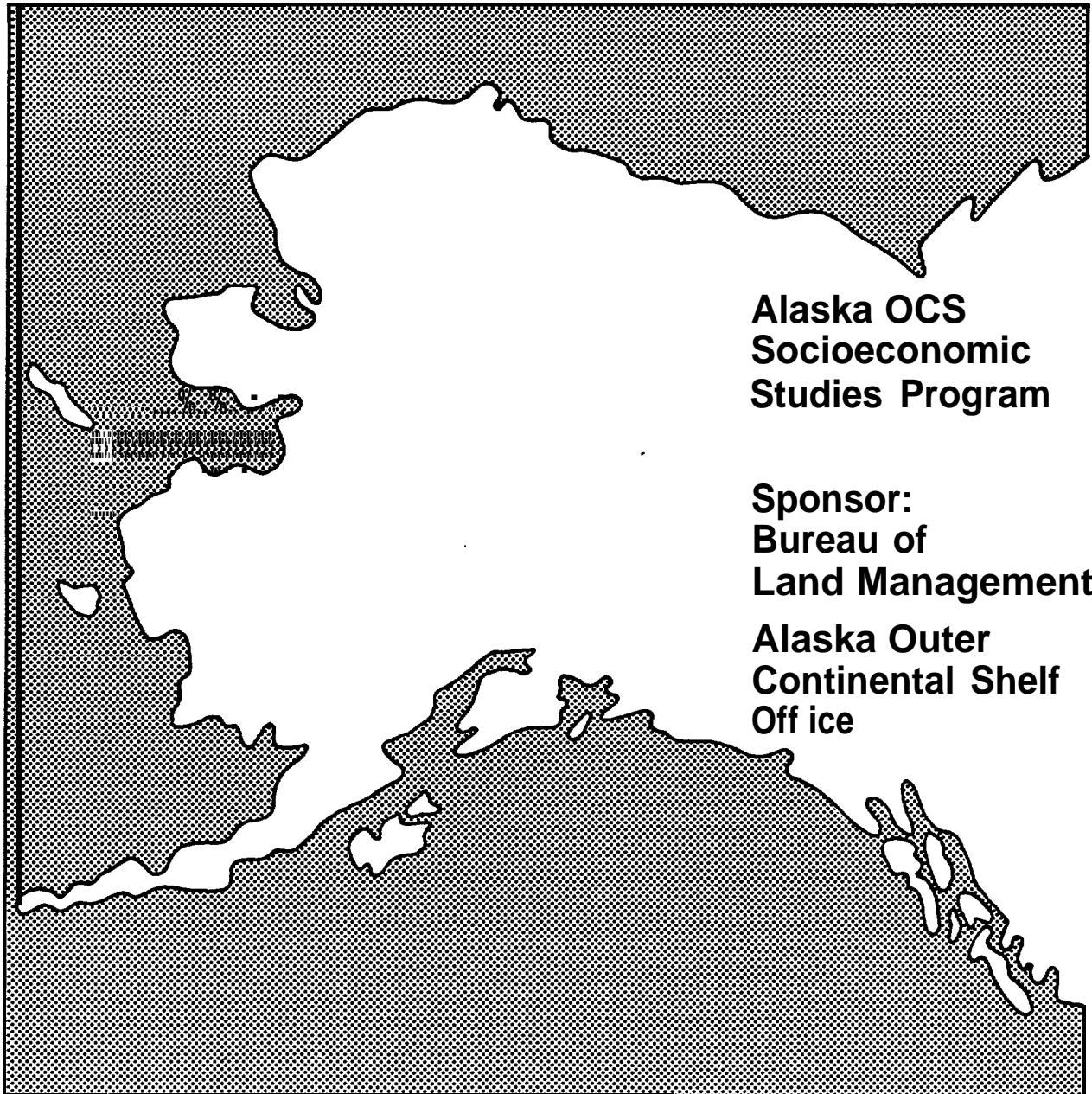


Technical Report  
Number 9



**Alaska OCS  
Socioeconomic  
Studies Program**

**Sponsor:  
Bureau of  
Land Management  
Alaska Outer  
Continental Shelf  
Office**

**Beaufort Sea Region  
Sociocultural Systems**

## FOREWARD

The United States Department of the Interior was designated by the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) Lands Act of 1953 to carry out the majority of the Act's provisions for administering the mineral leasing and development of offshore areas of the United States under federal jurisdiction. Within the Department, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) has the responsibility to meet requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) as well as other legislation and regulations dealing with the effects of offshore development. In Alaska, unique cultural differences and climatic conditions create a need for developing additional socioeconomic and environmental information to improve OCS decision making at all governmental levels. In fulfillment of its federal responsibilities and with an awareness of these additional information needs, the BLM has initiated several investigative programs, one of which is the Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program.

The Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program is a multi-year research effort which attempts to predict and evaluate the effects of Alaska OCS Petroleum Development upon the physical, social, and economic environments within the state. The analysis addresses the differing effects among various geographic units: the State of Alaska as a whole, the several regions within which oil and gas development is likely to take place, and within these regions, the local **communities**.

The overall research method is multidisciplinary in nature and is based on the preparation of three research components. In the first research component, the internal nature, structure, and essential processes of these various geographic units and interactions among them are documented. In the second research component, alternative sets of assumptions regarding the location, nature and timing of future OCS petroleum development events and related activities are prepared. In the third research component, future oil and gas development events are translated into quantities and forces acting on the various geographic units. The predicted consequences of these events are evaluated in relation to present goals, values, and expectations.

In general, program products are sequentially arranged in accordance with BLM's proposed OCS lease sale schedule, so that information is timely to decision making. In addition to making reports available through the National Technical Information Service, the BLM is providing an information service through the Alaska OCS Office. Inquiries for information should be directed to: Program Director, Socioeconomic Studies Program, Alaska OCS Office, Post Office Box 1159, Anchorage, Alaska, 99510.

ALASKA OCS SOCIOECONOMIC STUDIES PROGRAM

BEAUFORT SEA REGION  
SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEMS

PREPARED FOR

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT  
ALASKA OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF OFFICE

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ALASKA OCS SOCIOECONOMIC STUDIES PROGRAM  
BEAUFORT SEA REGION  
SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEMS

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The objective of the following report is to promote an understanding of the **sociocultural** dynamics of the **Beaufort** Sea Petroleum Development Region. The report attempts to demonstrate that the social, cultural, and psychological values are as important as the economic values **of** the environment **to** the regional population.

An initial survey of the Arctic Slope may leave the impression that it is a transitional society on its way to complete modernization. However, a **closer** analysis reveals the persistence of a traditional culture.

There has been a growing recognition among social scientists of the systemic viability of transitional systems, those being neither modern nor traditional. The Beaufort Sea Region illustrates how a traditional society reorganized itself with its older **social** and cultural forms in a modern setting. **In** an attempt to understand the contemporary society, it has been necessary **to** analyze the traditional social, economic, and cultural systems, and to assess **the** impacts and responses by the aboriginal society to the external influences which were exerted by the development activities during the historical period.

The **Beaufort** Sea Region remained isolated from the influences of a permanent and large non-Native population. During **the** periods of economic development there was an influx of a non-Native population, but they **were** temporary residents and tended **to** remain fairly removed from the indigenous population. They introduced trade items in exchange for

Inupiat participation in the commercial whaling and fur trading ventures. Cash was introduced later in the historical period as **the medium** of exchange. The principal negative effects resulted from **the** introduction of diseases, alcohol, and the reduction and near extinction of the caribou and bowhead **whale** populations. The major long term changes in the traditional culture resulted from the introduction of Western religious, educational, **and** political institutional forms. In the contemporary period, the Inupiat organized and utilized the dominant political and legal institutions to protect their land rights. The Inupiat's continued relationship to their environment has been viewed as the basis for the persistence of the traditional culture.

## II. SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEMS

### Aboriginal Period

#### INUPIAT: ECOLOGICAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

Prior to considering the contemporary **sociocultural** systems of the Beaufort Sea region, it is essential to examine the aboriginal social and cultural organizations which provided the foundation of the present society. Although significant changes have occurred within the **social** and cultural patterns since initial contact with western influences 150 years ago, recent ethnographic accounts and contentions by the residents **themselves** about the survival of their traditional society all give evidence of the cultural persistence of the Inupiat. "Inupiat," meaning "People" or "Real People," is the **self** designated name and is preferred over the name "Eskimo." "Inupiat" or "**Inuit**," the term used in Canada and Greenland, refer to northern Eskimos in contrast to **the** southern Eskimos who are known as **Yupik**.

Although not germane to a description of the aboriginal **sociocultural** systems, a brief and simplistic introduction **to** the origins and cultural evolution of the Inupiat and their inhabitation of the Arctic Slope may provide a key for understanding the adaptations made by the Inupiat during the historical phase.

The Eskimos were **the** only aboriginal population to occupy both the Old

and the New World. They are dispersed from **southcentral** Alaska, around **the** Prince William Sound **to** the Alaska Peninsula, and northeastward **along** the entire Alaska coast across Canada to Greenland. In addition, **Eskimoan** populations occupied St. Lawrence **Island** and the **Chukchi** Peninsula on the Asiatic side. Related to the Eskimo are the **Aleuts** who inhabit **the** southern portion **of** the Alaska Peninsula and the Aleutian Chain. With **the** exception of the Caribou Eskimos in the Canadian **Barren** Grounds and the Alaskan **Inland Nunamiut**, the Eskimos were generally associated with the coastal and **riverine** environments, while the inland **territories** were restricted to Indians. Contrary to popular conception, the Eskimo population cannot be classified as Indian. Serological and morphological evidence indicate they form a **class** with other northeastern **Siberian groups** called Arctic or Siberian Mongoloids (Laughlin 1963).

