Upside-Down and Backwards: Time Discipline in a Canadian Inuit Town

Pamela Stern *University of Waterloo*

Abstract: Time discipline is a potent, but often hidden social force. This paper considers issues of time discipline and temporal regulation in a small Canadian Inuit community, and examines the techniques by which time discipline is enacted and enforced. In the recent past, it was common for people in Inuit communities north of the Arctic Circle to become turned-around or "backwards" in their temporal orientation during mid-winter and mid-summer. New local norms of time discipline have marginalized this practice. Furthermore, current local norms support adherence to an arbitrary clock time, that while consistent with traditional values in favour of industry and activity, tend to discourage participation in traditional subsistence activities.

Résumé : La discipline reliée à au traitement du temps est une puissante force sociale, quoique souvent cachée. Cet article examine des questions de discipline et de régulations temporelles dans une petite communauté inuit du Canada, et analyse les techniques par lesquelles la discipline dans le domaine temporel est inculquée et renforcée. Récemment, il était fréquent que les gens des communautés inuit au nord du cercle polaire de se trouver «à l'envers» ou «sens devant derrière» dans leur orientation temporelle au milieu de l'hiver ou au milieu de l'été. De nouvelles normes locales de rapport au temps ont relégué cette pratique à l'arrière-plan. De plus, les normes locales amène l'adhésion à un temps mécanique arbitraire, qui tout en étant en accord avec la valorisation traditionnelle de diligence tendent à décourager la participation aux activités traditionnelles de subsistance.

On April 1, 2001 the government of Nunavut abandoned its efforts to operate the new Canadian territory within a single time zone and returned to its previous three time zone arrangement. The time zone changes had required legislative action by the Nunavut Assembly and the assent of the Canadian federal government. Nunavut, which is nearly 2 million square kilometers in area and comprises one-fifth the landmass of Canada, is home to only 28 000 people living in 28 widely dispersed communities. Eighty-five percent of the population is Inuit, and the Nunavut Territory was created in 1999 to satisfy self-government demands of this indigenous group. Newspaper accounts[1] concerning each of the time zone changes (there were three changes in an 18-month period) suggested that the Nunavut government's goal in the single time zone plan was to unify the territory by having all of the government offices operating on the same schedule. Citizens of Nunavut resisted the project, and several communities refused to comply. The result was that there was no single Nunavut time zone, and even within some individual communities there was no standard time. Objections to the single time zone ranged from difficulties created by having a different time from suppliers, business contacts and relatives outside of the territory to complaints that hunters who tried to keep in synch with town rhythms found themselves working in less daylight and that children in some communities were forced to walk to or from school in the dark. One letter-to-the-editor writer went so far as to suggest that in a region that extends across the Arctic Circle and thus has long periods of mid-winter darkness, one effect of a single time zone would be to increase the incidence of seasonal affective disorder and, hence, worsen the already high rate of suicide in the territory (Pitsiulak, 1999).

The discourse, which ensued in Nunavut over the single time zone issue, is evidence of the enormous social stakes attached to the matter of temporal regulation. Anthropologists and other social scientists have long

been interested in the relationship between temporal regulation and other forms of social regulation. Inuit Studies, in particular, has paid attention to calendrical issues to the point that a description of seasonal variations in subsistence and other social patterns is often a standard feature of Inuit ethnography (cf. Briggs, 1970; Condon, 1987; Dahl, 2000; Jenness, 1970 [1922]; Nelson, 1969; Vanstone, 1962).

A century ago Marcel Mauss suggested that social structure, or social morphology as he put it, follows from temporal morphology (Mauss, 1979). Referring to the already significant ethnographic data amassed about Inuit culture and society, Mauss argued in his "Essai sur les variations saisonnières des sociétés Eskimo" that Inuit social structure differed dramatically from summer to winter. These differences, which Mauss saw as quite uniform across space, were taken to be the direct result of ecological factors and social habits that led Inuit to congregate in the winter and disperse in summer. The result was supposedly seasonally distinct practices of social regulation. Mauss managed to avoid any effort to identify the historical social basis of Inuit seasonal regulation with the statement that the regulation must have "happened in the course of historical development that was probably quite long and during a migration of extraordinary scope" (Ibid: 53). In Mauss' formulation there was no agency.

Because Mauss' analysis concerned "traditional" Inuit society, which was perceived as egalitarian, it bolstered more recent treatments that regarded seemingly arbitrary temporal regulation in the modern world as the result of modern political and economic stratification. Nowhere is this argument made more explicit than in E.P. Thompson's "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism" (1967). The regulatory processes Thompson sought to expose, however, were quite different from those that Mauss described. In his classic essay, Marxian historian Thompson argued that not only is widespread adherence to clock-time a consequence of the European industrial revolution, but that the creation of modern states could not have proceeded without the simultaneous imposition of new forms of time and work discipline associated with industrialization. This new form of economic regulation supposedly removed from the collective society the choice of how to pass the time. Temporal regulatory power was instead vested in Capital.

Drawing on the work of several anthropologists, Thompson argued that pre-industrial peoples made no distinctions between work and leisure time, and that older task-oriented forms of labour derived from nature. Time usage, in this previous era, was determined by the demands of the tasks, rather than arbitrary political decision. Although Thompson was undoubtedly mistaken in his assumption that pre-industrial modes of time regulation were based in nature rather than culture, he was correct that, in modern societies, temporal regulation comes from a social need to regulate the activities of large numbers of people. According to Thompson, task-oriented forms of work discipline were replaced by an invented, rationalized (but arbitrary) order that designated some periods for work and others for leisure. He showed how, during the industrial revolution in Britain, churches, schools, commerce, government and industry all participated in changing the way that people experienced the passage of time. And as Mauss had asserted for the establishment of Inuit seasonal social division, Thompson argued that industrializing peoples, by the force of repeated practice, came to think of arbitrary designations of work time and leisure time as natural or at least morally correct. Within a short period of time, older task-oriented temporal regimes were seen "to be wasteful and lacking in urgency" (1967: 60).

Time has been the subject of a long discourse in anthropology including such varied but often interrelated domains as cosmology, calendar systems, time reckoning, cross-cultural differences in the metaphysical experience of the passage of time, and time as an object of social or political control. Munn (1992) has made a fairly complete review of this literature. Over the last decade or so, anthropological treatments of time have concentrated mainly on matters of temporal regulation and time discipline in modernity. The common theme of this work is that temporal regimes are an outcome of contestations over economic and political resources (cf. Birth, 1996; Bock, 1966; Bourdieu, 1963; 1977; 1990 [1980]; Burman, 1981; Rotenberg, 1992; Rutz and Balkan, 1992; Verdery, 1992). Greenhouse (1996) takes a somewhat different tack, and presents time not as a site of social control, but a resource that political actors manipulate to legitimate their authority. Few, however, have examined changes in time discipline under conditions of colonialism or other forms of cultural imperialism (exceptions are Hallowell 1937; Halpern and Christie 1990; Wilk 1994). Nor have few since Thompson documented the process by which a new temporal regime is adopted and institutional changes become naturalized so that "control is redistributed" to those being controlled (Nader, 1997), and hence, internalize a new time discipline.

