots) a bright color to match a favorite dress or outfit. A more common one, popular with boys

and girls, is the combination of the duffel kamialuk (a sock made from duffel) and rubber boots or kamiit. But these combinations of the traditional with the new are probably more unusual among the youth than among any other group. As might be expected, the students returning from school outside Great Whale River appear to provide the greatest stimulus for fluctuating clothing styles and the adoption of a more southern style of dress.

FRIENDSHIP, COURTSHIP, AND MARRIAGE

Kinship is probably the most important single factor affecting friendship in Great Whale River, but under certain circumstances described below, education and compatibility can also be very influential. Although persons engaged in a similar occupation may become friends, employment rarely seems to ensure friendship when no other factors are present.

Unmarried girls appear to be more strongly kin-oriented in selecting their friends than boys (Hall 1971:38).[6] Although observation has shown that some girls select friends with whom they have no close kin ties, these cases appear to be exceptions. Also, girls seem to have fewer, albeit closer, friends than boys.[7] They generally select one or two close friends and spend most of their free time in their company: in their homes or accompanying them on walks through the village or to one of the social activities.

Observing the boys for similar information proved more difficult. They outnumber the girls 2 to 1 and their friendships (perhaps as a result) are more numerous extending over kin lines and throughout the village. They clearly do not select friends among kinsmen as often as girls. This is not to say that many boys do not have a majority of their friends among some type of kinsmen and, indeed, a little digging often turns up some connection. But they are rarely as clear as those existing between

[6] I decided friendship by observing with whom the young people were most often seen rather than by systematic questioning or analysis. Therefore my findings should be considered as tentative and subject to further validation.

[7] When I say that girls' friendships are closer than boys', I mean that they spend a greater proportion of their time with their friends than do the boys. It is not intended as a comment on the intensity of the relationship.

the girls. Also, a boy is likely to have several fairly close friends and associate in small groups of say, three or four, the composition of which is likely to change over time, often from day to day.

Differences in patterns of friendship also exist between young people educated wholly in Great Whale River and those who have received education elsewhere, primarily Churchill Vocational Center. The "Churchill kids" appear more inclined to form friendships on the basis of their common educational experience and compatibility than along traditional kinship lines. Another, perhaps related pattern is that Churchill students seem to be more attracted to peer-oriented activities, such as sporting events, the teen dance, and informal get-togethers in the mission hall, than to family outings, visiting kin, and other kin-oriented activities.

Interaction between unmarried boys and girls is generally discouraged by their elders through various types of social pressure, including gossip and direct criticism of the offending parties. For example, one girl stated that an old woman called her a "boy-chaser" for riding on the back of a boy's Honda. Although boys and girls meet at dances, feasts, movies, and organized social activities, even here they usually do not sit together. They dance or talk in passing, but are encouraged to sit separately, the girls with their families or close friends and the boys sitting or standing together in groups.

Many exceptions occur for these "normal" or acceptable rules of conduct. At dances, movies, and ballgames, several girls freely sit and talk with boys on the sidelines or in the mission hall, where the dances and movies are held. Some girls and boys pair off during the dances and remain together for a good portion of the evening, sometimes leaving together. At the newly instituted teen dances, the lights are turned down and boys and girls stand with their arms about each other dancing the "bear-hug".

These exceptions to normal behavior are encouraged by the ambivalent attitude of the Eskimo community toward open interaction between the sexes. One girl explained that while her grandmother and aunt opposed her open companionship with boys, her parents condoned it, occasionally defending her against more tradition-minded kinsmen. Another factor encouraging freedom

is the relatively relaxed atmosphere present at Churchill Vocational Center and other boarding schools outside town. Here, informants relate that parties are arranged to provide a social outlet for the students. Although intimacy between the sexes is discouraged, having boyfriends and girlfriends during the teenage years is considered a normal pattern among Eurocanadians and it is doubtful that strong sanctions are placed on such relationships between young Eskimo students.

