Title: Leaving, staying or belonging: exploring the relationship between formal

education, youth mobility and community resilience in rural Alaska

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Abstract

Rural Alaskan youth are encouraged to pursue higher education in order to enhance individual and community resilience. However, the dwindling number of youth that return to their home communities after attending post-secondary education is a concern. In the context of Native communities, some argue that a university degree has little value and prevents the youth from returning. At face value, this presents a dilemma in which rural Alaska Native youth must choose between 'traditional' and 'modern' ways of life – between staying or leaving. However, this process is more complex than can be understood from these dichotomies. This paper presents research done with an Alaska Native community (2011-2012), focusing on the role of youth in community resilience. Rather than the question of staying or leaving, maintaining a connection to the community is the main driver of youth mobility. The village does not try to control the pathways of its youth but works to instill a feeling of belonging in the youth by involving them in community planning and guaranteeing jobs and housing. By actively shaping its institutions and linking individual ambition with community well-being, the community is able to transform otherwise challenging conditions into sources of empowerment and resilience.

Keywords: youth mobility, formal education, sense of belonging, community resilience, rural Alaska

Introduction

Rural community resilience is a highly debated topic in Alaska. This is partly due to the increasing cost of living in rural Alaska and the continuous presence of community viability problems, such as outmigration (Huskey, 2009; Lowe, 2010). Rural resident are predominantly Alaska Natives, although there is great variation between boroughs (State of Alaska, 2016). Between 1970 and 2000, more than 27,000 Alaska Natives moved from a rural community to an urban center and by 2000, nearly half of the 120,000 Alaska Natives residing in Alaska lived in urban areas (Goldsmith, Angvik, Howe, Hill & Leask, 2004). By 2010, 71% of all Native Americans and Alaska Natives lived in urban areas (Urban Indian Health Institute, 2013). The rural-urban movement depicted in the 2000 census does not account for the migration between rural villages and regional hub communities in Alaska, what Howe (2009) characterizes as a 'stepping stone' migration pattern (rural-regional-urban). Thus, it is likely that some rural communities are experiencing higher out-migration rates than what is captured by statistics on rural-urban migration.

The questions of rural-urban migration are especially pressing in relation to rural youth, who need to leave their home villages in order to pursue post-secondary education or training (Howe, 2009; Huskey, Berman & Hill, 2004). Studies investigating the link between levels of formal education and rural out-migration indicate that higher education often perpetuates the population problem facing many Native rural communities in Alaska (Donkersloot, 2005; Lowe, 2015). Proponents of formal education, however, argue that attending post-secondary education provides rural youth with skills critical for succeeding in modern ('western') society (Lowe, 2015). Whereas opponents do not necessarily disagree that formal education has this aim, they argue that this should not be the goal for all rural youth. Some express concern that the structure and content of formal education is only conducive to urban life, thus potentially alienating rural youth from life in their home villages (Hadland, 2004; Shaffer & Seyfrit, 2000).

At face value, this presents a dilemma between whether or not rural youth should attend post-secondary education and whether this population should aim for a life in rural Alaska or an urban center. This framing contributes to the dichotomies of 'leaving' versus 'staying' as well as 'modern' versus 'traditional' lifestyles.

This paper investigates how a rural Native community is dealing with the issue of formal education and out-migration as well as how this is perceived by the community youth. I show that a two-dimensional understanding of the issue of youth mobility (stay or leave) misses many of the nuances that play significant parts in youth's mobility choices and their influence on rural community resilience and sustainability.

Community challenges and the problem of outmigration

Northern rural communities face a variety of problems that in combination challenges their viability. These challenges include high cost of living (Daley, Burton & Phipps, 2015), changing demographics and economic restructuring (Amundsen, 2012), decreasing public services (Rasmussen, 2011) and changing environmental conditions driven by global climate change (Larsen & Fondahl, 2015). These problems are also present in rural Alaska where geographical and economic remoteness means the cost of living is more than twice that of urban Alaska (Fried, 2010; Huskey, 2011). This affects income and poverty rates[i] and the availability and accessibility of social services, such as health, education, and legal matters (Alaska Center for Rural Health, 2011). Another pressing issue is the lack of stable access to food resources through subsistence activities. This is a concern due to issues of food security (Feeding America, 2016), cultural identity (Berman, 2009; Gerlach, Loring, Turner, & Atkinson, 2011; Loring & Gerlach, 2009) and health (Bersamin, Luick, Ruppert, Stern, & Zidenberg-Cherr, 2006; Nu & Bersamine, 2017). Alaska Natives suffer from disproportionally high rates of cancer, type-2 diabetes and heart disease (Hagan & Provost, 2009). Other troubling rates include high alcohol and drug abuse (Jacobs-Wingo, Espey, Groom, Haverkamp, & Stanley,

2016), domestic violence, homicides, and suicides (Berman, 2014; Rieckmann et al., 2012). Suicide is the leading cause of death for Alaska Natives in the age group 15–24 (Allen et al., 2017) and the annual suicide rate for Alaska Native youth can be up to 18 times higher than for their non-Native peers (Wexler, White & Trainor, 2015). Between 2000 and 2009, roughly half of Alaskan communities experienced at least one suicide (Alaska Department of Health and Social Services, 2015).

Research has found rural outmigration to represent a positive feedback loop that exacerbates the challenges described above. As the population decreases, the basis for some services and industries disappear and less jobs and opportunities are available in the community, which perpetuates outmigration (Martin, Killorin, & Colt, 2008). Furthermore, many communities rely heavily on state and federal subsidies and funding, both to cover basic necessities and to provide certain programs and services, including health clinics and schools (Berardi, 1998). In Alaska, schools must have a minimum of 10 students in order to qualify for state funding. Despite possibilities of distance learning, school closure often leads to further outmigration (Colton, 2015). Decreases in funding and social services often have negative implications for the quality of life in the villages, contributing to the ongoing social and health problems (Berman & Reamy, 2016; DeMarban, 2012; Martin, 2009).

Despite these negative trends, the Alaska Native population is growing. This is also the case in the rural regions, where high birthrates offset outmigration (Hamilton, Saito, Loring, Lammers, & Huntington, 2016). Importantly, this growth is generally centered in rural regional hub communities, whereas many other small rural communities still experience population loss (Goldsmith, Angvik, Howe, Hill, & Leask, 2004). In coming years, climatic and environmental changes are projected to contribute further to rural outmigration (Bronen, 2013; Meadow, Meek, & McNeeley, 2009; State of Alaska, 2015) and some coastal villages are already discussing relocation (Goode, 2016).