In this article, I trace changes in temporal regulation in the Canadian Inuit community of Holman. The

current residents and their ancestors are well documented ethnographically (Collignon, 1996; Condon, 1983; 1987; 1996; Jenness, 1970 [1922]; Stefansson, 1962 [1913]; Stern, 2001; Usher, 1965) and I draw on this literature as well as my own long-term fieldwork in an effort to understand these changes. It should be no surprise that, in the modern community, changes in temporal organization occurred alongside changes in economic structures, religious practices, social groupings, health and fertility, values, leisure activities, and so on. Explication and analysis of the manner in which externally imposed time regulation generally associated with the modern state has been internalized is the major goal of this paper. In doing so I consider how Inuit in Holman both regulate and contest the present temporal regime. Time discipline in Holman is not something introduced from outside along with snowmobiles, television and wage labour, but rather is actively created and contested by Holman Inuit themselves. Surveillance, by self and by others, is a critical force in the contestation over time. For all periods that have been described ethnographically, Inuit social life was conducted within an unambiguous temporal regime. The temporal discipline apparent in the Arctic today is very different from that of earlier periods. My data, however, challenge the popularly held belief that temporal discipline and contestation are simply the consequences of modernity (Mumford, 1934).

Ethnographic Context

The community of Holman is located 300 miles north of the Arctic Circle on the west coast of Victoria Island in Canada's Northwest Territories. Its approximately 400 residents are descended from the two northernmost groups of Inuinnaat (Copper Inuit) and several Inuvialuit families originally from the Mackenzie Delta region. There are also approximately 25 mostly temporary Eurocanadian residents who serve in a variety of administrative capacities. The nearest communities, Kugluktuk (formerly Coppermine) on Canada's arctic coast and Cambridge Bay on southeast Victoria Island, are generally reached only by scheduled air service. Travel to and from Kugluktuk, Inuvik, and the territorial capital of Yellowknife is, nonetheless, relatively common. Holman Inuit residents are beneficiaries of the Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) land claims agreement. English is the dominant language of ordinary conversation, and is the first language of most residents under the age of 40.

The town of Holman began in 1939 as a mission and trading post, but it was not until the early to mid-1960s that it began to develop as a community. Prior to that time, the majority of the regional population lived in outlying camps, coming into "town" for brief periods to trade or seek medical attention or for Christmas or Easter celebrations. The composition of camps was flexible, but generally consisted of several related nuclear families. People organized their time around seasonally dependent subsistence activities. These included hunting, trapping, fishing, sewing, making and repairing tools, ice collecting, tent making, butchering and processing the catch, scraping hides, berry picking, sled construction, and caring for sled dogs. In the 1960s, after several decades of discouraging Inuit from settling at trading posts or other non-Native installations, the Canadian government reversed its policy and created towns throughout its arctic territories (Vallee 1962). Initially, this meant only the provision of housing, but eventually the new Inuit towns came to possess a variety of "urban" amenities such as electricity, schools, health centres, airports, recreation centres, roads, municipal government, wage labour jobs, telephones, television and public safety officers (see Condon, 1996; Usher, 1965 for a history of the Holman community).

Over the last several decades, Holman Inuit have become increasingly committed to town lives that include wage labour jobs, service on local and regional committees, church and school attendance, local sports leagues, and the consumption of imported goods and services. The local economy today depends primarily on wage labour and social transfer payments, and only a small number of Holman families engage full-time in subsistence work. However, despite their town-based lives, Holman Inuit continue to espouse an emotional and social attachment to the land, and while not all Inuit participate in subsistence hunting and fishing, country food continues to be an important cultural and nutritional resource.

My first ethnographic fieldwork in Holman occurred over a six-month period in 1982 when I assisted Richard Condon with a study of Inuit adolescence (Condon, 1987). Satellite television service, consisting of a single, broadcast channel, had arrived about a year earlier. At that time there were few organized civic events. Social activities consisted largely of informal visiting, card games, and spontaneous sports play. While adults were occasionally idle, children and teenagers had little apart from school to keep them occupied. I returned for 11 months in 1987-88 and again in the summer of 1993. Each time the town was larger, more established, and offered a wider range of activities, but while spontaneous sports were replaced by organized league sports, basic social visiting patterns among adults remained. I

found that the habit of dropping by unannounced for a cup of tea and conversation suited me and my research well. Thus, when I returned to Holman in 1999, I was startled to discover that it was no longer acceptable for me to visit most homes without an appointment. Typically the conversation went something like,

PS:	I should come visit you sometime (*a culturally appropriate phrasing of my desire to visit*).
Inuk adult:	Okay. I'm home most evenings, unless they're playing hockey at the arena.
PS:	Good, I'll drop by later this week.
Inuk adult:	What time do you want to come?

Or alternatively,

Inuk adult:	Come by and visit. I'm living in house #__ now.
PS:	Is that near ______'s house?
Inuk adult:	No, it's just below that new, little playground, the house where David's [family] used to live. You should call first...just to make sure I'm home.

Most people also waited for an explicit invitation to visit me, and I observed that the habit of spontaneous, unannounced visiting had largely stopped except among very close kin.[2] I will argue below that these seemingly superficial changes in social activities reflect a new concern with scheduling, and are evidence of much deeper changes in the local temporal regime that governs the settlement routine. In addition, adherence to the temporal regime has come to have meaning apart from the activities it directs.

Indigenous Inuit Temporal Concepts

Prior to contact with Europeans at least some Inuit accurately reckoned seasons using lunar phases and chronological time from the positions of certain stars (MacDonald 1998). Names of months were usually associated with natural phenomena or seasonal subsistence related events (such as the spawning of fish or the calving of caribou), and thus varied considerably by locale and latitude. The indigenous calendrical system enabled Inuit to count days and lunar months, and to accurately predict a number of annual astronomical events such as the winter solstice and the return of the sun above the horizon.

The Inuit year began with the winter solstice, and the word for winter (*ukiuq* in Inuinnaqtun [Lowe, 1983: 61]) was also used to refer to a full year. Months began with the new moon, and days were calculated according to the age of the moon. In order to keep the lunar calendar synchronized with the photoperiod cycles that regulated floral and faunal cycles, the calendar had a 13th intercalary, or leap month that was omitted whenever the winter solstice coincided with the new moon. The complex calendrical system developed by Inuit renders meaningless the assertion of some early ethnographers that Inuit historical memory blended together all events which occurred more than two years earlier (Amundsen, 1908: 46; Boas, 1964 [1888]: 240; Simpson, 1875). Rather, it is probable that European explorers and ethnographers, socialized to a different set of values, marked different types of events as worthy of historical memory and future planning (see Briggs, 1992).

In addition to lunar months, the year was divided into six seasons (not two as Mauss had asserted). The names of the seasons referred to the landfast ice conditions that affected travel and subsistence activities. Before the arrival of Europeans/Eurocanadians, Inuinnaat and other Central Inuit followed a seasonal cycle of activities in which winters were spent in large snowhouse communities on the ocean ice. Men, in particular, co-operated at seal hunting. Although it was the darkest and coldest period of the year, it was the time of greatest social interaction. These included shamanic performances, drum dancing, games and contests, marriages and the general sharing of news that occurs when people, previously separated, come together. As the year progressed, people moved from the ocean ice to the land and turned their subsistence focus to migratory birds, caribou and fish. Summers were the time of greatest food scarcity, and Inuit often dispersed into nuclear family groups. During fall families began to aggregate again to fish, to hunt caribou and to prepare clothing for the return to the ocean ice. While the Inuit calendar was tied to natural phenomena, cultural choices and technologies determined which resources people pursued when and how.