Alaska and Siberia were connected during three periods of the Late Pleistocene, ranging from approximately **90,000** to 10,000 years ago, during which overland travel was possible between the two continents. (Muller-Beck 1967). **It** is generally accepted that the ancestors of the Eskimos and **Aleuts** crossed the Bering **Land** Bridge during the third period, 13,000 to 10,000 years ago. **Archaeological** evidence **dating** from approximately 8,000 **B.C.** suggests that the tundra dwelling hunters infiltrated Alaska and dispersed along the Canadian **Arctic to** Greenland, **while others** migrated south **to** the Alaska Peninsula and the Aleutian Chain (Bandi 1969; Dumond 1977). The dispersal throughout Alaska and along the **coast** as the land bridge receded was gradual.

Around 500 B.C. the northern cultures developed a maritime orientation exploiting the rich marine resources of the Bering Strait. The coastal orientation stimulated the development and diversification of other cultural traditions identified with both coastal and inland settings. However, by 1000 A.D. a remarkable development began with the spread from northern Alaska of the **Thule** Culture, which served to **level** the cultural differences that existed between the Eskimo. Bandi described the effect, ". . . a remarkable degree of unification was attained, a dissemination of the **Thule** culture (or at least **elements** of it) from the eastern tip of Siberia to the east of Greenland" (Bandi 1969). Dumond elaborates that the expansion of **Thule** tradition included cultural elements and **people** or both (Dumond 1977).

Linguistically, **the** Eskimo population is divided into two mutually unintelligible languages, Yupik and Inupiat or Western and Eastern Eskimo. **While** there are marked dialectical differences with Yupik, Inupiat is remarkably homogeneous from **Unalakleet** in western Alaska to Greenland.

Translators were used during the recent **Inuit Circumpolar** Conference, which was attended by Inupiat speakers from Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. After several days of continuous contact, some participants were able to begin conversing directly with one another. **While** emphasizing **the** vast span of territory occupied by **the** Eskimos, the variations in habitat, and the range of cultural diversity, Dumond (1977) noted the uniformity of Eastern Eskimo (Inupiat) speech. He suggested that this may indicate that only a short time has elapsed since the ancestral

speakers formed a single social group. This in all likelihood can be attributed to the expansion of the Thule Culture.

The Beaufort Sea Region, which encompasses the area within the boundaries of the North Slope Borough, is the aboriginal homeland of two distinct but interrelated groups of the Inupiat--the Tagiugmiut and the Nunamiut. The ethnographic literature generally refers to the coastal group as "Tareumiut," however, this is corrected to Tagiugmiut to conform with their own self designated name and the accepted orthography in current usage by the North Slope Inupiat,

The Tagiugmiut were primarily dependent on a marine economy based on the harvest of sea mammals. They are best known for their hunting of the mammoth bowhead whales (*Balaena mysticetus*). The whaling complex was the focal point of their social and cultural developments. Tagiugmiut permanent settlements ranged along the Chukchi and Beaufort coastal area from Tikigaq (Tigara or Point Hope) to Utqkeavik (Barrow) and Nuvuk (Point Barrow) where the bowhead whales are most accessible.

Although the Tagiugmiut frequented areas eastward of Barrow, the Beaufort coastal area was also utilized by other groups more closely identified with inland groups. The inland zone was occupied by the Nunamiut, whose primary economic pursuit centered around the harvesting of the caribou. Their structural organization paralleled that of their coastal neighbors except that, instead of the whale, the caribou was central to their organization and cultural patterns.



Although the **two** Inupiat groups represent adaptations **to two** contrasting ecological zones, they have been characterized as a single cultural unit because of the economic interrelationships between the inland caribou hunter and the coastal whalers and the similarities between their **social** and cultural system. Larsen and **Rainey (1948)** and Spencer (**1959**) suggested that the interrelationship between the two groups was essential to the occupation of **the North Slope**. According to Larsen and Rainey the caribou skins which the **Taġiuġmiut** obtained in trade from the **Nunamiut** were necessary for survival in hunting on the ice. On the other hand, the inland Inupiat were dependent on the coastal hunters for seal and whale **oil** which they exchanged for their furs and skins. The dual economic patterns coupled with the formalized trading **system** constituted a cultural whole which permitted the successful occupation of an area which has been variously described as barren, inhospitable, and desolate.

### **Taġiuġmiut**

In 1948 Larsen and Rainey suggested incorporating **the** various phases and cultural developments of Eskimo prehistory along the northern Alaskan coast under one designation, the Arctic **Whale** Hunting Culture. They proposed to retain the names which had become established, **Okvik**, Old Bering Sea, **Birnirk**, Puduk, **Thule**, and **Inugsuk**, to designate the **cultural** phases. For purposes of a general and brief overview, this **cultural** classification will be adopted since, as Larsen and Rainey pointed out, there were no basic cultural differences between them, The

fundamental elements of the Arctic **Whale** Hunting Culture, they noted, "are sea **mammal** hunting with floats in open water, a permanent **solidly built winter house** with a deep **long** entrance, pottery or stove **lamps**, cooking pots, rubbed slate implements, **an** extensive use of baleen and a **knowledge of** the sled and **bowdrill**" (Larsen and **Rainey** 1948). Central to **all the** phases was the hunting of the whale; however, hunting caribou during the winter continued. Larsen and **Rainey** added another period, the Modern Phase, characterized by the introduction of new cultural elements, some arriving from southern areas and others deriving from an Asiatic origin. Iron **tools** were first obtained through contact with trade from the **Chukchi** Sea area. However, the most notable feature of **this** phase was direct contact with white men and **the** introduction of firearms, (Larsen and **Rainey** 1948).

**Whaling** in its present form of planned interception in an **open** water lead between ice flow, its capture by direct contact from a skin boat, and **its** towing **to** shore has been practiced well over a thousand years and perhaps somewhat longer. **Giddings** found evidence **of** a maritime culture at Cape Krusenstern which he designated **the** Old Whaling culture. Radiocarbon evidence suggested a dating from 1700 to 1500 B.C. However, he was not **able** to demonstrate a direct relationship with previous or subsequent cultures (**Giddings** 1967).

The northern arctic coast was occupied prior to the Arctic Whaling Culture by a population **who**, according to Larsen and **Rainey**, did not engage in whaling but did hunt other marine as **well** as terrestrial mammals.

They were characterized as seasonal migrants who spent their winters inland and their summers **on** the coast. Larsen and **Rainey** argue that this population, known as the **Ipiutak**, "continued their original mode **of** life and became the ancestors of the modern **Nunatarmiut (Nunamiut)**, while others remained permanently on the coast and adopted the elements of **the** Arctic **Whale** Hunting cultures. . ." (Larsen and **Rainey** 1948),

Terri torial Occupati on **Beaufort/Chukchi** Sea. The **Tagiugmiut**, whose primary subsistence activities were governed by the presence, absence, or conditions of the sea ice, inhabited coastal areas where considerable ice movements occurred. The abundance of marine resources available off the **Chukchi** was reflected by the presence of numerous settlements of its coast. Situated **nearly** continuously between **Tikigaq** (Point Hope) and Nuvuk (Point Barrow) were several major settlements and many smaller satellite colonies. Although many sites were not permanently occupied throughout every season or from one year to the next, the frequency of settlements was indication of a rich resource supply. Charles Brewer, who traveled **up** the coast from Point Hope **to** Point Barrow during the **late** 1800's, recorded numerous small villages in his original manuscripts which formed the basis of a **later** published book (Brewer 1942).

While **the** presence of **the Tagiugmiut** along the **Chukchi** coast is indicated by the number of permanent and semipermanent settlements, their utilization of the Beaufort Sea coastal area was characterized by the numerous campsites **along** the **shore**. Trading centers were also **located** on the Beaufort Sea coast, usually **at** the mouth of rivers. Two significant sites were **Neqlik (Nirlik)** and **Uuliktaq (Oliktok)**, where **Tagiugmiut** met

and traded with **the Nunamiut**. Trading was also conducted at Barter Island (Kaktovik] with the **Tikixtaqmiut** who were more closely associated with **their** Canadian neighbors. Trade was also carried on **at** Herschel **Island** on what is now the Canadian side of the **Beaufort Sea** (**Stefansson 1966**). The **Chukchi Sea** and the Alaska side of the Beaufort coastal areas were largely utilized by the **Tagiugmiut** except for a group of **in-land people** who had a quasi-permanent settlement **at the mouth** of the **Utukok** and, as already noted, **the Tikixtaqmiut** **at** Barter Island. The **Nunamiut** also ventured **to** the Beaufort Sea coast to engage primarily in trading activities with their coastal neighbors.