Community resilience and the role of higher education

The trends described above highlight the challenges to community resilience in rural Alaska. As a concept in ecology, resilience points to a system's capacity for self-renewal and maintenance when facing disturbances (Gunderson & Holling, 2002). In the social-ecological systems literature, resilience is defined as "the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity, and feedbacks" (Berkes & Ross, 2013, p. 6).

In more recent years, the concept of resilience has been applied to a community context. According to Magis (2010), community resilience is the "existence, development and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability and surprise" (p. 401). Resilient communities are seen to be inherently proactive and it is assumed that community resilience can be promoted by the community defining, modifying and administrating solutions to experienced and anticipated changes to the social-ecological system (Chapin, Knapp, Brinkman, Bronen, & Cochran, 2016; Robards & Alessa, 2004). Berkes and Ross (2013) suggest combining notions of resilience from ecology and psychology in order to move closer to an understanding of community resilience – combining broad questions of general resilience with specific questions addressing what/who needs to be resilient and to what stressors.

Resilience is also used to describe the ability of individuals to adapt positively to change (Ross, Cuthill, Macklean, Jansen, & Witt, 2010) and deal successfully with adversities, including social and environmental stressors (Hegney et al., 2007). Resilience at the level of individual, household and community are often seen to be interlinked, and it is assumed that enhancing individual resilience will likely enhance community resilience as well, although this is not always the case (Berkes, Colding, & Folke, 2003). Formal education has been highlighted as crucial for enhancing resilience and adaptation in individuals and communities (Muttarak &

Lutz, 2014; Shaffer & Seyfrit, 2000). For instance, average years of formal education per capita is sometimes used to determine a community's 'capacity to learn' (Cinner, Fuentes, & Randriamahazo, 2009).

In a rural Alaskan context, there are two main points of critique directed at this viewpoint. The first concerns the experienced mismatch between post-secondary education and job availability in rural Alaska. College can be a step towards permanently leaving one's home community, due to lack of relevant employment opportunities, which is leading to 'brain drain' in many villages (Hadland, 2004). Most villages have relatively few paying jobs and unemployment rates are generally high, making it challenging for a newly educated person to get hired. Moreover, jobs in the villages are most often limited to a few sectors, such as public administration and maintenance. This is likely to end up in a mismatch situation where the expectations and qualifications of the youth do not match the needs and reality of their home communities, making the youth 'unfit' for rural life. The issue of educational mismatch and over-qualification is not new and was identified at the National Science Foundation conference in 1999 as a major concern.

> Students are taught that obtaining a formal educational credential (such as a degree or certificate) is the measure of academic success and that obtaining a credential is both a necessary and sufficient basis for success in the labor market (…) However, for many rural youth, this assumption is highly questionable. (Shaffer & Seyfrit, 2000, p. 12).

A second point of critique concerns deeper issues of culture and the very nature of what and how youth are taught in school. This issue is of particular concern in Native communities, where 'Western culture' is seen by some as posing a threat to the survival of 'Native culture' (Schaeffer & Christensen, 2010). This viewpoint is tightly connected to the historical

assimilation of Native peoples through both social and economic policy. From the early 1900s up until the mid-1970s, it was common practice for Alaska Native children and youth to be placed in boarding schools, far from their home communities, with the purpose of 'civilizing' them and assimilating them into U.S. society. At many of these boarding schools, any signs of Native culture (such as speaking in one's mother tongue) was forbidden and in some cases punished with physical and mental abuse (Barnhardt, 2001; Easley, Charles, La Belle, & Smith, 2005). It is generally recognized, that the boarding schools had a detrimental effect on Alaska Native cultures and is a contributing factor to the current high rates of health and social problems among this population (Evens-Campbell, 2008; Hirshberg & Sharp, 2005).

Although modern education is a far cry from the Alaska boarding schools of the past century, some still argue that it facilitates a continuation of the colonial assimilation process, teaching 'Western' or 'white' ontologies and epistemologies (Wexler, 2009). As Hill (2017, p. 69) points out, with 90 percent of rural teachers being white and 90 percent of rural students being Alaska Native, the construct much resembles that which has been used to "decimate Alaska Native languages, cultures, and traditions." In the context of college, the fear is that Alaska Native youth will adopt 'white' values and logics at the expense of the cultural values they were brought up with. A speech given by John Schaeffer at a NANA Regional Corporation meeting in 1981 exemplifies this viewpoint:

> When we do get some [Inupiaq] graduates with degrees we can't trust them to run our company for [NANA shareholders] because they don't think right. They don't think like Inupiaq. They don't look at things like an Inupiaq. When the few of them that do get through college come back we have to train them over again because they just think like Nalaugmiut [non-Native people] and we won't give a Nalaugmiut a chance to run this company because we've got things too important for us to sell, and basically in a business that's what they do. They sell whatever

they've got. Everything's for sale. Well in our corporation our land is not for sale! We can't have people who think they can sell our land running our company. So our young people who go through college, get done and come back thinking like Nalaugmiut, they're no good to us. They're wasted. (Schaeffer & Christensen, 2010, p. 63)

These two lines of critique point to increasing rural-urban migration as a potential unintended consequence of secondary and especially post-secondary education. The remoteness of many villages means that most youth have to move from their communities to attend post-secondary education, although the emergence of online classes is changing this to some degree (Basye, 2014; Hoanca & Mock, 2007). Moving away for school often means moving away permanently. A study done in Bristol Bay, Alaska, found that only 17 percent of rural youth that went to college between 1994 and 2003 had returned to their home communities after graduation. Of the youth that dropped out before graduating, 31 percent had returned to their home communities (Donkersloot, 2005).

In a response to some of these issues, efforts have been made the past decade to create a 'Native curriculum' for Alaska's schools through initiatives such as the Native Studies Curriculum Development (NSCD) project. The purpose of this work is to include Alaska Native perspectives on history and contemporary issues in order for Native children and youth to be able to recognize their culture and themselves in the classroom and thus envision their role in society (Ongtooguk, 2010). Similarly, The Alaska Cultural Standards for Educators has been developed with the purpose of shifting the focus from teaching *about* cultural heritage to teaching and learning *through* local culture and perspectives (Alaska Department of Education and Early Development, 2012). This type of education is argued to be able to enhance not only the resilience of individuals but also that of rural communities (Cost, 2015). Thus, rather than dismissing formal education as irrelevant for a life in rural Alaska, the curriculum needs to be

shaped in such a way as to become relevant by empowering the students in both Native and Western cultures (Education Task Force, n.d.). Other efforts include "induction seminars" offered by the University of Alaska to prepare non-Native teachers new to rural Alaska by introducing them to Alaska Native worldviews and ways of knowing (Roth, 2017).