The temporal regimes of traditional Inuit society were reflected in moral injunctions against laziness. Industriousness or being hard-working was highly valued and was part of the constellation of behaviors that defined an individual as both mature and intelligent or *inummarik* (a genuine person). This did not mean foregoing all leisure, but rather using time productively—keeping hunting equipment in working order, clothing mended, house tidy, and dogs fed. Older Inuit report that their earliest instruction on moral behaviour was connected to this desirable trait. Hubert Amarualik, an Igloolik elder, recalled as a child being sent outside early each morning to observe the weather. "We had to go out-

doors immediately after dressing in the morning. We would observe the sky conditions, note the types of clouds, and the position of the stars" (cited in MacDonald, 1998: 193). A number of Holman women told me that as small children they also were made to rise quickly from bed and go outside, never linger in doorways, and to respond quickly and obediently to the requests of elders. Young and older women in Holman, almost uniformly, told to me that their mothers had advised them to "stay active" during pregnancy and to avoid any impulse toward laziness. They explained that this was to assure both a fast and easy childbirth and to help the growing fetus develop as an active, hard-working individual (Stern and Condon, 1995). These patterns of activity inculcated in children were intended to be lifelong, and according to Guemple (1986: 15), individuals hoping to marry worked hard at appearing busy even when there was no actual work to do. Additionally, as it was "necessary to show the souls of the animals that one [was] eager to capture them" (Rasmussen, 1929: 181), rising early was believed critical to successful hunting and thus survival.

The calendrical sophistication alone suggests that organization of time was important to Inuit. There is little information concerning how temporal discipline was enforced or who enforced it. Under the traditional temporal regime, however, it was generally the outcome of particular activities rather than the time devoted to them that marked individuals as hard working, intelligent and mature. It seems likely that as long as individuals remained productively engaged they may have had a great deal of latitude regarding the specific disposition of their time. Yet, fear of others' disapproval (see Briggs, 1970; Brody, 2001 concerning the Inuit emotion glossed as *ilira*) carried enough moral weight to prevent most from flagrant displays of inactivity. The traditional values favouring activity and industry remain a potent moral force in the contemporary community.

Whalers, Traders and Missionaries

Beginning in the middle of the 19th century, whalers and then traders became a regular presence in the North American Arctic. At first, these newcomers were new resources to be exploited—resources that followed a consistent calendrical cycle—and many Inuit adjusted their seasonal activities in order to include these desirable resources in their subsistence round. Whalers, who arrived when the ice went out and remained until freeze up or wintered over, altered customary subsistence cycles of Inuit, but did not require Inuit to abandon their co-operative work patterns.

In contrast, involvement with fur trading resulted in changes in both the seasonal subsistence cycle and work group composition. Fox pelts reach their highest commercial quality during mid-winter—the season traditionally spent in large sealing communities on the ocean ice. Unlike sealing, fox trapping is a solitary activity, most efficiently accomplished by a single individual or a pair of individuals. In order to obtain the trade goods that could only be gotten through fox trapping, many Inuit groups abandoned their traditional mid-winter gatherings on the ocean ice. The transition from a hunting economy to a hunting and trapping economy occurred at different paces in the various parts of the Arctic with some Inuinnaat in the Holman region maintaining winter snowhouse communities into the 1940s.

Despite changes in the secular calendar, productive activities remained imbued with Inuit values regarding hard work and generosity. The temporal changes brought about by whalers and traders were largely byproducts of their economic interventions. Missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, however, actively worked to alter Inuit uses and apprehension of time. Some of their earliest efforts among indigenous peoples were directed at teaching them to observe the Sabbath (Sunday). Among the Inuit, missionaries introduced western calendars and day counters to teach them to reckon the days of the week. A variety of these calendars have survived in museum collections. Danish cartographer Gustav Holm reported that his assistant Hanserak, a West Greenland native missionary, taught an Ammassalik (East Greenlander) man use a seven-holed peg calendar so that "during the winter, when he lived far from us, he might be able to know when it was our Sunday." A year later the man was still accurately using the pegboard calendar (Holm, 1911 [1888]: 105).

Once Inuit had a need to reckon days of the week it also became necessary to name those days. There is no uniformity across regions in the new words Inuit created to name each day of the week. In some places the days were given numerical appellations, while in others the day names applied were related to the requirements of Christianity as presented by missionaries. This is particularly the case for Sunday, which was widely designated the "forbidden to work day." In areas under the influence of Catholic missionaries, meatless Fridays were also incorporated in that day's name.

A number of writers noted the seriousness with which Inuit accepted missionaries' commandments to cease working or travelling on the Sabbath, a practice continued by contemporary Baffin Island Inuit residing at outpost camps (Searles, 1998: 160). Corporal Wall of

the Royal Canadian Mounted Police noted in the report of his 1932 patrol of western Victoria Island that the Inuit at Minto Inlet "observe Sunday very closely and will not do a thing, spending most of the day singing hymns even if the camp is out of meat" (RCMP, 1933: 7). Stefansson remarked on a similar experience in the same general region even earlier.

> It was on Friday that we came [to an encampment in the Coronation Gulf region]....I had therefore to stay for several days to talk over old times. There was so much rejoicing in camp over our visit that...all [their] occupations were suspended in honor of our coming, and we feasted so energetically that by Saturday night we had eaten up all the food that was in the camp. This did not seem serious to me in the evening, for there were ptarmigan on every hillside and rabbits in every bush, and doubtless a good many fat fish under the ice right in front of our tent door. But on Sunday morning, as I might have known would be the case had I thought of the matter, no body [*sic*] was willing to do anything toward getting food, for it was now the Sabbath and the Sabbath must not be broken...
>
> ...Monday morning bright and early every one was out hunting and fishing, and long before noon we had plenty to eat. This entire community had been heathen to a man when I lived with them in 1906. (1962 [1913]: 373)

The first Anglican missionary to the Inuit near Coronation Gulf noted this passage from Stefansson's memoir with delight. It provided the proof to him that his efforts to save Inuit souls had been successful (Girling, 1920). MacDonald (1998) argues that conversion to Christianity and the observance of a single predictable day of taboo likely relieved Inuit of some of the burdens of indigenous, but less regularly imposed taboos. "They found that it was much easier for them to observe [this] one day. So on that account they fully respected Sunday" (Noah Pinugaattuk, cited in MacDonald, 1998: 204).

In the period leading up to the establishment of permanent settlements, two distinct ways of dividing time—one Christian, the other economic or secular—seem to have been in operation. Inuit values concerning the importance of industry continued to guide the secular, seasonal organization of activities, while the new Christian regime imposed a pattern of weeks. It appears that there was little or no connection between these two temporal regimes. The same dichotomy existed among Northern Ojibwa around the same period (Hallowell, 1937: 659).

Time Clocks and Town Clocks

1960–mid-1980s

In many ways the move to permanent government towns was a dramatic break from the previous structure of Inuit outpost camps. In particular, settlement life presented a new temporal regime based, in part, on the operational schedules of the southern bureaucratic institutions that constituted the town. Within a short period, the new temporal regime regulated not only the way Holman residents organized their seasonal and weekly activities, but also governed daily activities within the new town. Just as in southern Canadian cities, the economic and the religious calendars became mutually reinforcing. Not just the Sabbath, but the *weekend* took hold. Weekdays became the time to work, shop, and handle bureaucratic matters, while weekends were reserved for leisure activities. The move to permanent settlements further reinforced the distinction between the work week and the weekend. Although very few Holman Inuit participated in full-time wage labour initially, the bureaucratic structure (the school, the clinic and the administrative offices) and the retail institutions operated on an astoundingly rigid five-day "business week" including a 9-to-5 type schedule with fixed coffee and lunch breaks which served to discipline many local activities. Even casual participation in wage labour committed an individual (and a family) to a particular routine.