The contrast **in** Inupiat settlement patterns between the **Chukchi** and **Beaufort** Seas corresponds most directly with the availability of **marine** resources. The difference between the **two** seas, and the presence **of** marine life, correlates with contrasting ice environments. A description of contrasting ice conditions as they relate to use and occupancy by the Inupiat is abstracted from the Alaska Regional " Profiles, Arctic Region, to describe the complexity and difference.

. . . the **waters of** the Alaskan arctic seas are dominated by sea ice. This ice has many forms and extremely variable dynamics, but collectively is the most important single factor of the Alaskan arctic marine environment. **Its** seasonal formation, movement, and degradation continually influence other physical and biological aspects of the environment, including the hunting activities of the indigenous Inupiat people and resource exploration by modern

technological means. . . Although there is no physical barrier between the two, (**Beaufort** and **Chukchi** Seas) there are a number of critical differences. The **Chukchi** Sea is quite shallow with depths less than 50 fathoms (**100 m**) extending several hundred **miles** offshore. Throughout much of the year relatively **warm** Alaskan coastal waters and Bering Sea waters enter the Arctic Ocean through Bering Strait and strongly influence the character of the water and the behavior of the sea ice in the **Chukchi** Sea. **In** contrast, the **Beaufort** Sea has a narrow continental **shelf** between 30 and **60 miles** off Alaska where depths of **less** than **100** fathoms (200 m)", and the water mass is dominated by circulation patterns of the Arctic Ocean . . . The distribution of animals and man along the north coast of Alaska reflect the differences between the two seas. **West** of Barrow north and east flowing currents in the **Chukchi** Sea tend to keep the winter sea ice moving and prevent tight ice occupation of the near-shore, environment. **In** contrast, Beaufort Sea currents force the ice shoreward and produce a great expanse of relatively tight, **shorefast** ice in winter. Without open areas of water and the resulting edge effect, marine mammal populations are at a **much** lower **level** in winter. (**Sel** kregg 1975).

The Beaufort ice environment is characterized by thick, **multiyear** ice present more than 10 months a year. The Chukchi is dominated by one-year ice which is present seven to eight months a year and is seasonal in structure and form. The **Chukchi** Sea coast is generally ice free in the summer, often in contrast to the Beaufort **polar** pack ice which may be

blown against the shore. There is **only slight ice** movement in the Beaufort, while considerable **ice** movement typifies the **Chukchi**. The ice movement produces large, linear openings in the ice called leads, which influence the biological aspects of the environment. Coincident with the leads **are** abundant **marine** resources. **The Beaufort**, which **has** relatively few open water leads, is sparsely populated, **while** the **Chukchi** with numerous reoccurring leads is more densely occupied (Sel kregg 1975).

Settlement Patterns. As previously noted, the availability of marine natural resources, which is influenced **by** the conditions of the sea ice, largely determined the location **of** settlements. The ancestor of the **Tagiugmiut** depended equally on sea mammals and terrestrial **mammals**. However, **the Tagiugmiut** were first oriented towards a coastal economy and secondarily dependent on resources obtained from the inland areas.

The principal characteristic of the **Tagiugmiut** distinguishing **them** from their predecessors was their dependence on the **bowhead whale**. The primary coastal settlements were located at points where **bowhead** whales passed on **their** annual migration north each spring. Point Hope was the southern terminus in the **arctic** region where intensive whaling commenced, and Point Barrow was the most northern.

Spencer (1959) listed five permanent settlement areas **along** the **Chukchi** Sea coast and several smaller satellite communities which were in essence suburb extensions of the **larger** villages. **In** addition, there was **one** major **settlement** at Barter Island. Associated with the major and smaller settlements were numerous campsites within the boundaries of the settlement group.

Although the **Taġiugmiut** are generally described as sedentary, living in permanent settlements located along **the** coast, they established many temporary and seasonal settlements several miles out on the ocean ice, along the **Chukchi** and Beaufort Sea coast, along the river banks, and in many inland locales. Their territorial occupation extended miles beyond the shores, where campsites were established on the **ocean** ice. The nature and duration of the camp depended on the economic activity they pursued, which varied from whale, fowl, or caribou hunting, fishing, gathering berries, or trading ventures. These campsites were often visited every season year after year, or new camps might be established. **Of** course, the location of whaling camps depended on sea-ice formation and movement, but even these camps **could** be utilized for one to **two** months.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the size of **Beaufort** Sea prehistoric population was apparently significantly greater than the historic population and also fluctuated during earlier phases of Eskimo **prehistory**. Spencer (1959) estimated that the aboriginal coastal population numbered around **1,500**, not including the inhabitants **along** the **Beaufort** Sea, however, the large prehistoric settlement discovered in 1939 **at** Point Hope indicated the presence of a large population around **100** B.C. which suggests Spencer's estimate may **be** low. Archaeological investigations discovered 575 dwellings and beach erosion may have **washed** away a considerable number of other houses. It is unlikely that **all** the houses were occupied simultaneously. It is probable that during the early part **of** the nineteenth century **at** least **1,000** persons **lived** in Point Hope **alone**.

Migration Cycles. Emphasis has been placed on the pervasive influence of the sea ice on the economic behavior of the Tagiugmiut. When the ice formed in the fall, the hunters returned to their permanent coastal settlements, and after break-up and the disappearance of the ice, the hunters dispersed. The formation of ocean ice in the early fall coincided with the return of families from their summer camps. During the dark winter months, coastal residents generally stayed in the village to participate in a round of festival and ceremonial events. Hunters would venture out on the ocean ice during the few hours of twilight to hunt seal or to fish. Polar bears were frequently encountered while out on the ice seal hunting, and it was not always necessary to make prolonged and numerous trips solely to hunt polar bears.

The arrival of spring and the appearance of the open water lead off the ice signaled the arrival of the bowhead whale and the establishment of whaling camps. Whaling camps were often located several miles out on the ice. All the whaling crews, which involved at least half of the village population resided at these camps for several weeks. These camps also served as a base from which hunters went seal or duck hunting when the whales were not migrating through. The whaling season began with the bowhead's northern migration in April and ended in late May or early June.

Although stress has been placed on the effects the sea ice had in influencing hunting activities, it must not be assumed that the northern hunters were completely dominated by environmental factors. In actuality, the element of economic choice did exist, and this was best demonstrated



during the spring and summer season. The socioeconomic unit had the option of remaining in the **locale** of **the** permanent village or migrating **to** their summer camps.

Even before the whaling season was over, some crews may have elected to move to the inland rivers to hunt geese when they began arriving in late May **or** early June. **If larger** camps were to be established inland, travel usually began **along** the frozen river systems before breakup.

After the sea ice broke up, **the male members** of a socioeconomic group might return to the village to participate in **the** communal hunt for the **walrus** and **ugruk** (bearded seal). The **women** and children remained in the summer camps fishing or gathering eggs and berries. Other hunting groups might decide to camp along the **coast** to hunt ducks or to frequent the bird rookeries. Some hunters traveled inland to **hunt** caribou.

One of the most significant summer activities was the trading fairs **between** the **Tagiugmiut** and the **Nunamiut**. Some families, primarily those from Point Hope, traveled south to the trading center at Kotzebue, while others migrated to the mouth **of** the **Utokok**. The **Nuvunmiut** and the **Utqeaivmiut** journeyed to the **Colville Delta**, Barter Island, and as **far** east as the Mackenzie River.

The spring and summer **months** were characterized by high mobility, which **initially** began with a dispersion **several** miles **out** on the **ocean** ice and along the open **water** lead and then became a retreat inland up to as

far as **the** Brooks Range foothills and **along** the **Chukchi** and **Beaufort** Sea coasts. **Each settlement** group ranged within a fairly well-defined boundary. **The** range of **travel** extended as far as **the** Mackenzie River and south to Kotzebue. Seasonal excursions were undertaken by individuals, families, and sometimes entire groups.

Tribal and Family **Social** Organization. Varied interpretations exist in the literature describing the attributes of the different **social** units among the northern Inupiat. Generally, anthropologists agree that the northern Inupiat were divided between those who lived inland and derived their livelihood from inland resources while those **living along** the coast were primarily oriented towards a marine economy. However, **Burch** (1976) took issue with the existence of a coastal/inland **or** **Tagiugmiut/Nunamiut** dichotomy and concluded that the twofold distinction is not adequate to denote the regional variations that existed among both the coastal and **noncoastal** people. He argued for delineating the Inupiat into regional groups which he **called** societies.

However, since Inupiat linguistic designation distinguishes a **geographic** reference between coastal and inland occupation, and not necessarily **implying** membership in a social unit, the dichotomous approach **will** be adopted **for** purposes **of** analysis, **It will** be utilized **to** designate a geographic reference and economic orientation while recognizing that no formal centralized organization existed uniting each division. The inland or coastal orientation does not imply exclusive use and occupancy of a single ecological zone.

The **Nunamiut** and the **Tagiugmiut** were divided into regional entities which formed the tribal organization. Each tribe had designations which described the topographic and geographic features of the region they occupied and utilized. Among **the Tagiugmiut**, the tribe was identified with a permanent coastal community, smaller satellite settlements and **inland** fish camps. The **Nunamiut** tribal units were represented by one to four territorial bands moving within a defined regional area. The bands were composed of several households. The coastal village or **inland** band was integrated around the **karigi**, or dance hall, which was associated with the concept of the whaling crew or the communal caribou hunt. Although each whaling crew and caribou drive had an **umealiq** (whaling captain) there were no formally recognized chiefs **of** the tribes. However, it is interesting to note that Brewer, who made the first journey by a white man **along** the coast in **1884**, repeatedly referenced encounters with **the** head man of each village (Brewer 1943).