Despite these efforts, some educators question whether or not the values and knowledge connected to traditional Native lifeways can be taught in a school setting, or if this is something that can only be conveyed through time spend engaged in such activities with Elders (Holthaus, 2008). This again presents the dilemma between prioritizing Native or non-Native activities, and preparing for a life in either a rural or an urban setting. How is this dilemma perceived in a contemporary rural community and how do choices and opportunities for formal education relate to other community elements in creating the conditions for rural youth mobility and enhanced community resilience?

Methods

The empirical material in this paper is based on work done in collaboration with residents of the community of Igiugig, Southwest Alaska. I pursued collaboration with this community due to a combination of both 'common' and 'unique' characteristics. As most Native villages in Alaska, Igiugig is small (although smaller than average - 66 permanent residents in 2012), remote (not on the road-system), and has a high cost of living. As is common in coastal Alaska, subsistence and commercial fishing is of high economic and cultural importance to residents of Igiugig, the majority of which identify as Yup'ik. However, several aspects also set Igiugig apart from most other villages, including a high percentage of residents with a post-secondary education, a high youth-retention rate (especially women), and a relatively low unemployment rate.

My relationship with the community was motivated by my interest in the challenges faced by rural communities in Alaska. When I heard about the efforts in Igiugig, I became interested in why and how the trajectory of this community was so different. The goal of the research was to understand the 'why' and 'how' as well as to help nuance the discourse on rural Alaska by presenting other narratives of community life – and in the context of this paper, to nuance the understanding of the relationship between education and community resilience.

As a non-Native researcher working in a largely Native community, I was mindful of my own positionality and sought to build a frame for understanding and analyzing interviews and observations without reducing rich narrative to one-dimensional academic concepts. Inspired by action research and community-based participatory research, I approached the Village Council in early 2011 with an initial research idea. Based on research interests and community needs, the research questions ended up focusing on the role of youth in community development and the efforts of the community to accommodate its youth.

The research was approved by the appropriate institutional review board and at the time of the first visit in summer 2011, all residents had been informed of the research in a community meeting and via the community newsletter. Young people, defined as residents from ages 14-31[ii], were invited to participate in interviews. Additionally, Elders and other adults were involved in order to provide context and historical perspectives. During three visits to Igiugig, I conducted 21 interviews with 23 residents[iii]: 13 with youth, 3 with Elders (60 years and older), and 5 with other adults. The main method used was semi-directed qualitative interviews. The interviews were based on open-ended questions concerning experiences growing up in the village and hopes for the future. The interviews with Elders and adults focused on Igiugig's development as a community. The interviews were all recorded and transcribed and lasted from 20 minutes to two and a half hours, averaging around one hour.

The analysis was shaped by the narratives of community members coupled with issues identified via a desk study focused on rural community development in the north. Narratives from the first round of interviews were organized into main themes that formed the basis for a second round of interviews. The process of interviewing and analyzing data was interlinked and continuous. Although some questions were discussed in all the interviews, the interview process kept on developing as more narratives emerged throughout the three visits. After all interviews were conducted, the narratives were categorized and coupled with community development issues identified during the desk study. Community members were involved in the later stages of the analysis process in terms of validating assumptions and conclusions. A draft was sent out to all interviewees and after slight alterations, the final paper was presented and discussed at a community meeting.

Results

The research resulted in a sustainability analysis of the community, comprising several themes relating to community resilience (for the full analysis, see Gram-Hanssen, 2012). For the purpose of this article, the analysis takes a starting point in the issue of education and its relation to youth mobility. However, other issues are woven into the analysis to show the complexity surrounding youth mobility and rural community resilience. The analysis is organized around different themes, each exemplified with quotes from interviews with the youth and other community members.

Despite a considerable number of interviewees, not all are cited in the analysis due to space limitations. Generally, I have prioritized quotes from interviews that most fully exemplify either a unique or a common perspective. Several quotes from the interviews with the village administrator (Youth A) have been used, due to her prominent role in the community and her reflexivity when it comes to issues of youth leadership.

Whereas the narratives presented here are embedded within larger discourses in Alaska surrounding rural communities and education, the purpose of the analysis has not been to deconstruct these as much as to provide a space for the 'views from within' to be presented. The narratives are therefore largely presented 'as is', in a sense giving community members the role as analysts in understanding the 'positive deviance' (Hill, 2017) of their community. In the discussion section, these perspectives will give rise to a critique of the dichotomies of leaving/staying, non-Native/Native, modern/traditional etc., and a discussion of the role of formal education in rural community resilience.

Value of education

The interviews show a general support for formal education, both among youth, adults and Elders. As previously mentioned, one of the unique characteristics of Igiugig is the number of residents with a post-secondary degree. Between 2009 and 2012, the number of residents holding or in the process of pursuing a college degree doubled. This indicates that the focus on education has increased with the current generation of youth. The Village Council supports the youth in reaching their academic goals through co-funding scholarships and internships as well as making training available in the village or elsewhere. Educating the youth is seen as a community investment. The Elders and adults interviewed are not only concerned with how education will affect the youth but also how it might affect the community. Leaving the village for a while to attend college or do an internship benefits the young person by providing a wider social network as well as gaining a new appreciation for life in the village. The philosophy of the Village Council is that this experience will make the youth more capable of contributing to the betterment of the village.

The importance of education comes up as a theme in nearly all the interviews with the youth. When talking about the culture of Igiugig, most of the youth mention the importance put on

education, and how this contributes to the success of the village and to the young people themselves.

> I'm glad I went to high school here and I'm glad my parents moved here because the community really supported education. It's kind of like they had an expectation. It wasn't one of those expectations that they'd be extremely disappointed if you didn't do well but everybody would always be pushing us to do our best. They wanted to see us do our best. So I think that was really helpful. (Youth B, female, 19)

According to this youth, the village is able to strike a balance between expectations and support, which made her feel able to do her best in terms of academic achievement. However, a few of the youth interviewed do not consider high school or college a necessity for succeeding in rural Alaska.