> Another important factor in summer activities is the ready availability of casual wage labour, which many hunters take advantage of. This requires their presence in the settlement every day. For the wage labourer, hunting must take a secondary role, and can be indulged in only in the evenings and on weekends. This is the main reason that Coppermine people do not make long boat journeys in summer. (Usher, 1965: 157)

Although there was a clear temporal organization of bureaucratic life, the settlement provided few organized activities. Social activities largely consisted of visiting, card games and spontaneous sports play or dances. Even after the arrival of television in 1980, children and teenagers spent much of their time "hanging out." Their constant complaint was that Holman was "a so boring town [with] nothing to do." Apparently, even much larger arctic towns were characterized by this seeming absence of purpose. Writing about communities on Baffin Island, Brody (1975: 208-209) noted that "time weighs heavily on the young. Those who feel unable or disinclined to hunt and trap must spend hours trying to amuse themselves, by meandering here and there in the

villages, visiting, gossiping, sitting, dreaming." It was not the case that adolescents lacked a sense of temporal order. Our ethnographic observations indicated that teenagers were quite keenly aware of time (see Condon, 1987). Rather, it appears that in the social context of the town many adolescents found themselves disconnected from the social relations that inhere in tasks (Ingold, 2000: 323-338; Sorokin and Merton, 1937).

Perhaps the most striking temporal anomaly of the early settlement era was the phenomenon of becoming "turned around" or "backwards" in wake-sleep cycles. During the periods of mid-winter darkness and mid-summer daylight, children, teens and many adults slept during the daytime hours and were awake at night. The natural human circadian rhythm is slightly longer than an actual day. Consequently, human societies develop social mechanisms that help regulate daily rhythms. Both the school and the primary employer, the Holman Eskimo Cooperative, closed or cut back operations during summer and mid-winter. All night community games held between Christmas and New Years and during the Kingalik Jamboree (a summer festival centred around duck hunting) in June lent legitimacy to the habit of becoming turned around. This has changed in recent years. While it is still acceptable (and expected) for teenagers to become turned around, it is not seemly for adults to do so. During the 1999 Jamboree the festivities for adults ended each night around 11:00 p.m. Teen dances continued into the wee hours of the morning. The week between Christmas and New Years, however, remains a period of all night games for the entire community. The process of becoming turned-around during mid-summer or mid-winter occurs quickly and without effort. Reversing the process can be difficult.

Interestingly, in the pre-settlement period when there were no non-Inuit temporal regulators, wake-sleep cycles were slightly altered in summer (Jenness, 1970 [1922]: 131-132),[3] and winter activity rhythms did not become desynchronized at all.

> On a normal mid-winter day the Eskimo hunter never stirs till about eight o'clock. His wife usually rises a little earlier to kindle the lamp, which usually expires during the night. Sometimes she lights it from her bed, but an energetic woman will always rise early and occupy herself with some task or other. (Jenness, 1970 [1922]: 112)

One explanation for the seeming absence of "temporal discipline" in the first decades of settlement is that within the town, the routines and daily purpose associated with life on the land, were no longer appropriate, and despite being subject to a new bureaucratic time regime, the activities associated with the new regime also lacked meaning for most Holman Inuit.

During springs and summers throughout the 1970s and 80s, many Holman adults with wage labour jobs took leave from work in order to spend time at seal hunting or fishing camps. Those who continued to work often stayed up all night sealing or fishing and then went to work exhausted the next day (Condon, 1983: 143). Children and teens, especially, appeared impervious to any sort of regulation—temporal or otherwise. They fixed their own meals when hungry, slept where and when they chose, attended school irregularly, and spent much of their time wandering around the community visiting and playing. It was common to see quite young children playing in the schoolyard in the wee hours of a summer morning. Seasonal temporal disorientation remained the norm through the early 1980s.

1984–present

Several critical events in the mid-1980s reinforced the social importance of town life and town temporal rhythms. A number of new wage labour jobs were created with the establishment of Holman as a hamlet or municipality and with the settlement of land claims in 1984. At the same time, the collapse of the international fur market forced many would-be hunters and trappers or their spouses, or both, into the wage economy with its demands for temporal co-ordination. Given new options, few adolescents and young adults considered subsistence hunting as a career option. A new school building with a gymnasium was constructed in 1985, bringing a significant decrease in truancy. The gym became a hub of community activity and the site of nightly games. These ran on an inflexible schedule established by the non-Native recreation manager in consultation with a local recreation committee. Separate activity times were designated for children, teenagers, women and men. At 10:00 p.m. all school-aged children were sent out. Some, though not all, went home.

The construction of a large, indoor hockey arena in 1990 serves as another marker of community development. The hockey arena is the most important site in a community recreation program that includes the school gym, two baseball diamonds, a nine-hole golf course and a beach volleyball court. The community recreation program also consumes the largest part (approximately 1/3 in 1999) of the Hamlet budget. By the early 1990s, the spontaneous sports and games that had predominated in earlier years gave way to a seemingly never-ending cycle of community and regional sports tournaments in

which most young men and many young women participated. Ice hockey season was followed by the softball season, then golf, volleyball and finally basketball—each with its own teams, trophies and banquets. During the early 1990s young people often spoke about the difficulty making time to hunt or engage in other "traditional" activities, but managed to find both time and money for sports. Several older community residents expressed the opinion that young adults' involvement in sports was at the expense of subsistence activities, but the prevailing view was that sports contributed to community solidarity. Through the 1990s recreational sports became an important temporal regulator, and unlike the other bureaucratic forms of time regulation, is one in which many in the community saw the activities themselves as socially valuable.

More important than the infrastructure and economic changes were the political changes associated with the establishment of a hamlet government. The new governmental structure of the town for the first time placed responsibility for the administration of the town in the hands of local Inuit. They were not, however, given free reign to operate the town according to purely local sensibilities. Rather, the town is run according to the norms and protocols deemed proper by Canadian standards that the Hamlet Council neither questions nor challenges. To the contrary, local government in Holman operates with a formality that seems out of place in a town of only 400 people. This is, at least in part, because the hamlet government system is not of local origin, but rather imposed from the outside. The Inuit Hamlet Councillors adhere to formal rules because they are uncertain which ones, if any, can be legitimately discarded. One outcome has been to emphasize the value of modern institutions at the expense of traditional ones.

The current temporal regime is not uniformly accepted, however. Many children, teenagers, and others without wage labour jobs continue to keep "irregular" hours interfering with the sleep of wageworkers. In response, the Hamlet Council passed a by-law to limit late night noise by regulating the hours during which snowmachines and all-terrain vehicles can be used. They also established curfews for children and teenagers. Initially these curfews were enforced year round, and during the summer of 1993 many parents complained to me of sleep deprivation resulting from keeping their wide-awake children in the house at night and then trying to get to work on time in the morning. The curfew by-law was subsequently amended to apply only to the periods when school is in session, but in 1999 several Councillors expressed interest in re-extending the curfew period.