Rainey designated the village and satellite settlements as the **tribal** organization. Although redescrbed the village of **Tikigaq** (Point Hope) as follows, his tribal designation applied to neighboring coastal villages and inland bands:

The **Tikerarmiut (Tikigaqmiut)** are a distinct tribal group of the **Tareormiut (Tagiugmiut)** or coastal Eskimo. The basis **of** this grouping was proximity of residence and **blood** relation, rather than a well-defined political organization. Neither chief nor governing body controlled tribal action. The tribal group was composed of

many virtually independent family groups who **remained** together in a **single** village because of common interest and a need for **protection**. . . Occasionally, **groups** of families established **semi-permanent** colonies on the coast some distance from Point Hope. **But**, despite those movements, they considered themselves one **people** **affiliated** with a single village. (Rainey 1947)

Although Spencer appears reluctant to recognize the village unit as a **tribal** organization, **his** descriptions of the geographical division of villages compares with **Rainey's** characterization of the tribe in **terms** of tribal characteristics of moving within a defined territory and exhibiting common interests. Spencer cited group solidarity as a tribal attribute; however, he attributed **the** group stability to kinship ties. His reference to those groups who established new **settlements**, either temporarily or longer, and who continued **to** identify with the major **settlement** compares with **Rainey's** contention that those who may have established semi permanent colonies remain affiliated with the permanent settlement.

Inupiat tribal units were composed of a set of local families. **Numerous** references have been made to the extended **family** units of the Eskimos; however, the descriptions generally refer **to** a bilateral kinship designation in which relationship is reckoned through both parents. In a detailed study of northwestern Eskimo kinship systems, **Burch (1975)** recognized **four** specific patterns of affiliation.

<u>Social Unit</u>	<u>Demographic Unit</u>	<u>Spatial Unit</u>
Society	Regional group	Region
Community	Villagers	Village
Local family	Local group	Hamlet (or neighborhood)
Domestic family	Household (or domestic group)	Dwelling

The previous analysis of the **tribal** organization corresponds closely to **Burch's** designation of the regional groups as society. **Burch** noted **that** the traditional Eskimo population was organized as societies associated with a particular territory and followed a distinctive **annual** economic **cycle**. The societies tended to be **endogamous**, but there was no **formal** requirement limiting marriage to the society's membership. A **final** characteristic that served **to** distinguish **members** of one society from others **was** differences in dialect between societies. **While** these characteristics also apply to tribe, Inupiat tribal attributes also include forms of integration and group solidarity extending beyond kinship ties such as the communal hunting efforts and sharing practices. Tribe is defined to include the community **and** the regional-area within a defined boundary in which members of the tribe move.

**Burch's** conceptual categories of the local **family** and domestic **family** are without question applicable to the Northern Inupiat and for purposes of further description and analysis **will** be adopted. He defined **the** minimum Eskimo domestic family as consisting of the single conjugal family including husband, wife, and offspring. However, he noted that the majority of domestic families who occupied a single dwelling were

more complex in membership. The two most frequent included the grand-parents, parents, and children or two or more siblings, their spouses, and children.

Local families, according to Burch's analysis, were identical in structure and composition to domestic families, but their membership was distributed among two or more households. Burch described the local families as the major organizational component in which the relationships were ordered in a definite pattern. Most activities were carried out by the local family. Families were largely self-sufficient in economic terms.

Previous references have been made to the Inupiat socioeconomic unit. In view of the local families' participation in the appropriation of natural resources for food, clothing, shelter and other utilitarian items, it has been designated a socioeconomic unit. The kin-based socioeconomic unit collectively and cooperatively undertook economic ventures. They formed the membership of the whaling crew and the walrus and bearded seal communal hunt. Division of labor was between the sexes of the local family. Additionally, the economic activities were divided between the domestic units of the local family. Some members elected to hunt caribou while others devoted their attention to fishing or duck hunting,

Economic Complexes. Repeated references have been made to the effect the ocean ice had on the economic behavior of the Inupiat. Through their cultural evolution and technological advances, the coastal Inupiat developed a greater dependence on marine mammals than had their ancestors, but they continued to rely on inland resources which they

obtained directly or through trade with the **Nunamiut**.

Spencer's (1959) emphasis on the dichotomy between the coastal and inland inhabitants and their interrelationships (**also** referenced by Larsen and **Rainey** in 1948) has tended to create the impression that residents exploited the resources of a single ecological zone and that the mutual interdependence between the two groups was absolutely essential. **While** such a strict interpretation of Spencer's analysis is not accurate, it has influenced **later** research and placed undue emphasis on the discontinuation of trade between the **inland** and coastal people as the cause for the **Nunamiut** abandoning the **inland** areas during the historic period.

This preoccupation with the dual ecological division has downplayed the dramatic difference between an ordinary coastal maritime culture and that of the northern coastal Inupiat. The grounded shorefast ice and the ice packs extended the boundaries **of** the Inupiat to a rich environment **unlike** any other exploited by aboriginal people. The economic complexes **will** be considered within three separate areas--the ice environment and the littoral and inland zones.

Economic activities associated with the ice environment are highly specialized and are primarily conducted by a relatively large **male-**dominated group. Ice hunting is **of** paramount importance both in terms of the primacy of the resources obtained on and off the ice and the amount of time expended in these activities.

In her analysis of the contemporary Arctic Slope socioeconomic subsistence complexes, **Worl (1977)** distinguished **the ice** environment **as** a separate and distinct ecological **zone** characterized by **highly** specialized subsistence patterns. Earlier **Sonnenfeld (1957)** had emphasized that the ocean represented the most important subsistence area to the Barrow Eskimo.

To the Eskimo, it is of least **use** when free of ice. Most marine activities of the **Eskimo** originate **on** the ice . . . it is the ice which facilitates transport and which limits, or at least localizes and makes known to the Eskimo, the range and migration paths of sea mammals. With an open sea, **potential food** resources are hopelessly dispersed. . . . The hunting **of** this **one mammal** (seal) makes this ecological zone paramount in the living area of the Barrow Eskimo. The fact that it is **also** the habitat of whale and walrus makes it even more so. The sea ice may be considered **an** extension of both land and sea. . . .

The following description of the seasonal formation and movement of the ocean ice and its relationship to economic patterns is abstracted from Larsen and Rainey (1948) who **emphasized** that the ice pack is responsible for a distinct **annual** cycle of activities. Hunting on or **off** the ice can range over a period of eight months.

● **New Ice Forms in Fall:**

- Return from the summer dispersion; await formation of "slush ice" to begin series of **fall** and winter religious ceremonies; **little** hunting.



● Pack Ice Solid:

- **November-April.** Small hunting groups obtain seal through breathing holes and seal nets; **polar** bears also present on pack ice.
- January Jigging **tomcods** and **smelt** through ice.
- February-March. Crab obtained through ice only at Point Hope.

● Offshore Lead Opens in Ice:

- March-May. Crews on pack ice, one to three miles from shore awaiting bowhead whales; some **seals, belugas,** and migratory waterfowl hunted.

● Ponds Appear on Ice:

- May-June. Small ponds appear **on** ice, usually at **seal** breathing **holes** where seals now crawl out on ice; after whaling feast, men **stalk** seals on ice.
- June-July. Larger ponds open; hunters hide behind **walls** of ice blocks they have constructed; bearded seals harpooned as they rise or swim close to shield; some **walrus** killed by same method.

● Appearance of Ice Floes:

- **July.** Herds of **walrus** rest on beach and are **killed** there **or** as they crawl up out of the water.

● Ice Disappears:

- Villagers disperse **to** summer camps **along** the **shore** where fish and **belugas** taken in nets; others visit rookeries for birds and to gather **eggs**; some hunt caribou; other villagers travel to trading **centers**

Worl (1977) emphasized that the occupation of the arctic slope was based on an effective utilization of the resources which was accomplished not only through the development of technological innovations, but, more importantly, through a system of social organization that promoted cooperation. Collaborative efforts were especially evident in the whaling complex in which formalized regulations demanded the cooperation between non-kin whaling crews.

During the aboriginal period the harvest of a bowhead whale required a minimum of six crews. The ritualized patterns of sharing promoted cooperation even between crews which were not members of the same Karigi (ceremonial dance house) since the size of the share of the whale depended on the order of response when a whale was struck. Whichever crew first assisted another got a larger share of the whale than the next crew which came to assist. Walrus, bearded seal, and beluga were communally taken by several local family units who may have had common membership in a Karigi. Game or fowl hunted individually was also shared among local families. Fishing, usually done by the elderly and young children, was also associated with the ice environment both on the sea and inland areas.

Hunting, fishing, and gathering within the littoral zone--the area between high and low watermarks--tended to be pursued by the domestic family unit, primarily during late spring and summer to take advantage of the absence of landfast ice. Duck hunting has been practiced along the Arctic shoreline for the past 1,000 to 1,400 years and is the most

important subsistence activity of the littoral zone. Although waterfowl have been classed as a supplemental, secondary resource, they became a primary dietary element if whaling and sealing had not been too successful. But fowl were not only important for food. **Down** and skins were used for clothing, and puffin beaks decorated ceremonial items. Ducks were a trade **item** as well as a special gift to **old** women.