> High school can't teach you how to live in Alaska, I mean all they're throwing in front of you is papers and names of dead people, it doesn't teach you how to live. They throw a bunch of nonsense at you. I thought I needed all that stuff when I was in high school but after I left and went to actually work at a real job, you never use none of that stuff that they try to teach you, or stuff your mind with. You might as well teach them how to add and subtract and send them on their way. (Youth E, male, 22)

This particular youth quit high school and started working in the oil industry, earning $40,000 a year. This made more sense to him than spending time and money going to school. This individual grew up and attended high school in another village in the area. The difference in perspective between youths seems to be related to where the youths grew up and went to high school. Generally, the youth that grew up in Igiugig speak fondly of their high school

experience, although some of the younger youths are unsure what they will use their high school diplomas for. Besides community support, good teachers that stayed in the community for an extended amount of time (six years) is mentioned as key to this positive experience.

A few characteristics of the educational set-up in rural Alaska can provide some context for this perspective. Rural Alaskan schools are characterized by a high teacher turnover rate, roughly twice that of urban Alaska. High teacher turnover correlates with low student proficiency as well as low graduation rates (Hirshberg, Hill, & Kasemodel, 2014). In small communities, having enough students to keep the school open is another central challenge. Since 1999, the cut off for state funded schools is 10 students (DeMarban, 2012). In 2012, the Igiugig School had 11 students and two teachers. The Village Council tries to have someone on the school district board in order to potentially influence what teachers they get as well as to contribute to the discussion concerning curriculum development. Despite standardized curriculum and testing, there is some maneuverability for shaping the actual teaching, which in the case of Igiugig has enabled the teachers to create a classroom that is not only academically stimulating but also relates to the community context, e.g. by involving Elders and community-based activities.

The quotes from the two youths above exemplify the two viewpoints highlighted earlier in the paper, pointing to the benefits of formal education to individual growth on the one side and the incompatibility of formal education with life in rural Alaska on the other. However, in both cases the interviews quickly change focus from talking about whether formal education is useful to describing and analyzing the community structures and support systems surrounding these and other educational efforts. In explaining their teaching experience in Igiugig, the teachers too highlight the supportive nature of the community and how this motivates students and teachers alike.

When I first came in this district six years ago, this was like the golden child school. Everybody was so academically minded here that you'd hear these stories about Igiugig. (…) Everybody really supports the school; they come to all the meetings that we have, parents come to parent-teacher conferences, you know, people wanting to know how they can help out. It's very different. (Adult D, female)

The emphasis on education is seen by both youth and adults to represent an emphasis on youth and a recognition that all youth, regardless of their academic choices, can contribute to the further development of the community if given the chance to do so.

Focus on youth

The village realizes that sending its youth off to college is likely to mean sending them off to a future outside the village. However, whether the youth will return after finishing their education or training is seen as connected to the possibilities for settling down in the community. Igiugig aims at welcoming returning youth with jobs and housing opportunities. Out of six homes built in Igiugig during the last few years, five are now housing people below thirty. According to the village administrator, a young adult herself, this is unlikely to happen in other villages, where Elders and other population groups have higher priority when it comes to housing. In Igiugig, it is recognized that if they want their young people to live there they need to provide attractive and affordable housing.

The kind of mentality we need to keep is "what do we need for the young people to want to come back?" Maybe they won't want to and that's something we have no control over and we're not gonna try to even control, but we can try to make their experience here the best one possible. (Youth A, female, 26)

The village recognizes that it are largely unable to dictate the future for the youth. The problems of youth outmigration in rural communities cannot be solved in any one way, since the reasons

for leaving or staying varies between individuals. However, the village of Igiugig is determined to give its youth the best circumstances possible, within its means. The question, "what do we need for the young people to want to come back?" underlines a strong focus on the youth in that it guides many of the village's decisions regarding community development projects.

The Village Council has funds set aside for business projects and in exchange for a solid business plan the village has in the past given out small loans to Igiugig residents. This is attractive for those of the youth who aspire to start their own businesses. One of the youths, who has returned from college with a degree in business financing, plays with the idea of starting up a business in the village, hoping to both benefit the community and himself as a young entrepreneur.

> I think it'd be easier just being an [Igiugig-based] business that aids the community because then you have the support and people there to help you out and that local connection already. (Youth H, male, 24)

Another youth highlights the work-oriented mentality of the community as helpful to youths that are unsure about what to do, are in between jobs, or as in his case unable to work his normal job due to an injury.

> That's what I like about this place; I can sit back and relax and recuperate and still have a job to go to whenever I want it. (…) It doesn't matter what kind of work there is, they'll find something for me to do everyday. (Youth E, male, 22)

Besides helping to accommodate the aspirations of the youth, a broad economic base and a skilled labor-force is also of great value to Igiugig because of the positive impact economic diversity can have on the resilience of the village in terms of adaptability and self-reliance. This logic is similar to that of supporting post-secondary education; what is good for the youth is also good for the community.

Enabling youth leadership

Accommodating the youth starts long before return from schooling or training outside the village. From before the youth start high school, the village makes jobs and training available locally to anyone interested in gaining skills or earning a few bucks. For many of the younger interviewees, this is a central reason for being happy with living in Igiugig. Some of the older youths mention how their involvement with village affairs growing up helped them take on responsibilities and succeeding later on in their academic and working careers.

> I think also having all that responsibility as a kid helped us with the responsibility that we've taken on later. And looking back, our parents must have had a lot of trust in us to do a lot of these things. (Youth K, female, 24)

Having the youth participate in the day-to-day running of the village is nothing new. Both Elders and adults speak of youth involvement as part of the cultural fabric of the community.

> Igiugig is unusual in that ever since we were kids growing up, all the parents were involved with what we did, and they gave responsibilities to the young people right away. (…) I think when you give the young people that sense of responsibility then they feel obligated to be responsible. If you don't give them any responsibilities because you're thinking of your own self or (…) thinking they can't do it then they won't do it. But if you tell them they can do it, they can do it. (Adult E, female)

This process is not only identified as important for the personal development of the youths but also for their feeling of being part of the community. Trusting in the capacities of the youth thus extends to include their ideas and perspectives on issues of community politics and development projects. This is exemplified by the gifting of village corporation shares to children and youth. In Alaska, land claims were settled through the establishment of regional and village corporations. Being a shareholder of a corporation means being co-owner of

corporation lands. However, because of the way the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was set up, Alaska Natives born after 1971 do not automatically receive shares of their village corporation (Case & Voluck 2002). In Igiugig many parents and grandparents have divided their shares among their children and grandchildren, including them as legal owners of village lands.