Although the temporal regime in Holman remains contested, except for the week between Christmas and New Years when all-night games are held at the gymnasium, summer and mid-winter seasonal desynchronization or becoming turned around is primarily limited to the young (for whom it is acceptable) and the unemployed (for whom it is not). During the summer of 1999, while most households kept hours similar to southern Canadian norms, a significant minority was either partly or fully turned-around. As an ethnographer, I found this situation difficult to negotiate. During each of my previous visits to Holman, I visited homes without appointments and could be reasonably certain of finding the adults awake according to a generalized community schedule appropriate to the season. In order to visit people in 1999, I first had to inquire into the sleep-wake habits of the household and make an appointment to drop by. The phrase "upside-down" had replaced "turned-around" as the local expression for reversed sleep-wake cycles, and people who were not turned around described themselves as being "right-ways."[4] Quite a few of the adults who were turned-around were defensive about the matter. One unemployed and turned-around woman, who had apparently been getting grief from her parents, nearly exploded at me when I asked if people in another household whom I wanted to visit were turned-around. At the same time the institutional rhythms of the town rigidly adhered to southern schedules, so that those who were "upside-down" had a great deal of difficulty buying food or accomplishing even minor bureaucratic matters. When I asked the non-Native manager of one of the two local retail outlets if he ever modified the store hours to accommodate seasonally altered sleep-wake patterns, he replied categorically that he would not dream of such a thing. Solely external changes and pressures do not create the personal unease of being turned around. For example, a participant in Condon's 1992 Harvest Effort Study declared that he did understand "those guys who don't have jobs and stay up all night and don't do anything and live off social assistance" (Condon field notes, November 1992). In 1999, this man and several others who had previously held full-time wage labour jobs were among the Holman residents staying up all night and collecting social assistance. For whatever reasons they become turned-around, for the 50% of Holman adults without jobs it is likely that becoming "upside-down" may be simply one more reminder that they do not measure up to expectations.

Work as a Temporal Regulator

The story of Inuit communities in the 20th century has been one of increasing economic, social and political articulation both within and outside the Arctic, although the way this articulation has occurred has varied across the North. In Holman, as in much of the Canadian Arctic, sedentization was accompanied by increased demand for manufactured goods. There were very few wage labour opportunities during the first few years of settlement, and almost all cash was derived from trading fox and seal pelts, temporary construction work, and social transfer payments. This began to change during the 1960s with the establishment of the Holman Eskimo Co-op.

Local producers co-operatives, such as the Holman Eskimo Co-op, were part of a Canadian federal government program to create employment in the new towns and to teach employment and financial skills to unschooled Inuit (Iglauer, 1979). Like many of the northern co-ops, the Holman Co-op's earliest products were arts and crafts produced primarily by women. Men, for the most part, continued to be primarily engaged in subsistence hunting and trapping which they combined with seasonal construction work. By the mid- to late-1970s, however, approximately half of Holman adults had regular, if part time, wage employment either at the Co-op or in some form of municipal services.

How is wage employment related to changes in the temporal regime in Holman? In the ethnographic literature on Inuit society, wage employment is often regarded in opposition to subsistence work (Condon, Collings and Wenzel, 1995; Irwin, 1989; Wenzel, 1983; 1991). This is largely a result of the very different temporal orientations of the two kinds of work. Unpredictable weather conditions and animal movements mean that trapping and subsistence hunting, in particular, are difficult to schedule, and in Holman there have been no serious efforts to tailor wage work schedules to accommodate subsistence work.[5] It is not unusual for an Inuk to plan a weekend outing only to have the weather turn bad or to be delayed on the land by weather or a snowmobile breakdown. This temporal incompatibility between wage work and subsistence exists even for activities that can be done without leaving town. Dried arctic char is a particular delicacy of late summer, and many families like to set nets for the fish. A few families, particularly ones committed to wage employment, set their nets within a few steps of their front doors. However, during the brief periods when the arctic char are running it is possible to catch several hundred fish at one time. The fish must be retrieved, gutted and filleted for drying irrespective of other demands. During the char run in July, 1999 one couple, who had chosen *the* prime spot for their single net spent their days at wage jobs and their nights retrieving (the husband) and cleaning (the wife) fish with little time left for sleep or other tasks. Other people periodically stopped by to chat and the women often filleted (and carried away) a few fish, but events like this are sharp reminders of the temporal conflict that exists between town life and subsistence life. While the issue of temporal incompatibility is not insignificant, for many Holman residents the alternative to wage labour is not subsistence work, but the dole. In order for temporal relations associated with subsistence work to survive there must be an active group people maintaining a subsistence-oriented temporal regime. Without one, it is easy to see how it is that the temporal relations associated with 9-to-5 wage labour and other town-oriented activities have come to dominate quotidian affairs.

The proportion of working-age Holman Inuit with permanent wage labour jobs has remained roughly constant at around 50% since at least the late 1970s, but the distribution of these jobs has changed quite a bit in the last two and a half decades.[6] During the 1970s and early 1980s, most of the permanent wage employment in Holman was with the Co-op. Since the mid-1980s, government, especially the Hamlet, has been the largest employer accounting for more than three-quarters of all full-time jobs in 1999. Casual wage work continues to be more abundant in the summer and early fall, but it is also considerably more prevalent now than it was in the past. In the recent past Inuit who were employed on a casual basis would likely identify themselves as hunters, seamstresses or homemakers. Today, in keeping with the labels assigned by the government bureaucrats responsible for doling out social assistance, they tend to refer to themselves as "casual workers."

Since the establishment of Holman as a hamlet in 1984, the municipal government, in order to fulfil its mission to improve living conditions in the community, has actively sought to increase the levels of both permanent and casual employment. In this regard they have been successful and the number of public sector jobs in Holman have increased. In fact, employment levels have increased faster than the amount of work to be done to the point that some public employees have little or no actual work to do, and struggle to find tasks to occupy their time at work. Their employer, the Hamlet of Holman, nonetheless expects them to be present at work. Yet, employee absenteeism is common, and there is social friction in the community around this issue. For

wage workers time spent at work, rather than the work accomplished, is now taken as the measurement of productivity. This remains in marked contrast to the way in which subsistence worked is evaluated.

Other Modern Temporal Regulators

In addition to work, other institutions reinforce the town mode of organizing time in Holman. These include formal coffee and lunch periods for those with jobs. Paydays, the arrival of airplanes and hockey games are all anticipated and planned for. For example, in March 2000 the Holman Elders' Committee strategically scheduled a fund-raising bake sale to coincide with the Hamlet's payday. Additionally, medical appointments must be scheduled, and those who need social assistance must make appointments for that as well. A school bus was put into service at the start of the 1999/2000 school year in part to help children get to school on time. Community social activities are also scheduled, so that people know that Wednesdays are reserved for women's sewing night at the Anglican Church, while on Tuesdays there is sewing at the Elders' Center, and on Fridays there is drum dancing at the community hall. The existence of a variety of activities in Holman means that people can choose how and when to participate in civic life. None of the foregoing is at all surprising unless one considers the contrast with the first decades of settlement living when there were few scheduled activities, and those that did exist rarely began at the hour specified. The shear number of competing activities reinforces the logic of scheduling according to the clock.

Television

Broadcast television was introduced to Canadian arctic communities beginning in 1973 following the deployment of the Anik communications satellite a year earlier. The Anik (meaning "brother" in Inuktitut) satellite broadcasts, consisting of approximately 14 hours a day of American and Canadian programming in English, reached Holman in the fall of 1980. As was the case when television first arrived in U.S. and southern Canadian homes, it was mesmerizing. People watched everything that was broadcast.

> I have been informed that the impact of television has been so great that settlement council had to turn off the satellite dish at Christmas time in order to get people up to the community hall for games and dances. (Condon field journal, February 15, 1982)

By that summer some of the novelty of television had worn off. People kept their televisions turned on whenever they were home, but other than making a special effort to watch a few particular shows (notably *Dallas* and *Hockey Night in Canada*), most people seemed to go about their activities as normal. Television programming increased from a single channel broadcasting approximately 14 hours a day in 1980 to 24-hour multichannel cable and satellite packages in 2000. Television's role in the internalization of "clock time" must not be underestimated.