Some duck hunting took place out on the ice during **early** spring at the whaling camps or during **seal** hunting and continued from coastal campsites through **fall**. Johnson's (1971) research on waterfowl harvest during 1970 revealed that the percentage of hunters age 12 to 24 was considerably greater than the percentage of hunters age 25 to 50 and even greater than those over 50. Spencer (1959), however, felt that duck hunting was primarily limited to the older people who were not capable of more strenuous hunting activities.

Birds hug the shore as they migrate from point to point west along the northern coast. King eiders were the first hunted species to arrive, followed by common eiders and old squaws, spectacle eiders, Stellar's eiders, Arctic loons, and crested **auklets** (Johnson 1971). Bird rookeries located along the coastline were exploited for eggs and birds. Nine species of seabirds breed on the sea cliffs, the most abundant being the **murre**. Swartz (1966) found that some 400,000 seabirds annually nested in the sea cliffs in the vicinity of Cape Thompson alone. During July the villagers frequented bird rookeries along Cape **Lisburne** and Cape Thompson to gather eggs and snare birds. The skins were used for

clothing and **the** eggs and young birds were cooked and preserved in bags of **seal oil** (Rainey 1947).

After sea-ice breakup, ocean fishing for salmon, char, **tomcod**, and **candlefish** commenced **all** along the coast. **Belugas** and white **whales** were hunted by herding them **to** the shore. Driftwood, an available resource in **the** treeless coastal region, washed **up** along the shore, mainly from the **large** rivers flowing into **the** Kotzebue Sound and the Beaufort Sea. The supply was adequate for the Inupiat's **limited fuel** and other **pur-**poses (Murdoch 1892).

In **the** aboriginal period, **the** **Tagiugmiut** utilization of **the** inland zone was primarily **limited to** the summer season. After **the** ocean-ice breakup, villagers of all ages dispersed along the coast and into the inland region **along** rivers and **lakes** to hunt caribou and other fur-bearing animals, black **brant**, and geese; fish; harvest the molting **fowl**; and gather eggs and berries. **Small** camps dotted the inland areas **at** favorable fishing sites. **Women** and young children remained in camp while **the** men hunted. In addition to fishing activities, women scraped and prepared skins for sewing into clothing and dried or otherwise preserved the harvested food resources.

Although Spencer (1959) divided the arctic **slope** between the coastal and inland Inupiat, he did recognize the **Tagiugmiut** use of the inland zone. **Burch** (1976) chose to dismiss the inland/coastal dichotomy and adopted a regional approach to account for variations. As noted earlier, however, since the Inupiat themselves use a geographical reference, it has

been employed for purposes of this report; but this regional approach does not mean to imply that significant variations existed between **Tagiugmiut** groups since their similarities were greater than any differences.

### Nunamiut

The **Nunamiut** have been contrasted with their coastal counterparts as Inupiat who were primarily oriented towards an inland economy. Like the **Tagiugmiut**, their appropriation of resources **from** one ecological zone was not exclusive. Although their primary subsistence pursuits were hunting terrestrial mammals, the **Nunamiut also** hunted in coastal regions but probably to a lesser extent than the **Tagiugmiut** were able to utilize the inland area. Their hunting activities on the sea ice were limited, and it is fairly certain that they did not participate in whaling. Differences among various **Nunamiut** groups were greater than those that might have existed between the **Tagiugmiut**. The regional approach allows for the best description of how various **Nunamiut** groups differed.

Human occupation of the inland region of the North Slope dates back 5,900 to 7,000 years to the Kayuk complex (Campbell 1962). **Archaeological** findings announced December 1, 1977 by the National Petroleum Reserve--Alaska Field Studies reported **datings to** 8,000 years ago. **While** the evidence substantiates an ancient human occupation of the arctic tundra by a **pre-Nunamiut** population, **the** origins, cultural evolution, population movements between the coastal and inland regions and the

southern and northern areas, and **the** interrelationships between the populations have not been firmly established.

Campbell (1962) asserted that the archaeological evidence indicates that the **Nunamiut** colonized the arctic **slope** region **and** the northern Brooks Range by **immigrating** from **the** Arctic coast and the Noatak and Kobuk **riverine** areas about 1,600 A.D. Hall (1976) located a **Nunamiut** habitation site dating back **to** 1,500 A.D. **to** 1,400 A.D. These movements may have been stimulated by famine, population expansion, hostilities between the various groups, a simple attraction to the abundant **inland resources**, or a combination of factors. If Campbell's position is correct, that the most relevant movements of coastal people inland was as recent as several centuries ago, this may account for **their** familiarity with and dependence on coastal products.

The ancestors of many of the present day **Wainwright** residents, the **Utorqarmiut (Utukokmiut)**, as described by Larsen and Rainey (1948), may have represented a transitional group between the **Taqiugmiut** and the **Nunamiut**, although they were classed as **Nunamiut**. The population, estimated at 800, spent considerable time and effort preparing for and participating in coastal activities. **Small family** units dispersed along the coastal areas between Icy Cape and the mouth of the **Utukok** River **to** hunt **seal** on the ice **or** from kayaks. Larger kin units engaged in **communal** walrus hunts. Campbell (1962) felt that the population estimate of 300 was too high, but even if the number is halved, it **still** suggests a highly successful adaptation. There were also **Nunamiut** groups who aid

**not hunt** sea mammals, **and it** might be conjectured that they, **too**, represent a distinct origin and cultural evolution.

Territorial Boundaries. The Inupiat designated as **Nunamiut** ranged from the **Noatok River** in the west to near the **delta** of the Mackenzie River in the east. They inhabited the **Endicott** Mountains; the northern coastal plain; and the **Colville, Utukok, Noatak, Kobuk, and Selawik** river drainages. Their neighbors included the **Tagiugmiut** Inupiat in the west and north and those who lived to the east of Barter Island. They **were** bounded **on** the south by the **Koyukon** Indians with whom they had friendly relations and the **Kutchin** Indians, who lived in the **Chandalar** River drainage and its tributaries and were their bitter enemies.

Campbell (1962) distinguished **two Nunamiut** groups of arctic Alaska Eskimos--those of the inland **montane**, whose economy was primarily based on caribou, and the **riverine** Inupiat, who also hunted caribou but basically were fishermen.

Larsen and **Rainey (1948)** estimated that **at** the turn of the century there were at least three thousand **Nunamiut**; however, this count included the **Kobuk and Selawik Rivers and the Noatik** region, **Spencer (1959)** estimated that **the Nunamiut** aboriginal population north of the Brooks Range numbered 1,500, **while** Campbell (1962) calculated a maximum of 1,400.

The inland Inupiat were scattered along the river watercourses and did not have permanent fixed communities. They did, **however**, reside and hunt within defined territorial boundaries, and each group was generally

named after that area. **Riverine Nunamiut** occupied the **Kobuk, Noatik,** and **Selawik** River drainages. The inland **montane Nunamiut** occupied and utilized the interior arctic from the northern slopes of the **Brooks Range,** the foothills, and the adjacent plains to the shores of the **Beaufort Sea** and the **Chukchi coastal** area around the **Utukok River.** Territorial boundaries between the **North Slope Nunamiut** and the **Tagiugmiut** were not well defined since there was common usage of the peripheral zone but at different times during the seasons. Except for the trading fairs along the coastal areas, the two groups did not mix.

Major Groups. **Gubser** (1965) distinguished four major groups of **Nunamiut,** not including **Larsen and Rainey's** (1948) transitional **Utukokmiut.** **Gubser** also excluded the **Kugmiut,** who lived along the tributaries of the **Kuk River** and were similar to the **Utukokmiut.** The four **Nunamiut** groups he identified were each comprised of one to five bands. He described each band as an aggregation of households numbering 50 to 150 people who could be identified as inhabitants of a given region. The four major groups made up of these bands are:

- **Kanjanigmiut**

- Lived along the upper **Colville River** (above the mouth of the **Killik River**) and its tributaries, such as the **Nuka, Kuna, Estivluk, Nigu,** and **Kurupa;** closely associated with the **Noatakmiut** who lived in the upper **Noatok** region; traveled north to the mouth of the **Colville** to trade with the **Tagiugmiut.**



- **Killikmiut**

- Resided in **the Killik, Okokmilaga, Okpikruak,** and Chandler river regions; some ranged as far as Survey Pass and **the upper Alatna River** where they were known as the **Alashukmiut.**

- e **Nanmalikmiut**

- Inhabited the **Anaktuvuk** Pass area, **Nanushuk** or **Anoktuaurak,** upper Fork, upper **Tinaijguk,** and upper Wild Rivers; most frequented **Tulujak** Lake area and were sometimes referred to as the **Tulugakmiut.**

- **Itkillikmiut**

- Included those **Nunamiut** who lived along the **Itkillik** River, in **Ulu** Pass, and on the upper **Dietrich** River.

Like the **Tagiugmiut,** whose permanent communities had satellite colonies, the major **Nunamiut** groups had smaller offshoots that continued to identify with the parent group. Although they were recognized as a subunit of the larger group, they might have their **own** name to designate the area where they resided. If the separation continued over a considerable **length** of time, they might become an independent group.