Another way in which youth and children are given a voice in the community is by involving them in the articulation of community values and goals. Several youths were involved in the development of the Igiugig Strategic Plan from 2000.

> It was our opportunity to let our Elders and our parents and whom ever know what we wanted in the community: "This is what we want to see, so maybe you should be working towards that, and we'll come back and take over!" So, we're all involved in the planning and that's what needs to happen in other communities. I would not be putting forward all this effort and passion and love for my village if they never focused on youth to begin with. Because, you keep that in your mind the whole time you're at school or where ever, thinking: "They're counting on me! They're waiting on it." And in other communities it's like you come home and you better prove yourself and you better stick it out: "show us, and maybe someday you'll sit on a board, or maybe you'll become the administrator." It's frustrating. (Youth A, female, 26)

By taking part in the articulation of community values and goals, the ideas and needs of the youth are incorporated into the very foundation of the community. The inclusion of youth in every aspect of village life makes it easier for the young people to engage themselves in running the village.

Of course, not all youth are equally capable of or interested in engaging themselves or taking on leadership roles. However, having strong role models seems to have a positive impact on youth leadership in Igiugig. Almost all of the youth mention the late village administrator who passed away suddenly in 2007. They describe him both as being responsible for much of the village's 'success' and as a source of inspiration for what they themselves might be able to contribute with. Honoring his legacy is central to his children's choices of living in and working for the community.

> Everything here worth living for was brought here by [my father] and if it was not for him and him only I wouldn't even be serving here, I would just move on. It is not my cultural ties to this community that's keeping me here at all, it's a big benefit but the reason that I'm here is because he is my dad and my mentor. (…) It took decades to build what we have and it's taken the people we have in the community to build what we have and without one strong central figure or one strong central organization it could easily crumble and I cannot let that happen. (Youth A, female, 26)

Besides the late village administrator, other individuals also act as role models in different ways. All of the Elders enjoy high esteem and are characterized as the cultural cornerstone of the village. In terms of the youth, the current village administrator is herself a role model for other youth interested in tribal governance and village administration, taking on the role as administrator after her father at the age of 23.

Intergenerational and intercultural collaboration

Aided by the processes and conditions described above, the youth are making a visible mark on the community of Igiugig. Arriving by plane from Anchorage, one passes over the community greenhouse, wind turbines and a river turbine, which aspires to provide the village with enough

energy to eliminate the use of fossil fuels. When entering into the "airport terminal", one is met by an impressive recycling operation, including glass, metal, plastic and paper. Once inside the Village Council office, one is greeted by three young women in their twenties, likely one of the youngest village administrations in the state. Walking around the village there is activity everywhere, speaking to the diverse local economy of Igiugig, including several construction businesses, sport fishing lodges and on-going research projects in collaboration with the University of Alaska.

What goes on in Igiugig is of course not only the work of the administration and not only influenced by ideas of the youth. In Igiugig, community development is seen to be based on Yup'ik cultural values in a fashion that follows the traditional hierarchy, emphasizing the knowledge of Elders.

> Now we're teaching them young girls (…). We told 'em: "you guys gotta took over, we can't work forever, some days we might get too old, can't do stuff." Now they taking over them young guys. (Elder B, female)

However, Igiugig looks different from other rural communities in Alaska. Part of the economic activity is driven by Igiugig's location on one of the worlds' richest salmon rivers. Land use fees from up-scale sport fishing lodges provide important financial support that enables community development projects. Part of the different look of Igiugig also stems from the high number of non-Native residents and the fact that most of the current generation of youths have a parent or grandparent that is non-Native. When asked whether this makes the village less 'Native', one youth replies:

> No. You know, they always talk about blood quantum: "Oh you're only half [Native]," or whatever, but being Native has to do with a worldview. (…) It's living the values and believing in the worldview that makes you Native and this

community really upholds the values. (…) A lot of people have said from other communities: "They have white people working for their council." It just looks different in Igiugig, (…) Even though from the outside we look modern and whatever else, we have done it with our traditional values. I think that's why, even though we have hard times and same challenges as other communities, that we don't let them get the best of us. (Youth A, female, 26)

Some youth articulate 'traditional' Yup'ik culture and values (such as subsistence activities and a Yup'ik worldview) as essential to the health of the community, while others are less concerned, one youth stating, "I'm mostly Irish, so…" (Youth E, male, 22), indicating that this is of less importance to him. Other youth underline the importance of finding a balance between the different sides of themselves.

I've met a few people who are really intent on native stuff and I know that the native people weren't treated very well and they're very opinionated about that and they are very pro-native and all-native stuff. But I think that it's important also to acknowledge that the Caucasian side of us is important as well. (Youth B, female, 19)

Speaking about community development in general, another youth talks about the need to "expand on more of the traditional but also mixed in with the modern aspects of life," arguing that her generation's approach to cultural activities is "a little bit more adaptable" than previous generations (Youth F, female, 26). Although Igiugig is engaged with many projects that rely on knowledge and technology generated within non-Native society, the way in which this knowledge and technology is used in the community is guided by community values and priorities that in turn are tightly connected to Yup'ik cultural values. One way that this shines through is in relation to decision-making processes where the community aims for consensus. One of the non-Native village council members explains:

We've always worked for consensus, which I think is the old Native way. Like, if we can't agree then we just won't do it. But that's pretty much the way we still run the village. You know, if there's a project that comes up and someone's really against it, we either redraw it or find out what it is that they don't like about it; make it palatable for everybody or we just don't pursue it. And I think that spills over into the whole ambiance of the village (…) It gives everybody an attitude that we work together. (Adult F, female)

This type of collaboration requires good communication, both between the Village Council and the residents as well as among residents. This is especially a theme in the interviews with youth that have lived in other communities, one youth explaining: "Their community is functional. They run their community different [than other communities]" and "they interact with each other a lot" (Youth D, male, 17). Some residents relate this 'communicative culture' with the relative low level of social problems in Igiugig compared to other villages in the area, as well as the state average. According to the local Village Public Safety Officer, working in Igiugig differs from working in many other communities. Instead of "chasing bad guys around all the time" and being "twenty-five reports behind" what he worries about since moving to Igiugig "is if my coffee's gonna be ready when I come to my office" (Adult B, male). Igiugig residents are aware of their uniqueness and some have theories for why this is.