> It [television] is so attractive, especially to the younger half of the population, that most have self-imposed the awareness of clock time, not only for schools and jobs when in the settlements, but for their whole lives even when away from the settlement, camping, hunting and fishing...
>
> Thus not only do people arrange much of their social life in the settlement around TV programming, but *they may plan their hunting trips to fit in between TV shows*. It is common to hear young men say, "I'll go seal hunting out at the island, but I'll be back in time for the 'Waltons' on Thursday" or "We haven't caught many fish through the ice yet, but we've all got to be ready to go back to the settlement by 3 p.m. if we're going to be able to watch 'Mannix' at 7 p.m." Thus watches, though previously worn by most Inuit, have come to be heavily used even when they are far from the *qallunaq's* (whiteman's) sphere of influence, the modern settlement. (Graburn, 1982: 11, emphasis in original)

Graburn (personal communication) notes that as soon as they became available videocassette recorders allowed Inuit to schedule their television watching to accommodate other activities. Nonetheless, the temporal logic of television programming with its 30 and 60 minute time slots broken up by 30 and 60 second commercials is easily internalized.

Family planning

The first two decades of settlement life were characterized by pronounced seasonal differences in activity rhythms, work and consumption patterns, illness and fertility (Condon, 1983). However, an examination of births to Holman women between 1980 and 1987 showed that birth seasonality had disappeared (Condon, 1991). Following this finding, Condon and I (Stern and Condon, 1995: 27) argued that in Holman contraceptive efficacy increased dramatically with greater adherence to a wage labour economy. This was the case even for individuals not employed in the wage sector, and we felt that the increase in overall wage employment helped reduce the irregular sleep/wake cycles that previously made the

use of oral contraceptives (which must be taken on a schedule) difficult. Up-to-date fertility data from Holman show that the mean birth interval increased from 25.9 months in the 1960s (n=73 births) to 50.5 months (n=45) in the 1980s, and was 44.7 months (n=66) for women who gave birth in the 1990s. Injectable contraceptives, such as Depro-provera, are currently popular among young Holman women. Use of these also requires attention to a particular temporal model albeit a different one than The Pill.

Fertility reductions associated with increased contraceptive use has helped reinforce contraceptive use. In addition, having smaller families reinforces town-based temporal norms. Young women in Holman today expect to bear far fewer children than their mothers and grandmothers. The generation of women who completed their childbearing in the 1970s (n=6) had a mean of 9.2 children. Those who completed childbearing in the 1990s (n=12) had access to contraceptives for most of their reproductive lives and gave birth to a mean of only 5 children. While it is not possible to know how many children women still in their childbearing years will have, no Holman woman currently under the age of 50 has given birth to more than five children, and three or four appears to be the norm.

With fewer children to care for, women are able to take wage labour jobs or enroll in vocational training programs. In fact, there is a great deal of institutional encouragement (and pressure) for individuals without regular wage work to enroll in vocational training courses, which may or may not lead to actual employment. Single women with children are especially encouraged to participate in "higher education" and financial support includes airfare and living stipends to support a family. Nonetheless, women with more than a few children may find it extremely difficult participate in a program that requires them to relocate away from their extended families.

Calendars and Clocks

Calendars and clocks are a noticeable feature in almost every Holman home. The living room walls in many of the homes I visited held two wall clocks and two or three calendars alongside photographs of deceased relatives and other memorabilia. One of the most common calendars was an annual gift from the Inuvialuit Game Council and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation. This calendar came with instructions for recording the harvest of subsistence foods for a harvest effort study. I was not aware if any of the calendars were used for this purpose. The prominence of the clocks and calendars in Inuit homes provided constant reminders of the modern temporal regime.

These subtle, but nonetheless pervasive, institutions—television, contraceptives, calendars and clocks—have served to accustom people to a particular time discipline. The bureaucratic temporal regime introduced along with the other aspects of town living is now seen by many as normal or natural even by those who are unwilling or unable to adhere to that norm.

Surveillance, Temporal Discipline and the Contestation of Institutional Power

Temporal discipline is not simply a benign by-product of activity patterns, but rather comes about through surveillance or the expectation of surveillance (Foucault 1977). For example, virtually everyone in Holman stops work between noon and 1:00 p.m. Offices and stores close, children leave school, and mechanics drop their tools and head home for lunch. Towards the end of the lunch hour people begin moving around again, and it is literally possible to set one's watch by the renewed sounds of snowmobiles and ATV's at the end of the lunch break. Often, a few people may gather on the steps of the Northern or Co-op stores in hopes of making a quick purchase before returning to their own jobs. A clerk at one of the shops repeatedly told me of the discomfort she feels on the days she is supposed to reopen the store after lunch. Although she is always "on time" returning to work, she nonetheless imagines disapproval from the waiting shoppers whom she believes she has kept waiting. I am not sure whether she worried that the customers would think that she was late for work or she felt that she was inconsiderate if customers had to wait for her. Either way, it was dependence on clock time that caused her stress.

Surveillance, or rather the avoidance of surveillance, is also implicated in people's efforts to discourage unexpected visitors. I believe this is at least partly related to attempts to conceal drug (marijuana) and alcohol use. Alcohol use, which follows a pattern common in other Inuit communities (Matthiasson, 1975), frequently occurs during the work week and contributes to high rates of employee absenteeism. This absenteeism is a source of tension in the community—as are alcohol and drug use themselves. Gossip was one of several traditional mechanisms of social control (Briggs, 1970; Chance, 1990; Condon, 1983; Rasing, 1994), and it remains one—though one utilized against non-kin. Although there are few secrets in a community of 400 people, people who are violating social norms may feel that they are targets of gossip. This expectancy is real,

and while substance abuse is the actual issue of concern, much of the social commentary about substance use has a temporal focus—"that guy drinks *too often*" or "that guy drinks *when* he should be taking care of his family." Insisting that social visits be scheduled according to the clock is quite possibly an effective strategy to avoid actual surveillance which, in turn, reinforces the anonymous time surveillance by the clock.

Historically, Inuit time was socially regulated, and it is still socially regulated. New mechanisms of regulation operate alongside more traditional mechanisms such as gossip and fear of others' disapproval. These new mechanisms to regulate time are public, formal institutions—including imposed government bureaucracy, growing importance of wage labour, and locally organized community recreation. Holman Inuit continue to value industry and co-operative work, but for many of the bureaucratic wage labour jobs it is difficult to define productivity. Thus, adherence to clock time has become a measure of work. Traditional attitudes about the appropriate uses of time are interwoven with external mechanisms in such a way that they are mutually reinforcing. In the past, time regulation was purely local. Today it is national and global. But time regulation is not simply imposed by institutions—there is a moral dimension to time regulation as well. In other words, people generally learn to exercise self-discipline regarding the organization of their time and they do this, in part, because they want to avoid the disapproval of others. At the same time there has been an increased bureaucratization and depersonalization of social life so that moral authority over time discipline resides in arbitrary bureaucratic structures.