At the time of western contact, before their **drastic decline,** **Nunamiut** from the four major groups were expanding eastward. Had they not been disrupted, the **Nunamiut** who were ranging along the **Kuparuk, Sagavanirktok, Ivishok,** and Canning Rivers may have become major stable bands. The **Nunamiut** were also traveling east and establishing **camps** on the **Jago, Hulahula, Sheejek,** the East Fork of the **Chandalar,** and the **Colleen** Rivers.

Social Organization. The band **united** by kinship, a sense of territoriality, and communal caribou hunting efforts was the primary **Nunamiut** social **unit** and ranged in size from 50 to **150** individuals. As previously noted, one to five bands comprised a group, but in actuality it is more likely that a group was represented by one band because of the limited resources available in a region. **Gubser's** (1965) group classification may, however, **be useful** to describe territorial bounds and **to** recognize group membership of those bands which had **temporarily** split away from the major band when the population was high or resources were scarce.

The band was similar to the larger socioeconomic unit of the **Tagiugmiut**, but it was much more formalized **and** persisted from year **to** year. **It was** composed of several households with a sense of membership in **the** band. They traveled and camped within a defined territory. Their primary corporate economic activity was the caribou hunt. Although there may have been more than one **umealik** (rich man, recognized as a leader, but not a chief) **in** a band, there tended to be a dominant one who was characterized **by** economic strength and held a position of power and influence (**Gubser** 1965).

During certain periods of **the** year the band had to disperse. **Smaller** domestic family units were **formed** into a temporary cooperative economic complex which **might** include **two to** three nuclear families. **The** domestic unit **might also** occupy a **single** dwelling when they were with the band.

Subsistence Patterns. The **Nunamiut** have become characterized as

hunters of the migratory caribou. Caribou movements ordered the nomadic behavior of the **Nunamiut** in the interior tundras and the high montane region. Caribou provided the raw materials for shelter, boats, clothing, bedding, rope, thread, tools, and food.

Campbell (1962) described **Nunamiut** subsistence activities in part of his analysis of their settlement patterns. Among hunting societies in which there is no subsistence surplus, he noted that "the basic relationship between settlements and environment is a direct and immediate one. . . . **Nunamiut** encampments more directly mirror, as it were, those Brooks Range ecological variables which on the one hand seasonally delimit or restrict, and on the other hand seasonally provide the natural resources necessary to a hunting culture."

Campbell distinguished three primary categories of **Nunamiut** settlement patterns, which varied according to season and type of economic activity --main encampments (bands), scattered encampments (family), and nomadic campsites (family). The large summer encampments at predetermined rendezvous points, where trading took place between the **Nunamiut** and coastal Inupiat, represented a fourth major type of settlement.

#### • Main Encampments (Bands)

In April and May and again in August and **September**, the thousands of migrating caribou traveling through the major passes **concentrated** the **Nunamiut** in large population **units** in strategically located positions.

• Small Scattered Encampments (Domestic Family)

October through January, the **large** encampments broke up into scattered camps throughout the region, subsisting **on** small bands of caribou that were insufficient to support the **large** main **en-**  
**campments**. **Winter** camps might remain **in valleys** in the same locality for several months, depending on the availability of **the** caribou.

• Nomadic-Moving Campsites (Domestic Family)

February-March and June-July, small groups scour the country for game, fish, and plants. The main camps from **which** foragers are based range in size from **two to** many families.

• Trading Settlements (Bands)

Large **Nunamiut** settlements occurred at such established trading centers as the mouth **of** the **Colville** or **Utukuk** Rivers, Barrow, and Kotzebue. In addition **to** trading, they also hunted **sea** mammals and fished. Some Brooks Range **Nunamiut** occasionally summered **on the** northern coast. These large coastal summer gatherings must be considered as part of the **Nunamiut** settlement pattern.

Tagiugmiut/Nunamiut Interrelationships

The relationship between the **Tagiugmiut** and the **Nunamiut** was both economic and social. Structured trade occurred within established formal

partnerships between inland and coastal groups or between men and women with no formal arrangement. Commodities were exchanged for their subsistence worth and for their prestige value. Surplus resources and crafts accumulated throughout the previous year were major trade items, but they also exchanged goods they had previously bartered from southern and eastern groups.

Spencer (1959) noted that the **Nunamiut** depended more on trade than their coastal counterparts. He suggested that the inland group may have originally obtained **seal** and whale oil themselves, but after a change in hunting patterns, they could no longer obtain these in sufficient quantity within their own economic system. Although **oil** was a food item, its most significant use was for fuel.

In exchange for the vital **oil**, the **Nunamiut** primarily offered caribou meat and caribou products--hides (tanned and untanned), sinew, and **caribou** antlers and bones for the marrow. Other important items were **wolf**, fox, wolverine, sheepskin, musk-ox hair, and wood objects. The **Nunamiut** also acted as the trading intermediaries for such European items as **metal** vessels, tobacco, trade beads, and knives obtained from **the Siberians** in the **Bering Straits** by the **riverine Nunamiut**.

The **Tagiugmiut** were **less** dependent on trade, and the many caribou skins they obtained in trade were viewed as wealth. They did, however, require caribou for bedding and clothing. The principal items of trade they offered were seal and whale oil, **whale** bone, seal and **ugruk** skins, **walrus** skins which were important for **the** construction of the **umiak** (skin boats),

and stone and **slate** for dart points, They also traded with their eastern neighbors for **stone lamps**.

Although it should be **emphasized** that there were **Nunamiut** who did not engage in sea mammal hunting, it appears that the **Nunamiut** expended considerable effort in coastal hunting activities. Conversely, the **Tagiugmiut** were able hunters within the inland area. It appears that the crucial trade item for the **Nunamiut** was seal and whale **oil** for fuel; however, since **Nunamiut travel** and camping **plans** considered the availability of willow, it is clear that they had certain fuel sources of their own. The **Nunamiut** could, in fact, obtain seal oil for themselves and they did have access **to willow** which was also used **as fuel**.

**Trade** served to bring **these** widely separated groups together. Following trading activities, people engaged in several days of dancing and playing games. The two groups did not dance with **one** another, but they did dance for each other and participated together in competitive sports. This interaction promoted the spread of ideas and cultural elements and **helped** diminish differences between the groups. Inter-marriage, however, was rare, and **there** were no recognized kinship ties between the two groups. **Nunamiut** women were forbidden to marry **Tagiugmiut** men (Ingstad 1954). Trading activities did, however, **help** the Inupiat achieve a mutual interdependence and social stability.

We do know that there were **occasions** when the **Tagiugmiut** (Barrow) invited **Nunamiut** people from the **Colville** River area to participate in the

Messenger Feast, or as it is sometimes called, the Messenger Dance. The feast was an elaborate **socioceremonial** occasion involving economic exchange to enhance the status of the **umialik**, whaling captains, and men who owned boats. Its significance was as an integrating force among families, trading partners, and **friends**, and it helped establish a sense of solidarity and cultural uniformity between the communities and groups. (Spencer 1959). Little has been written about the Messenger Feast, and less is known about the circumstances of coastal and inland group **participation** in it.

#### The Historical Period: **Major** Economic Influences

The historical period commenced in 1826 with contact between the Inupiat and early explorers. The explorers' journals, maps, reports on **travel** conditions and wildlife populations served to open the Arctic **to** economic development which characterized the historic period. Although reports on culture contact and change are dominated by theories of acculturation, the prevalent research bias and assumptions continue to treat acculturation as a unidirectional process to complete assimilation into the dominant culture. Acculturation is a process of focusing on cultural change and is not in **itself** an end result of culture change.

The history **of** Inupiat acculturation is complex and demonstrates the incorporation **of alien** cultural elements, the elimination of previously existing elements, and the modification and reorganization of others. The addition of new cultural **elements** was selective **like** the many

technological innovations **which** were adopted, such as the whaling weaponry, **while** traditional **items** such as the skin boat used for spring whaling were retained. Examples of directed **culture** change also occurred under **the** proselyte and educational institution programs in which the **missionaries** and teachers purposefully initiated change **to** eradicate **aboriginal** beliefs and ideologies and to introduce new ideals. **The** Inupiat **also** responded **to** contact situations by actively exerting their influence **to** participate in the various economic development activities which included the commercial whaling era, the fur trapping and the military construction periods. The reduction of the natural resources on **which** the Inupiat depended and their involvement in the development activities resulted **in** a modification of **the** degree **of** their autonomy; however, after each **period** of economic development, they intensified their traditional subsistence pursuits. The viability of the Inupiat culture can be attributed to their **social** solidarity and their continuing relationship to their land and traditional way of life through the periods **of** economic development. The Inupiat case demonstrates that acculturation may occur without a subsequent change in values and without a change in the reference group.

## EXPLORATION PERIOD

Long before the Inupiat saw a white person, they were familiar with western manufactured goods, which they received by way of Asiatic **trade**. In 1826 **Commander R.W. Beechey**, of the vessel **H.M.S. Blossom**, became the first white person to record contact with the northern Inupiat--years after the Russians **landed** on Alaskan shores.