You treat people how you wanna be treated. There's no more of that thing I think. [Adults in other villages] are so mean to [their children], you know, negative words, not happy about them. And so these little kids grow up alone, they learn to be mean; they learn to defend themselves. (…) They come of age, they go off, running around wild, they come back, rather than helping out and being nice to people they're in to drinking and alcohol and guns and knives and fighting, some meanness comes out, and people can't understand. I feel like saying to them: "It's you guys' fault. You

adults, you guys lost your Elders and you guys never continued what the Elders were taught." (…) So it goes to show there's no communication, there's no care. I think lots of it is, "I love you," you know, just to say it and things like that. Too many negative stuff make people don't know how to live. (Adult C, female)

The importance of Elder-youth interaction is central to Yup'ik culture and something many relate to 'knowing how to live.' Igiugig Elders have a prominent position in the community and are encouraged to share their knowledge with the youth through organized language classes and culture camps. Some Elders go to other communities in the area to talk to youth there, hoping to have a good impact on those communities.

Nowadays they start let me talk stories, send me [to other villages]. [I] like talk stories for them. Cause nobody talk stories for the kids, that's why getting lost. It's our fault. (Elder D, female)

Besides learning traditional skills connected to hunting, fishing and gathering, interacting with Elders is seen to carry with it a deeper understanding of the Yup'ik cultural values and ways of knowing, which in turn connects the youth to their own cultural identity. The generational gap, which is said to have been created during the 'boarding school era,' is highlighted as a main cause of problems such as depression and substance abuse among Alaska Natives. Re-connecting people to their cultural heritage through youth-Elder activities is seen as healing (Assembly of Alaska Native Educators, 2001).

The ability of community members to communicate and collaborate thus bridges many possible divides, including age and cultural backgrounds. Since most of the youths are themselves bridging cultures by being both Native and non-Native, this effort is something that resonates well with them, providing a safe environment to explore different aspects of themselves. Within the same week, a youth may hunt for moose on the tundra and fly to Anchorage to get a

manicure. Although not all youths are equally engaged in all aspects of village life, all recognize the benefits of living in a community that allows for a wide range of cultural and personal expressions.

Sense of belonging

Community-supported education, jobs, housing and a voice in community matters makes it possible and attractive for youth and young adults to stay in Igiugig or return after outside training or schooling. However, when asked about why they have stayed or returned (in the case of the older youths) or why they consider staying or returning (in the case of the younger youths), they give reasons that are less about job opportunities and housing and more about a feeling of responsibility to help sustain the village into the future.

> I think I would [move back after finishing college] if that would make a difference, because it's such a special place, I wouldn't want to see it stop functioning. (…) Like, for the little kids here, they really love it here and it's the atmosphere and I think them growing up will be important, like, them staying here if they wanted to. I think I would come back to make sure that they have the opportunity to still live here. And like the school, it's really important that the school gets enough kids, cause without the school there is no community. (Youth B, female, 19)

Although there is a possible disconnect between what the youth think they will do and what they actually do in a situation like the one mentioned by this youth, other youth have done exactly this: come back to help the village in a time of need. When the previous village administrator passed away suddenly in 2007, three of his children, all at various stages of their college careers, moved back to the village. The middle sister ended up taking over the job as village administrator at the age of 23.

Besides a feeling of responsibility, family and cultural ties are mentioned by many of the older youth as a main reason for having moved back. Their memory of growing up in Igiugig has a strong influence on them wanting their own children to experience life 'in the bush' and being accustomed with Yup'ik cultural values and traditions. For one of the youths, this became clear when she had started raising her first child while living in Anchorage.

> I felt like in order for [my son] to experience life growing up how it was for our family, that I couldn't do it in Anchorage and he wouldn't learn our tradition, our culture, or probably even just be a hard working kid, cause what would he do in the city? (…) I want [my children] to be close to my family, and my grandma is getting old and I really want them to remember her. And I know that, you know, [living in the village] just makes them become more responsible and hard working, cause they're gonna have to work and they're gonna have to work for free and then they're gonna learn, you know, how to be responsible and take care of their possessions and I think they can get that out here. I can't send them to shovel snow in somebody else's driveway out in Anchorage. But here I can be like: "Now go to your grandma's house and clean dog poop." (Youth C, female, 28)

This same youth mention how her initial doubts about returning gradually has been replaced by feelings of pride, seeing in her children "the next generation of the future of Igiugig." Although most of the youth are set on raising their children in Igiugig, almost all keep the possibility open of moving someplace else, at least for a while. Some of the younger youth play with the idea of living in Igiugig seasonally, spending the winters in a bigger city, like Anchorage. When asked whether she plans to stick around Igiugig, this youth says:

> Yes! I will be buried over there by the church. I don't know where I'm gonna be for the next, you know, forty years, but I'll always maintain a connection here and it's definitely my primary residence, so I'm a lifer. (Youth A, female, 26)

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For most of the youth, it does not seem to be a question of staying or leaving, but rather a question of seizing the opportunities as they present themselves, i.e. responding to change and being adaptable in a way that allows them to stay connected to the village, making sure it will continue to flourish into the future. Speaking specifically to this adaptability and active choice making, one youth says:

> I hate people saying: "you're only living in the village cause you can't make it anywhere else." Because you know, I'd live wherever I want! I choose to be here. (Youth C, female, 28)

Discussion

The analysis has shown how formal education combines with other elements of community life in creating the context for youth mobility choices in Igiugig. Whether the youth pursues higher education is not necessarily indicative of whether they will stay/return. Rather, the support system surrounding the youth is highlighted as central to their feelings of belonging and thus their mobility decisions. Simultaneously, choices of leaving or staying are not seen as definitive but related to opportunities that arise and feelings of responsibility in times of need.

Understanding these narratives requires paying attention to context. Certainly, many of the Igiugig youth have greatly benefitted from having a post-secondary education, moving away for a while and coming back with new ideas and resources. The fact that Igiugig has a relatively diverse economic base means that there is a variety of jobs available within the community for the returning youth to occupy. This diversity is maintained both through the unique location of Igiugig along one of the world's richest salmon rivers (providing jobs in fisheries and tourism), as well as through the skillful acquiring of state and federal grants and contracts that allow community businesses to be profitable (providing jobs in construction and logistics). In other

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communities, these conditions might be lacking, making job availability a significant challenge for youth retention.