The transition to town residence and the subsequent adoption of wage labour in Holman has favoured a particular temporal regime associated with industrialization and modernity at the expense of traditional subsistence activities. Yet for most Holman residents, wage work does not yet have the same emotional salience as traditional subsistence work. One result is that the time when one is seen engaged in particular activities has become as important as the activities themselves; hence the fear of disapproval experienced by the store clerk. This is consistent with Focauldian analyses of discipline and surveillance in which the power of modern society to control its members socially is enacted through the regulation of their time and labour (McHoul and Grace, 1997: 69). Though some of their practices contest it, the residents of Holman have accepted the legitimacy of an arbitrary and bureaucratically imposed temporal regime.

The contestation of the temporal regime may be a particular feature of modernity, and the ways the conflicts play out are rooted in the differential power of the competing institutions (Bock, 1966). At present, half of working-age adults in Holman do not and cannot have regular employment. Yet, there is moral pressure to appear active. Despite the fact that both traditional Inuit and modern models of time discipline value industry, few of those without wage jobs are active in the subsistence economy. Balancing the temporal demands of wage labour and subsistence work is extremely difficult. For those committed to the wage economy, the time defined as work time has required greater and greater amounts of co-ordination. The organization of work time demands that hours defined as non-work time also be organized. Until recently, the churches were able to define non-work time. Currently in Holman, town-based activities, especially recreational sports, fill this time. Involvement in organized sports is an important coping mechanism for young, unemployed Inuit men that allows them to define themselves as active (Condon, 1995). Many of those with wage jobs have come to view subsistence activities as not work, but leisure (Stern, 2000). Furthermore, most town-based activities are scheduled in ways that are compatible with a 9-to-5 workday. By encouraging the growth of activities that follow the temporal norms of southern Canada, community leaders are complicit in the regulation of people's time. Thus, the existence of organized activities to fill evenings and weekends makes it less likely that an individual will choose to go out hunting or fishing during his or her "free" time.

The modern temporal regime remains contested. This is most apparent in the tensions associated with alcohol-related absenteeism from work. The very question of whether or not it is acceptable to get drunk on a work night reveals conflicting models of the appropriate uses of time. These conflicts are also revealed in struggles between employees and supervisors over work hours, in the defensiveness of adults who become turned around, and in the need for the Hamlet Council to pass by-laws concerning late night noise. Christie and Halpern (1990) suggest that acculturation stress caused by the imposition of a Eurocanadian temporal model is responsible for the increases in other social stresses, such as drug and alcohol abuse, suicide, and spousal assault, which have occurred alongside modernization in the Arctic. There is disjuncture between earlier temporal regimes and the current ones and this gap contributes to the difficulties that young Inuit, especially, have in participating in socially valued activities, but I

doubt if the new temporal regime can be blamed for all of the social ills afflicting Inuit communities. Furthermore, the local institutions and practices that reinforce the new temporal regime must be acknowledged.

Conclusion

The alteration of the temporal regime reported here is not merely a story about the commodification of time; nor is it merely a story about the transformation of power with modernity. It is instead a story of the manner in which traditional values of industry and traditional mechanisms to regulate time have been recruited to support a new, arbitrary, and often inappropriate temporal regime. Indigenous self-government and other forms of local control do not necessarily result in creative or culturally appropriate solutions to problems. This is at least part of the issue of the Nunavut time zone conflict. If having all the Nunavut government offices open at the same time was indeed the intent behind the single time zone scheme, a simpler solution would have been to stagger the business hours across the three time zones. Why should 9-to-5 be sacred? One could ask the same question about business hours and coffee breaks in Holman. Why do Hamlet employees drop whatever work they are doing at 10:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. and break for coffee? The cause is not rooted in local class-consciousness, but rather in habit and an unquestioning acceptance of arbitrary work rules.

Traditional Inuit society had a clear temporal discipline that rewarded with prestige those who worked hard at whatever work needed to be done. Today, the *output of work* often seems irrelevant and too often it is the *time at work* that has become morally important. The new temporal regime not only governs the settlement routine, but also appears to have meaning apart from the activities it directs. As Inuit came in contact with traders, missionaries and other agents of colonialism, they adapted their activity rhythms to new resources and new demands, but by and large, continued to stress traditional values of time and work discipline. Indigenous time discipline, which had been modified by missionaries and traders, broke down with forced sedentization in part because it was unaccompanied by any external temporal regulator such as factories to discipline labour. Time regulation in the contemporary settlement is created and enforced by a variety of factors besides work, some of which Holman residents themselves "conspire" to create. Despite contestation, the actions of Holman residents reinforce these new ways of organizing years, seasons, weeks and days.

Acknowledgments

The most recent fieldwork for this paper was supported by grants from the Canadian Studies Association and the National Science Foundation (OPP-9903500). Laura Bathurst, Jean L. Briggs, Nelson Graburn, Peter V. Hall and Roland S. Moore and three anonymous reviewers read and commented on various iterations of this paper. I am grateful for their thoughtful questions and suggestions, any shortcomings that remain are my own.

Pamela Stern, Department of Anthropology, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, N2L 3G1

Notes

1 Stories and editorials about the Nunavut time zone matter appeared in the territorial weekly *Nunatsiaq News* most heavily during October 1999, October 2000, and March 2001. Back issues of that newspaper can be found at www.nunatsiaq.com. Southern Canadian news outlets gave the story brief play in October 2000 when the Nunavut government tinkered with its time zone policy in an effort to appease citizens living in the easternmost communities.

2 In the modern settlement, visiting (and hospitality) have been important social markers of Inuit-ness (see Kuchyski, 2001). Not all visitors to Inuit homes are equally welcome, and people's closest relationships of trust and friendship tend to be among kin. Nonetheless, this does not negate my point that spontaneous social visiting has diminished in both frequency and scope.

3 Briggs (personal communication) and Brody (2001), however, both point out that during the warm days of spring, Inuit often used the nighttime hours for hunting because the ice and/or snow were more likely to be suitable for travel. According to Briggs, children and adolescents found the anomaly of staying up all night exhilarating.

4 As I noted above, English is the primary language of conversation in Holman, and is spoken by all but a few Elders. In fact the specifically Inuit variant of English, which was spoken in Holman during my earlier fieldwork, has been largely replaced by idiomatic Canadian English. Unfortunately, I did not collect Inuinnaqtun terms for these phrases and cannot be certain that "turned around," "backwards," and "upside-down" would be glossed differently in Inuinnaqtun. I have no doubt that Holman Inuit use these different English language terms to imply subtle differences in meaning.

5 Alaska's North Slope Borough, which also has a primarily Inuit local government, enacted employment policies to accommodate traditional male subsistence activities, but not female ones.

6 Not all of these jobs are full-time, and an inelastic job market is a serious concern of Northern residents.

References

Amundsen, Roald
1908 *The North West Passage: The "Gjoa" Expedition 1903-1907*, Vol. 2, New York: E.P. Dutton.

Birth, Kevin K.
1996 Trinidadian Times: Temporal Dependency and Temporal Flexibility on the Margins of Industrial Capitalism, *Anthropological Quarterly*, 69(2): 79-89.

Boas, Franz
1964 [1888] *The Central Eskimo*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Bock, Philip K.
1966 Social Time and Institutional Conflict, *Human Organization*, 25(2): 96-102.

Bourdieu, Pierre
1963 The Attitude of Algerian Peasant toward Time, *Mediterranean Countrymen: Essays in the Social Anthropology of the Mediterranean*, J. Pitt-Rivers (ed.), Paris: Mouton: 55-72.
1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, R. Nice (trans.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1990 [1980] *The Logic of Practice*, R. Nice (trans.), Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Briggs, Jean L.
1970 *Never in Anger*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
1992 Lines, Cycles and Transformations: Temporal Perspectives on Inuit Action, *Contemporary Futures*, S. Wallman (ed.), London: Routledge: 83-108.