**Beechey** was astonished that the Inupiat not only did not appear surprised to see their first white person but were friendly and hospitable all along the **Chukchi** coast. He also commented on their aggressive efforts to trade, which he obliged. The Inupiat at **Utgkeavik** (Barrow) and Nuvuk (Point Barrow) were not, however, as delighted to greet their first white men. **Mr. Elson, the** Master Officer of the Blossom, had been dispatched to continue **the Blossom's** expedition in a barge from Icy Cape, and he described the Inupiat at **Utgkeavik** as overbearing and neither friendly nor easily satisfied with the trading transactions. The Inupiat at Nuvuk greeted **Mr. Elson** with a show of arms and would not allow him to land.

Nevertheless, direct trade and commercial relationships with the white man had begun. The first recorded natural resources exported, from the North Slope were coal, two swans, and four hundred pounds of venison. The explorers hired their first Inupiat to pull the barge along the coastline. In exchange, the explorers left beads, tobacco, and knives (**Beechey** 1831).

British exploration crews in the Arctic continued to make brief, periodic contact with the Northern Inupiat. The motivating force behind the explorations was to locate Sir **John** Franklin and his expedition, which had been lost searching for the Northwest Passage in 1848. During the following decade, 41 search parties had been dispatched. Six had gone overland to the coast of arctic America, and 35 had traveled along the Arctic coast. In 1850, the first ship wintered off Point Barrow, and the following year two ships wintered off the northern coast. The

surveys made by early expeditions were carefully executed and were used as the basis for later maps and charts of the Arctic coast (Hulley 1970).

To gain trade information, the Hudson's Bay Company dispatched Thomas Simpson to the region by way of the Mackenzie River delta in 1837. The Colville River and Beechey Point were named during his survey trip to Barrow (Andrews 1947), but Simpson encountered difficulties with the Barrow Inupiat and was forced to turn back before he made any explorations further east (Van Stone 1962).

The expeditions continued to trade and obtain the supplies and resources they needed. They offered items with which the Inupiat were familiar, and they also introduced the Inupiat to the practice of working in exchange for commodities. The direct effects of their activities on the Inupiat were not immediately evident, but the stage was set for the first commercial development in the Arctic, which we know did profoundly affect the Inupiat. These early explorers surveyed previously uncharted coasts, and gave the landmarks the English names they are now known by. The aboriginal inhabitants had been described to the public as friendly and receptive to trade. Explorers' reports of large numbers of bowhead whales in the Arctic soon lured commercial whalers.

#### THE COMMERCIAL WHALING PERIOD AND DECLINE

Women's fashions, and the need for whale oil, stimulated the commercial expansion of the bowhead whaling industry into arctic Alaska. Baleen,

or whale bone as it is sometimes called in the literature was in high demand for women's corset stays and skirt hoops. It was also used for buggy whips. The whale oil was used for **fuel** in **lamps**. The bowhead whale, which could be found in abundance off the Arctic coast, yielded more baleen than other whale, averaging 1,500 pounds apiece. When commercial whaling began in the Arctic in 1850, baleen sold for **32¢** a pound; by **1905** the price had soared to **\$4.90** a pound (Van Stone 1962).

The development of the petroleum industry in the late 1860's cut heavily into the demand for whale oil. One bowhead whale could **yield** an average of **100** barrels of oil which in 1865 was worth \$1.45 a gallon. However, between 1865 to 1875 **whale** oil imports to the United States dropped from 76,000 to 35,000 gallons, and the price was down to **65½¢** a **gallon** (Bockstoce 1977). Petroleum products were rapidly supplanting the use of **whale** oil, but **at** the same time the skyrocketing market for **baleen** kept whaling pressures on the bowhead high.

The market for baleen finally **plummeted** with the introduction of flexible spring **steel** in 1907. The depressed demand for baleen and whale oil, the heavy losses of whaling vessels in the treacherous seas, and a depleted whale resource reduced profits to the extent that the market for bowhead whale completely collapsed by 1910.

The golden age of the whaling in arctic Alaska began in **1848** with the discovery by New England whalers **of** the whaling grounds in the Bering Strait and the Arctic Ocean. In 1846 more **than** 725 vessels were

involved in commercial whaling activities, and a majority of them eventually penetrated into the Arctic (Andrews 1947). Steamship whaling was ushered in with the return of the Mary and Helen to San Francisco in 1880. She carried 2,350 barrels of oil and 45,000 pounds of baleen valued at more than \$100,000 obtained from a catch of 27 bowhead whales (Bockstoce 1977).

With added steam-power, whaling vessels would penetrate into difficult and dangerous ice zones and could winter in the Arctic, and this, coupled with the establishment of onshore whaling stations in the mid-1880's, meant continuous contact between the Inupiat and whites. By 1893 one fourth of the whaling vessels were wintering off the mouth of the Mackenzie River, while others remained at Herschel Island and in the vicinity of Point Barrow (Van Stone 1962). In 1894 over 500 whale-men wintered at Herschel. Onshore whaling stations were established at Barrow in 1884 and Point Hope in 1887.

Historians and anthropologists uniformly describe the effects the commercial whalers had on the Inupiat as devastating. Hull (1970) stated, "While there, they (American whalers on the Arctic coast) carried off the fuel and supplies of the Eskimos, debauching the natives with liquor and ruining their health by introducing the diseases of the white man." Hinckley (1972) described the whalers as ". . . ruthless predators, men little different from their contemporary, the Great Plains buffalo hunter. Both were sojourners who gave slight thought to the possible extinction of their mammal quarry. . . . As for the impact their ecological ravages might have on Eskimo life, few seem to have cared."

Van Stone (1962), an anthropologist, assessed the effects as follows:

The crews of the whaling vessel taught the **people** how to make intoxicating liquor and then took advantage **of** their desire **to** obtain the raw material for **its** manufacture in trade for the baleen. They introduced venereal and other diseases that had never prevailed.

. . . 0 Many northern villages lost fully half their population in a few years.

In addition to the bowhead whale decline and the 50 percent reduction of the northern Inupiat population, other populations were **also** adversely affected. For example, **it** has been estimated by Andrews (1947) that **more** than 100,000 walrus were taken by the whalers for their **oil** and ivory tusks in the decade **1870** to 1880. This concurrent drop in both the whale and **walrus** populations forced the Inupiat **to** make demands on the caribou, which was already under strong hunting pressure by the whalers and other whites in the Arctic.

The main impact on the caribou population from the whalers was between 1890 and **1904** when as many as 20 ships and over 500 men **wintered** along the **coast** from Point Barrow to the Mackenzie. The crew of the first three vessels that remained in the Arctic during the winter of **1890** off Herschel Island consumed 40,000 pounds of choice caribou hams. The ships' dogs were reported to have eaten over 400 caribou carcasses during one **year**. A naturalist who traveled **to** Herschel Island in 1896 estimated that each ship required more than 10,000 pounds of caribou a year (Bockstoce 1977). **Also** the whalers preferred the female and fawn for meat

and skins which imposed an added pressure on the caribou herds (Sonnenfeld 1957). One average female caribou yielded approximately a 100 pounds per carcass which meant one ship required 100 caribou each year.

Many Nunamiut whose primary food was caribou reportedly starved because of the lack of meat. Ernest Leffingwell, who conducted a series of expeditions for the U.S. Geological Survey, attributed the population decline of the Nunamiut to the diminished number of caribou (Gubser 1965). Starvation and epidemics of influenza and measles all took their toll of the Nunamiut population. In the late 1880's or early 1890's, a flu epidemic killed more than a hundred Nunamiut at a feast at the upper Noatak River (Gubser 1965). In the early 1900's, Charles Brewer reported the death of 200 Nunamiut who had contracted influenza at Barrow after a few whaling ships had arrived.

The Nunamiut began to immigrate to coastal communities toward the end of the century first to trade their furs and to hunt caribou for the whalers. However, the dramatic decline of the caribou population precipitated the disappearance of the Nunamiut from the arctic tundra by 1920 until the mid-1930's when the caribou population began to increase.

Spencer (1959) argued that the disappearance of the Nunamiut from the inland region resulted from the cessation of trade relations with the Tagiugmiut. He suggested that the Nunamiut were forced to immigrate to the coast, not because of the decimation of the caribou herds, but rather because the coastal people discontinued the traditional trading patterns.

If, as Spencer suggests, trade between the two groups did cease, it should have occurred during **the** commercial whaling period from 1848 to 1910 when the coastal Inupiat had access to the **commercial** whalers' trade items. However, scattered references throughout **the** literature suggest that trade continued. **In** 1881, Murdoch (1892) mentioned trading transaction between the coastal and inland Inupiat at the mouth of the **Colville**. **In** 1886, Lt. George M. **Stoney's** assistant, Howard, traveled with the **Nunamiut** on their trading journey down the **Colville** River (**Gubsen** 1965). The U.S. Census recorded 200 residents at the **Colville** River trading center in 1900. **In** 1901, **Schrader** with the U.S. Geological Survey reported **Nunamiut** traveling down the **Colville** to trade (**Gubsen** 1965). Charles Brewer (1942) from Barrow was also sending items to the **Colville** to trade for **Nunamiut** products. The disappearance of the **Nunamiut** from the arctic tundra can be attributed to a number of factors, but the decline of the caribou population was perhaps the most significant.

The establishment of the onshore commercial whaling stations introduced modern equipment into Inupiat whaling and increased the adoption of traditional methods by whites. The commercial whalers decided to follow the Inupiat's example and hunt directly off the shorefast ice. They soon discarded their wooden boats for the lighter, quieter skin-covered **umiak**. Inupiat taboos and supernatural restrictions were relaxed, for they had seen that the commercial whalers broke all the rules and were still successful in their hunt.