Context is similarly important when considering what motivates the narratives. The largely positive narratives concerning wishes of staying and/or returning must be seen in light of the ongoing debate in Alaska as to the future of rural villages. From crippling social problems (Medred, 2013) to apocalyptic threats of climate change (Goode, 2016), rural villages are sometimes portrayed as places with 'no future' that are in need of 'saving'. The community members, and the youth in particular, are well aware of this discourse and seem to actively confront it by their narratives of Igiugig as "a very sustainable little village" (Youth E, male, 22) and their lives there as a privilege and choice. Similarly, the discourse of education as either 'the answer' to rural Alaska's many problems or as part of these problems also does not seem to resonate with the Igiugig youth. It does not mirror their own experience growing up going to school and thinking about their possible futures.

Through the narratives, Igiugig is defined as a model community and several of the youths present themselves as model community members that are able to navigate societal expectations and community obligations. In the context of the 'no future' discourse and declining state funding for rural development, there are obvious personal and political motivations for doing so. Still, with the increasingly recognized importance of narratives in not only explaining but actively creating change (Veland et al., under review), these narratives should not be disregarded as simply a push back against stereotypes and societal pressures. Rather, they are important elements in a complex web of stories and emerging realities existing simultaneously in the community. Thus, in the context of understanding the role of formal education in building resilience, rather than the education itself, what becomes important is how the youth explain and make sense of their educational experiences. The shift from formal education to community support in the interviews with youth speaks to this.

The emerging theme of belonging seems to be more overarching than secondary and post-secondary education in terms of resilience. The concepts of belonging and sense of place are not new in fields such as community resilience (Amundsen, 2013), community sustainability (Stedman, 1999) and rural youth migration (Donkersloot, 2011). These concepts have also been used to explain adaptation processes in the context of climate change (Adger, Barnett, Brown, Marshall, & O'Brien, 2013). Yet, as Berkes and Ross (2013) point out, "We know about sense of place, formation of social identity, and stewardship, but we do not know their significance for community resilience" (p. 17). The narratives presented in this paper illustrate how sense of place is being fostered in practice, and what one community is doing in order to retain its young people.

Igiugig is actively engaging children and youth in operationalizing values and articulating visions for the future, enabling the youth to take a prominent role in shaping their future community. Generally, and this extends beyond the youth, the village of Igiugig seems to be based on what could be called a 'culture of support,' meaning that they support the ideas and visions of the individual community members, believing that this will enable each individual to become the best possible version of themselves. The assumption is that this in turn will make the community as a whole stronger and more resilient by being able to draw on a variety of resources, to create a path towards enhanced sustainability.

These findings mirror those of other recent research focusing on mobility. In a recent study from the Canadian Arctic, the lack of 'female flight' from rural communities is seen to be linked with local cultural ties, feelings of involvement and empowerment (Dowsley & Southcott, 2017). In terms of education, some scholars are emphasizing the importance of situating rural education and infrastructure within a community context (Herrmann, 2016), while others call for a general restructuring of rural education, so as to emphasize both local and global skill sets. In this way, education can "be used as a tool for learning to leave, learning to stay and learning

to return—skills that are not at odds, but are necessary in an increasingly globalized world" (Faircloth, 2009, p. 4).

While this speaks to the relationship between formal education and youth migration, it does not fully address the issue of what values and logics are taught in school and how that influences Native Alaskan communities. The before-mentioned 'culture of support' in Igiugig implies a general openness to change on the side of the village, especially in relation to returning youth who have inevitably been exposed to other ideas and worldviews and might come back with visions that look different than a 'traditional' Yup'ik worldview. As in every other Native community in Alaska, life in Igiugig is influenced by structures and institutions that were imposed by the United States government during colonization and the early years of statehood. Structures and institutions that prioritize land ownership and individual accomplishments over more relational and collective perspectives that are foundational to many Indigenous cultures. These structures and institutions are part of the colonial legacy of Alaska, which forces Alaska Natives to fit within and get judged by parameters that were set up with the (more or less explicit) purpose of assimilating them (Hill, 2017; Wexler, 2009), whether talking about commercial success of for-profit corporations or the academic success of students.

Igiugig residents thus live within colonial structures of legal and educational systems, but the way in which the community operationalizes these systems seems to transform them from being inherently oppressive to carrying a potential for individual and collective empowerment. Land claims might not be the ideal structure for land-human interactions, but by treating the land-base as a communal good that all members of the community can relate to and influence (e.g. through dividing shares among children and enabling all shareholders to serve on the corporation board), this otherwise profit-oriented structure takes on a different form that allows for other ways of relating to the land. Similarly with the school, by making sure that a community member is on the school district board and by helping the teachers bring the

community into the class room, this otherwise rigid form of learning is opened up to allow for a situated kind of learning that is sensitive to the aspirations of each child and facilitates translations between differences in worldviews.

This is not about turning 'western' systems into 'Indigenous' systems. Such a framing only reproduces the notion that 'western' and 'Indigenous' cultures exist separately and that it is possible to discern one from the other. Similarly, the metaphor of 'bridging two worlds,' no matter how hopeful, assumes that there is an inherent gap to bridge (Wexler & Burke, 2011). While life in rural Alaska is undoubtedly different in many respects than life in the lower 48 states, the current generation of Igiugig youth do not perceive themselves as dramatically different from other young people in Alaska or elsewhere. Supported by high-speed internet, school trips to the continental US and abroad, as well as a growing influx of 'outsiders' that stay for shorter or longer periods in the community, the youth have a strong connection to life outside the village and see possibilities for themselves in that world.

Igiugig is not rejecting the institutions that have been imposed on them through 'western' policies and logics. Rather, the community is actively de-colonizing these institutions by transforming them into 'Igiugig institution', drawing on both 'western' and 'Yup'ik logics and values in order to best benefit the community and its residents. In terms of education, the main focus is on inspiring the youth to find out what they would like to do and how to do it, rather than presenting the choice of 'college or no college', 'leaving or staying', 'western or Native.' In Igiugig, the logic of supporting individual capacity and motivation goes hand in hand with the collective well-being and the future of the village. These things are not seen to be at odds but rather complementary. This process is normalized in Igiugig, partly because most of the youth have a multitude of cultural heritage 'under their skin.' That the late village administrator, a white guy from New York, and one of the prominent Elders who grew up reindeer herding and living off the land, are mentioned by the youth as equal role models, is a case in point.