As the only socially accepted meeting spot for couples seems to be on the dance floor, private meetings between the sexes must be kept secret to avoid provoking gossip. Therefore, informants relate that a rendezvous must be arranged in a quiet place where they will not be seen. The social pressure following discovery encourages deception to avoid criticism. The Eskimo community appears to have an ambivalent attitude toward these clandestine meetings. Although such meetings are discouraged, unwed mothers and illegitimate children seem to receive little social stigma, unless the mother is a repeated offender. This ambivalence is commented on by Graburn (1969:187) who reports that in Sugluk some of the adolescents are said to be "crazy" because of their frequent sexual activities. The accusers often admit, however, that they also were probably crazy at that age.

Marriage among Great Whale River Eskimos was once arranged by the respective families of the bride and groom. At present, however, there is evidence that the pattern of parental mate selection is changing. Several young people indicate that they will be able to marry whomever they please. One field worker relates that all of the marriages in Great Whale River from 1969 through 1971 were by choice (Barger, personal communication). Some of the girls wish to marry outside Great Whale River if possible, one saying that she wants to go "where the action is." Boys discuss girls from other northern towns (e.g. Port Harrison, Fort George, Ivuyivik) or even Montreal who interest them. Therefore, the selection of mates from within a designated geographic or familial sphere (at least in terms of stated preference) appears to be shifting.

My figures for marriage (Hall 1971:45) indicate that girls marry younger than boys and that the mean age of marriage for

both is over 21 years. This is significantly later than the traditional age of marriage in this area of the Arctic at a time when the nuclear family constituted an independently functioning economic unit. Honigmann and Honigmann have found in Frobisher Bay (1965:182) and again in Inuvik (1970:67) that the number of marriages in recent years has been declining. A similar situation could be developing in Great Whale River where there are 15 unmarried as compared to only 4 married men between 21 and 25 years of age.

ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION

At the beginning of the summer, young Eskimo men ranging in age from about 17 to 30 years old were divided into two athletic teams, the Wolves and the Polar Bears. They played two sports, soccer (or "Eskimo football") and baseball. However, few soccer games were actually held for in mid-June the president of the Eskimo council and other adults decided that the sport was too rough and discontinued it.[8]

Baseball was played all summer and, although interest waned somewhat in August, there were always enough players to fill both Eskimo squads. The Wolves and Polar Bears played on Tuesday and the winner met a team comprised of Indians, teachers, and occasionally an anthropologist on Friday night. Much interest was generated by the games and the many spectators in attendance cheered, laughed, and interacted with the players and each other throughout the game. Members of the opposing teams often kidded each other and, while running the bases, engaged in horseplay such as jostling an opposing player or taunting the pitcher.

Both Polar Bear and Wolf players spent many hours analyzing the respective strengths and weaknesses of the teams. Both teams kept records of the number of runs scored by all their players and a listing was placed on the wall in the mission hall. Much discussion occurred over the list and several of the leading

[8] The Eskimo council is an elected body which represents the Eskimo population in its dealings with representatives of the Federal and provincial governments and other native groups.

scorers would point out their achievements with pride to any who would listen. Overall, the Eskimo players were enthusiastic, well-organized, and seriously intent on winning, despite the constant flow of jibes during the course of the game.

Dancing is popular with all ages, particularly the young. Regularly scheduled dances are held most Monday and Thursday nights lasting from eight until midnight or later. Teen dances are on Monday nights and attended primarily by young teens and unmarried youths. Rock records provide the music and by nine o'clock most of the lights have been turned down so that everyone is dancing in semi-darkness. To slow music, they dance the bear-hug or more conventional styles. Most of the records are fast-tempoed, however, and the dancing modern, primarily free style variations of the "frug". Those who are dancing move to the center of the floor while observers stand or sit against the wall. There is much coming and going as boys and girls leave for a Honda ride or move outside the hall to smoke a cigarette.

The Thursday night dances are more structured and all different ages attend. At the beginning of the summer the customary style of dancing was "clogging", or, as the Eskimos call it, the "Eskimo square dance."[9] The clogging is accompanied by country music, played live by a group imported for that purpose or, more commonly, by records. At the end of a set, the dancers go outside to cool off and smoke. Then the country records are replaced by rock and roll and the younger people (15 years old and under) take over, gyrating frantically in groups of varying sizes and composition. Their dancing resembles that of the older youth except that it is more frenetic, putting together unusual combinations of out-dated popular dancing, current styles, square dancing, and just plain wiggling and laughing.