Brody, Hugh
1975 *The People's Land: Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic*, New York: Penguin Books.
2001 *The Other Side of Eden: Hunters, Farmers, and the Shaping of the World*, New York: North Point Press.

Burman, Rickie
1981 Time and Socioeconomic Change on Simbo, Solomon Islands, *Man*, n.s. 16(2): 251-268.

Chance, Norman A.
1990 *The Inupiat and Arctic Alaska: An Ethnography of Development*, Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Christie, Laird and Joel M. Halpern
1990 Temporal Constructs and Inuit Mental Health, *Social Science and Medicine*, 30(6): 739-749.

Collignon, Béatrice
1996 *Les Inuit: ce qu'ils savent du territoire*, Paris: L'Harmattan.

Condon, Richard G.
1983 *Inuit Behavior and Seasonal Change in the Canadian Arctic*, Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press.
1987 *Inuit Youth: Growth and Change in the Canadian Arctic*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
1991 Birth Seasonality, Photoperiod, and Social Change in the Central Canadian Arctic, *Human Ecology: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 19(3): 287-321.
1995 The Rise of the Leisure Class: Adolescence and Recreational Acculturation in the Canadian Arctic, *Ethos*, 23: 47-68.
1996 *The Northern Copper Inuit, A History*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Condon, Richard G., Peter F. Collings and George W. Wenzel
1995 The Best Part of Life: Subsistence Hunting, Ethnicity, and Economic Adaptation among Young Inuit Adult Males, *Arctic*, 48: 31-46.

Dahl, Jens
2000 *Saqqaq: An Inuit Hunting Community in the Modern World*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Foucault, Michel
1977 *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, A. Sheridan (trans.), New York: Vintage Books.

Girling, Herbert
1920 *At the Magnetic Pole III. The Gospel of the Power of God*, Toronto: The Anglican Church of Canada, Archives.

Graburn, Nelson H.H.
1982 Television and the Canadian Inuit, *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 6(1): 7-17.

Greenhouse, Carol J.
1996 *A Moment's Notice: Time Politics across Cultures*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Guemple, Lee
1986 Men and Women, Husbands and Wives: The Role of Gender in Traditional Inuit Society, *Études/Inuit/Studies* 10(1-2): 9-24.

Hallowell, A. Irving
1937 Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Preliterate Society, *American Anthropologist*, 39: 647-670.

Halpern, Joel Martin and Laird Christie
1990 Temporal Constructs and "Administrative Determinism": A Case Study From the Canadian Arctic, *Anthropologica*, 32: 147-165.

Holm, Gustav
1911 [1888] *Ethnological Sketch of the Angmagsalik Eskimo*, Vol. 39, Copenhagen.

Iglauer, Edith
1979 *Inuit Journey*, Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.

Ingold, Tim
2000 *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling, and Skill*, London: Routledge.

Irwin, Colin
1989 Lords of the Arctic, Wards of the State (abridged version), *Northern Perspectives*, 17(1): 2-12.

Jenness, Diamond
1970 [1922] *The Life of the Copper Eskimos*, Vol. 12, part A, New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corporation.

Kulchyski, Peter
2001 Six Gestures: Traces of Inuit Culture in Contemporary Cumberland Sound, paper presented at the 100th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, DC, November 28-December 2.

Lowe, Ronald
1983 *Kangiryuarmiut Uqauhingita Numiktittitdjutingit* (Basic Kangiryuarmiut Eskimo Dictionary), Inuvik, NWT: Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement.

MacDonald, John
1998 *The Arctic Sky: Inuit Astronomy, Star Lore, and Legend*, Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum and Nunavut Research Institute.
Matthiasson, John S.
1975 You Scratch My Back and I'll Scratch Yours: Continuitities in Inuit Social Relationships, *Arctic Anthropology*, 12(1): 31-36, 73-87.
Mauss, Marcel
1979 *Seasonal Variations of the Eskimo: A Study in Social Morphology*, J.J. Fox (trans.), London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
McHoul, Alec and Wendy Grace
1997 *A Foucault Primer: Discourse, Power and the Subject*, New York: New York University Press.
Mumford, Lewis
1934 *Technics and Civilization*, New York: Harcourt, Brace.
Munn, Nancy D.
1992 The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21: 93-123.
Nader, Laura
1997 Controlling Processes: Tracing the Dynamic Components of Power, *Current Anthropology*, 39(5): 711-737.
Nelson, Richard K.
1969 *Hunters of the Northern Ice*, New York and London: University of Chicago Press.
Pitsiulak, Kolola
1999 No Consultation on Time Zone Change, *Nunatsiaq News*, Iqaluit.
Rasing, W.C.E.
1994 *"Too Many People" Order and Nonconformity in Iglulingmiut Social Process*, Nijmegen: Recht & Samenleving.
Rasmussen, Knud
1929 *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*, Vol. 7(1), Copenhagen.
RCMP
1933 *RCMP-Patrol Report, Coppermine Detachment*, Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada.
Rotenberg, Robert
1992 The Power to Time and the Time to Power, *The Politics of Time*, H.J. Rutz (ed.), American Ethnological Society monograph series, Vol. 4. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association: 18-36.
Rutz, Henry J. and Erol M. Balkan
1992 Never on Sunday: Time-discipline and Fijian Nationalism, *The Politics of Time*, H.J. Rutz (ed.), American Ethnological Society monograph series, Vol. 4. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association: 62-85.
Searles, Edmund
1998 *From Town to Outpost Camp: Symbolism and Social Action in the Canadian Eastern Arctic*, PhD Dissertation, University of Washington.
Simpson, John
1875 The Western Eskimo, *A Selection of Papers on Arctic Geography and Ethnology*, R.G. Society (ed.), London: John Murray: 233-281.
Sorokin, Pitirim A., and Robert K. Merton
1937 Social Time: A Methodological and Functional Analysis, *American Journal of Sociology*, 42(5): 615-629.
Stefansson, Vilhjalmur
1962 [1913] *My Life with the Eskimo*, New York: Collier Books.
Stern, Pamela
2000 Subsistence: Work and Leisure, *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 24(1): 9-24.
2001 *Modernity at Work: Wage Labor, Unemployment, and the Moral Economy of Work in a Canadian Inuit Community*, PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
Stern, Pamela R. and Richard G. Condon
1995 Puberty, Pregnancy, and Menopause: Lifecycle Acculturation in a Copper Inuit Community, *Arctic Medical Research*, 54: 21-31.
Thompson, E.P.
1967 Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism, *Past and Present*, 38: 56-97.
Usher, Peter J.
1965 *Economic Basis and Resource Use of the Coppermine-Holman Region*, N.W.T. Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.
Vallee, Frank G.
1962 *Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin*, Vol. 62-2, Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre.
Vanstone, James W.
1962 *Point Hope, An Eskimo Village in Transition*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
Verdery, Katherine
1992 The "Etatization" of Time in Ceausescu's Romania, *The Politics of Time*, H.J. Rutz (ed.), American Ethnological Society monograph series, Vol. 4. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association: 37-61.
Wenzel, George W.
1983 The Integration of "Remote" Site Labor into the Inuit Economy of Clyde River, N.W.T. *Arctic Anthropology*, 20(2): 79-92.
1991 *Animal Rights Human Rights: Ecology, Economy and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Wilk, Richard R.
1994 Colonial Time and TV Time: Television and Temporality in Belize, *Visual Anthropology Review*, 10(1): 94-102.