This perspective is similar to that of Wexler and Burke (2011), who correlate 'multicultural competence' with resilience among Inupiaq youth during their first year of college. Wexler and Burke found that despite a rather simple articulation of Inupiaq culture when asked explicitly, the youth exhibited a holistic cultural identity that reflected a 'multicultural orientation.' Although the transition from the village to the city was challenging, skills acquired in the one setting were used in the other without much need for 'translation.' Similarly as with the youth in Igiugig, these young people identified going on school and family trips outside the village as important for preparing them for the college experience.

Taking this discussion further, the assumption that youth contribute best to the resilience of their home communities by living there might also be called into question. In her 2010 paper, Voorhees argues that "discussing the future of Alaska Native communities solely in terms of their ability or inability to support sustainable lives in fixed geographies leads to a limited and essentialized understanding of what it means to be indigenous in the modern world" (2010, p. 71). While the notion of emplacement (that cultural identity is tied to a specific place) has been furthered by the process of settling land claims in Alaska, Voorhees offers the notion of 'cosmobility' to indicate the many ways in which Alaska Natives engage with and live out their cultural identities. In this perspective, mobility becomes a positive attribute rather than something to work against. While the people of Igiugig certainly highlight the importance of having a land base on which to live as a community and do subsistence activities, their close connections to 'the outside' and the high mobility of both youth and adults speaks to the complexity of place attachment. At any one time, a handful of residents are likely to be 'outside' for various purposes (school, work, medical, holiday, etc.). Speaking of individuals who live in urban Alaska but maintain strong ties to their home villages, Fienup-Riordan (2000, p. 165) problematizes this 'cosmobility' when she observes that "Yup'ik community members are painfully aware of the problems and contradictions of continuing to live off the land when this

comes with a price tag that only those with a steady cash income can afford." This is certainly true for Igiugig as well, with the cost of a round trip to Anchorage with a semi-local airline company averaging around 640 USD.

These findings and reflections highlight a tension between quantitative and qualitative approaches to understanding community resilience and sustainability, including the relationship between youth mobility and formal education. Rather than drawing the conclusion that education will inevitably result in either staying or leaving, based on generalizations backed by statistical correlations, this research shows the importance of paying attention to the qualitative relationships between individuals and their community. This does not suggest that statistical data concerning educational choices and mobility is not of interest, but argues for a less deterministic analysis of such data and a coupling with qualitative data to qualify conclusions and subsequent policy and community development measures.

The analysis here thus calls for a nuanced view on the role of education in community resilience. Whereas community-supported formal education is generally viewed as positive, the most important thing is for the youth to be supported in their efforts and for them to be given a voice to express wants and needs for the betterment of the community – developing a sense of place, a sense of community, and a sense of belonging. Addressing Berkes and Ross' question of how sense of place relates to community resilience, this analysis suggests that in terms of youth retention, sense of place and belonging is essential in rendering other community elements valuable and useful. For instance, although job availability is necessary for the youth to be able to stay, it is not the main driver for doing so. Similarly, although a community is dependent on young people staying/returning, it is not necessarily best off with all of its youth living there at all times.

Conclusions

With increasingly unpredictable future environmental and socioeconomic conditions, inhabitants of northern rural communities need to become both more resilient and more adaptable in order to withstand challenges and take advantage of opportunities. Some argue that higher education can play a crucial role in fostering such qualities, while others point to the possible disconnect between such education and the realities of life in rural Alaska. Based on research done in collaboration with a rural Native community in Alaska, this paper uncovers some of the many nuances that exist within this argument, pointing to the positive impact of going away for schooling and training but simultaneously stressing the importance of a supportive community culture both before the youth move away and (if relevant) after they return.

This cannot be reduced to any one issue, be it availability of jobs, strong family ties, the possibility of leading a specific lifestyle or feelings of responsibility. Rather, it is how these elements interact with one another and come together to make it both possible and attractive for young people to lead healthy and satisfying lives in their home communities. These nuances matter, since a sole focus on formal education as inherently positive or negative misses much of the context that enable an actual evaluation of the impacts on the community. The ongoing efforts to develop a Native curriculum that is shaped to Native worldviews and perspectives is potentially a step towards addressing some of the inherent unequal power relations in formal education. However, such efforts must be coupled with other community support systems, enabling rural youth to make informed life choices.

Through the narratives of community members, the notion of a 'culture of support' emerges. This is exemplified by the experiences of youth in terms of their education and occupational choices. The community supports individual ambition and aspiration but never fails to link these to the betterment of the community. This logic is largely representative of Alaska Native cultures, where collective well-being is often prioritized over individual gain. While this

pertains to how community members relate to one another, it is also guided by the constant shaping of the formal institutions that exist within the community, such as the school and the village corporation. While these institutions are inherently rigid and have been historically oppressive, the community has insisted on using them to empower themselves and in the process redefine what a rural village in Alaska can look and feel like.

The goal of this paper has been to contribute to a broader discussion on the impacts of youth mobility on rural community resilience by providing empirical evidence for some of the complexities pertaining to mobility choices. I show that judging whether a rural community is resilient requires more than simply checking boxes in terms of community infrastructure, high school graduation rates or job availability. Although these elements do say something about the capacity for resilience, it is the relationship between them and the ways in which community members relate to and are able to shape them that truly activates these capacities. The degree to which community members see themselves as contributing to the development of the community thus plays a role. This calls for more research focusing on community members' understandings of change processes and the activation of individual and collective agency as well as how this relates to community resilience and the creation of pathways towards sustainability.

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[i] In 2015, some rural Alaskan boroughs had as high as 32.5 percent of their populations living under the poverty line, while the state average was 10.3 percent (United States Census Bureau, 2016). However, see Berman and Reamey (2016) for a critical discussion of the calculation of poverty in Alaska.

[ii] While the UN defines 'youth' as individuals between 15 and 24, other definitions have an upper limit of 32 and 35 (United Nations, n.d.). For the purpose of this research, the youth category was defined based on the cultural context and individual relationships between residents.

[iii] The reason for this dissonance is that some Elders and adults were interviewed together and one youth was interviewed twice.