Many Eskimo boys and girls have aggressive dancing styles, but the boys are usually the more out-going. Styles range from docile shuffling to exuberant stomping. An interesting feature of

[9] Clogging consists of rapidly tapping the toe, then the heel on one foot, and then stomping down with the flat of that whole foot creating a distinct one-two-*three* rhythm. This is done very rapidly with one foot and then the other, with the individual swaying back and forth and swinging his arms in time to the motion of his body and the beat of the country music.

their dancing is its marked individuality. As is common in all modern dancing, the importance of the dancing partner is secondary to the individual interpretation of the music. But this feature is especially pronounced among these Eskimos, among whom even the sex of the partner is unimportant. Individuals dance alone, in pairs, trios, and up, the combinations often shifting and forming new groups. If someone wishes to dance, he can stand up and join the nearest group. Or, if one chose to dance alone, that would not be thought unusual. So Eskimo young people exhibit a dancing style which is individualistic, often exhibitionistic, and definitely modern.

Young men of Great Whale River hunt and fish both for pleasure and subsistence. They take part in single day, weekend, and week-long hunting trips, depending on their jobs and their finances. A few young men hunt full time and maintain hunting camps with their families outside the town. There were several such camps in the summer of 1970, but, to my knowledge, only two regular winter camps were still maintained.

Many different types of weapons are now used to hunt, principally .22 and .30 caliber rifles, twelve gauge shotguns, and harpoons. All types of spinning tackle and other fishing equipment is in common use. Canoes with outboard motors, canvas tents, and nylon parkas lined with synthetic materials are used by most hunters. This new equipment supplements traditional stalking techniques on the ice and continued use of the harpoon to bring the seal or other wounded animal on board. On hunting trips, meals are closer to the traditional pattern. Much of the meat is eaten raw and little is wasted; everything edible is consumed.

The hunting trips in which I participated revealed no overt leadership. Informants relate that if an older, more experienced man is along, he will take charge, his influence deriving from his greater prestige. I witnessed only one case of a youth openly asserting or attempting to assert leadership. His behavior drew later criticism from others who participated in the trip.

While hunting, many of the boys exhibited considerable independence, often taking off alone, either on land or on the ice.

Concomitant with their independence is their self-reliance and self-confidence in situations in which they are isolated. For example, one young man showed little concern when his motor died at dusk in open water six miles from his tent. He worked patiently and steadily for about two hours, cleaning the carburetor and even rigging a new jerk cord out of a seal harpoon line until the motor finally sputtered to life.

An important source of entertainment in Great Whale River is provided by the mass media, particularly movies and radio. Movies are shown twice a week and favorites include films from the Tarzan series, westerns, and Elvis Presley films. Some of the radio programs are broadcast from southern Canada, others transmitted from other northern towns. A local station in Great Whale River employs several young people who serve as volunteer disc jockeys. These programs feature local and international news; popular, country and western, and traditional Eskimo music; and various features presented in both Eskimo and English. Radio, movies, magazines, and comics introduce the values and thought of the south to the young people, but often in the simplistic, twisted form of a bloody shoot-'em-up western, a teenage love-on-the-beach melodrama, or a silly comic book theme. These mass media have had a significant influence in shaping the impressions which the young people have of the outside world and their potential relations with it. One youth, for instance, expressed surprise at my statement that hippies were generally peaceful. It had been his impression that they all rode motorcycles, drank beer, and engaged in violence.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND DEVIANCY

Identifying social problems concerning young people varies with the perspective employed. Whites, Eskimo elders, parents, and the youths themselves all perceive different sets of problems facing young people. Many of the problems perceived by these groups coincide. But there are types of behavior or problems which concern one group and not another. These divergences can cause the youth confusion as they try to resolve ambiguous or contradictory socialization pressures.

White administrators and missionaries feel that excessive drinking, sexual promiscuity and delayed marriage are problems. Drinking concerns them because of the alleged inability of young Eskimos to "handle their liquor" and the fact that it has led to job turnovers and various disturbances in the community. Sexual promiscuity is seen as a problem because of the strictures placed against it by the missionaries. Delayed marriage is bad in that it can lead to sexual promiscuity.

The Eskimo elders would probably agree that drinking and premarital sex are bad. Not only is premarital sex wrong, a girl who is just seen speaking with a boy is likely to be accused of "boy-chasing" as I mentioned earlier. Open dating, in which a boy "takes a girl out", common among Eurocanadian and American youth, is virtually unknown. Another problem perceived by Eskimo elders is the "pushiness"[10] of some youths. Anyone who is overtly aggressive, dominant, or authoritarian is generally singled out for criticism. In one example of this, several boys who were boisterously aggressive to girls during a movie were quite severely criticized, both overtly and through gossip, for their conduct. Any lack of public self-control, such as shouting, a show of temper, or drunkenness is considered rude and unseemly. By Eskimo standards, the Eurocanadian culture is one characterized by "pushiness" and it is possible that this trait is passed along to Eskimo youth in the school system.[11]

Parents of the youth are generally more tolerant of their drinking (when not to excess), their sexual activities, and their association with the opposite sex, but agree that the "pushiness" of some youth is undesirable. Both Eskimo elders and their parents have become concerned that young people who leave Great Whale River for school at Churchill and elsewhere will lose an appreciation for and knowledge of their own culture. To prevent this, meetings were held in August of 1969 and 1970 in which community leaders admonished departing students to

[10] "Pushiness" is my term to describe an attitude or type of behavior characterized by other Eskimos as bossy, rude, or unduly aggressive. The Eskimos do not say a person is "pushy", but they do criticize the behavior conveyed by the term.

[11] Sindell (1968:159) has reported that this is the case among Cree Indian children residing at a boarding school in La Tuque, Quebec.

remember their own culture as they learn the ways of the white men, and to retain pride and dignity in the knowledge of their Eskimo heritage.

The young people perceive quite different problems facing them. A list of these would probably include lack of jobs, a growing generation gap evolving out of different educational and experiential backgrounds, not enough unmarried girls (to the boys who outnumber them 2 to 1), vague dissatisfaction with life in Great Whale River as being "dull" coupled with an understandable reluctance to leave their homes and families, as well as adjustment problems arising out of the process of adapting to a relatively complex cultural milieu.

CONCLUSIONS

Efforts by Great Whale River youths to adjust to life in this northern town have thus far shown impressive results. They have selected many of the concepts available to them in the new town and school situation and have creatively incorporated them into their systems of thought and behavior, thereby synthesizing an existence which is, in many respects, a satisfying one.[12] Many young people are good workers, having adjusted quickly to the relatively technical and specialized jobs now available to them. Others have adapted well to boarding school life and, in spite of the contradictory socialization pressures discussed above, are good students and seemingly enjoy many of their school-related activities. The young people have also incorporated with surprising ease and much enthusiasm many of the material benefits of town life, such as modern hunting equipment, Hondas, and skidoos. Many aspects of the Eurocanadian culture — such as concern with money, obesity, crowded living conditions, and "bossiness" — are rejected and belittled. Concomitantly, a feeling of increased ethnic pride and solidarity with other native groups appears to be spreading as is evidenced by their discussions of the affairs of the politically-oriented Eskimo-Indian Association and other political matters.

[12] See Barger and Earl (1971) for response of entire Eskimo community to life in Great Whale River.

As Eskimo young people leave for school in increasing numbers, however, communicating with each other primarily in English while at school, and increasingly absorbing the values of the mainstream youth culture, the cultural distance between themselves and their elders could increase, along with a greater tendency toward deviance as defined by their elders (such as "pushiness") and peer-oriented activities. Whether these changes will coalesce into a beneficial growth process or become more and more disruptive is hard to say. At any rate, the youths, in their response to town life, have created a style of life which, although dysfunctional in some respects, is surprisingly positive considering the novelty and complexity of the situation they have encountered.

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