The Inupiat soon began signing on as crew members for the commercial

whalers. The whaling stations began to compete for Inupiat whalers, especially the harpooners and shoulder gun men. Inupiat came from the Kotzebue region and the Noatak and Kobuk Rivers to work for the stations. Although most returned home after the whaling season, many intermarried with the local Inupiat during the 25 years the station operated. Steffanson (1966) reported that by 1908 the more affluent Inupiat whalers had as many as six of their own crews whaling commercially. Although the Inupiat participated in the commercial hunt, they also maintained their traditional subsistence pursuits which continued to be their major support for their livelihood.

By the time commercial whaling activity came to a close the Inupiat had been introduced to the system of working for wages and hunting the whale for its commercial value. He had adopted modern hunting equipment, and he had developed a dependence on a few white man's food staples. With the adoption of modern equipment and tools that he could not manufacture, food he could not acquire, and all of the other items of which he could no longer obtain by trade, the Inupiat became dependent on an external source. At the close of the commercial whaling period the Inupiat intensified their subsistence pursuits.

The secondary effects of the commercial whaling activities were the introduction of schools, Christianity, and the reindeer herding industry to the Inupiat. Dr. Sheldon Jackson, who was a missionary and the general agent for education in Alaska, was urged to come to the Arctic by Lieutenant Commander Charles A. Stockton of the U.S.S. Thetis who was



appalled by what he considered to be the desperate condition of the Eskimos. Dr. **Jackson** responded, and after negotiations with several Protestant mission societies, he awarded Point Hope to the Episcopal **Church** and Point Barrow to the Presbyterians in **1890**. Initially the missionaries served as both preachers and teachers. In some instances, he also provided the medical services and supervised the reindeer herding industries. The influence of **the** missionary **was** pervasive. He introduced new religious beliefs; discredited traditional ideologies and taboos; influenced housing structures and dress patterns; and altered subsistence patterns such as prohibiting working or hunting on Sunday. Because of the unpredictability of environmental conditions which affects the presence of wildlife and the irregularity of the migratory patterns of caribou, marine mammals, and **fowl**, the prohibition against hunting on Sunday often led to a shortage of food and hunger.

The introduction of reindeer to the Arctic was originally initiated to feed the several hundred starving commercial whalers who had wintered off Point Barrow in 1897 (**Olson 1969**), but a further objective was to **"help civilize** the Native people and provide the basis for a future commercial economy" (**Jackson 1893**).

The reindeer industry, through the various federal management policy changes, had introduced the concept of individual ownership of a biological resource and also the concept of a corporate business. The reindeer industry involved relatively few Inupiat, and according to **Van Stone (1962)**, ". . . even the most dedicated herders desired to return to the

village for spring whaling activities, and it was at this time that large numbers of deer wandered away and were lost.' " Another aspect of the government sponsored reindeer industry was its attempts to introduce a system whereby the government assumed full responsibility for feeding, clothing, and educating the herders.

Olson's (1969) study of the reindeer as an instrument of social and economic change among the Inupiat pointed out that the issue of starvation was more perceived than real, the reindeer was actually regarded by the Native population as an item of wealth and not food. He concluded that the reindeer did not basically alter Eskimo society but instead was adapted into it (Olson 1969). The effects of reindeer on Native subsistence patterns appear to have been few and transitory.

#### THE FUR INDUSTRY

The interrelations between the macro- and microeconomies that developed between the national market and the Inupiat society are clearly demonstrated in the rise of the fur industry in the early 1900's. The demand for a product at the national level fostered the development of the fur trading industry in the arctic and the commencement of fur trapping activities by the Inupiat. Fur had become a fashion craze, and when Europe, beset by World War I, could no longer meet the high demands of the market, emphasis shifted to New World supplies. Fox, particularly its white phase, was highly valued.

The decline of the baleen trade and the rising market in furs encouraged a population shift back toward inland areas and smaller coastal settlements. Fur trading posts were rapidly established at **Wainwright**, Barrow, **Beechey** Point, Demarcation Point, and Barter Island. Initially, transactions were limited to bartering food supplies, traps, shotguns, rifles, and ammunition for furs, but many older **Inupiat**s remember when cash was introduced. Vincent **Nageak** of Barrow related:

When I was young, we used to hunt polar bear for food, never **sell** hide. We needed the hide for mattresses for ice hunting since it never gets wet when we **sleep**. **It** was **also** used for sitting on, for mittens, or to cover the snow house hall doorway. After awhile, Brewer (Charles Brewer) pay \$15 for the hide. That was the first time someone paid for the hide. (**Worl** 1977)

Women and children were also affected by the fur trade. Bertha Leavitt of Barrow noted that sewing thimbles had traditionally been made out of **ugruk** (bearded seal) but related, "When I was young, I caught a white lemming and brought. it home. My uncle took the lemming to Brewers and got me a thimble in exchange. I was getting **rich!**" (**Worl** 1977).

**Sonnenfeld** (1957) analyzed the impact of the fur trade on subsistence:

Unlike whaling, trapping thus required that the Eskimo give up a portion of their subsistence activity, mainly the **early** and mid-winter sealing, and the late winter-early spring caribou hunting. To this extent, trapping had a greater effect on subsistence activity

than had commercial whaling. The effects were **less**, however, in terms of adequacy of subsistence. By dispersal, the individual Eskimo had a greater hunting territory available to supply his subsistence. Fish were more available along the inland rivers than at Barrow. Caribou were more abundant along the east coast than at Barrow, and more easily available during the late **spring-summer-early fall**. Seal, though perhaps **less** abundant, were **still plentiful** along the east coast. During the late **1920's** and through the thirties, reindeer were able to supplement subsistence. The only game really **lost to** the migrant Eskimo were **the** walrus and whale, but depending on the **furcatch**, which was more likely to be adequate than for those maintaining a Barrow residence, even these could be obtained by trade.

The Inupiat's purchasing power increased as the price of fur continued to soar during the 1920's. U.S. Office of Education report (1912-13) noted that one fox skin in 1913 had **the** same purchasing power as 28 fox skins in 1910-1911. Credit, not cash, was the primary **medium of** exchange at most trading posts.

The decline of **fur** prices during the depression **of** the early thirties drastically affected the Inupiat trapper. **Unable** to trade his furs or obtain credit, he was forced to revert to former subsistence patterns. During the 1930's hunting pressures had depleted the game in the inland areas adjacent to the coast. At this time, the **Nunamiut**, who through the years of living on the coast had maintained their group identity,

decided to return to the Brooks Range (Gubser 1965).

#### NAVAL PETROLEUM RESERVE #4 EXPLORATION

By the time major petroleum exploration programs on Naval Petroleum Reserve #4 began in 1944, the Inupiat were familiar with working for wages, but the exploration program which lasted until 1953 brought the true dawning of the cash economy to the region. The Navy contracted with Arctic Contractors (ARCON) to conduct the exploration project, and in 1947, the Navy also decided to establish the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory near Barrow.

ARCON had intended to import labor assuming that the Inupiat would not be able to adjust to the employment demands, but the Inupiat petitioned Alaska's delegate to Congress demanding that local labor be utilized. After a meeting between ARCON, Alaska Native Service, and the Navy, ARCON began hiring the Inupiat as laborers in 1946. ARCON adopted the policy of allowing the Inupiat to take off for brief periods to hunt. Participation in the winter, spring, and fall subsistence activities was unaffected since the peak period for ARCON activities was July through September.

Sonnenfeld (1957) gives a detailed review of Inupiat participation during the ARCON operation. During 1946-1953, ARCON hired 227 Inupiat, but turnover was high. About half worked continuously for one full year, but only half of those worked two or more consecutive years, and only one

worked during the entire seven-year period. The pay ranged from one to nearly three dollars an hour. The average annual salary for an Inupiat employed full time by ARCON in 1951 was \$5,800. Sonnenfeld observed that the work force could take advantage of wage opportunities without seriously affecting subsistence since the number of Eskimos involved was relatively small, and most of the population continued with traditional pursuits. He noted that the wage earner gave financial support to the whaling crews, thereby insuring his continued share in the whale and walrus catch. Sonnenfeld contended that the number of whaling crews actually increased as a result and that this enabled more effective utilization of the whale resources. With more crews to assist in taking the whale, losses would (assumedly) be less.

Following the close of the ARCON operation, as with the previous development periods, the Inupiat once more increased their dependence on the subsistence resources. Sonnenfeld noted that a few families emigrated to urban centers to pursue a wage economy and most returned to traditional activities. There were additional brief periods of wage opportunities during the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line construction program during the mid-1950's. The 1960's found the Inupiat engaged in what has been described as a dual economy, consisting of a combination of cash and subsistence. Subsistence in the contemporary era, with a dependence on some cash income, is certainly different from aboriginal times; however, the resources it provides to the community are still substantial. The incorporation of the Inupiat into the monetary market system and the commercialization of the Inupiat economic system continued alongside

the traditional socioeconomic system. With the decline of each economic development period, the traditional Inupiat socioeconomic system reemerged as the primary economic system; however, **it** was never again as autonomous as it had been in the aboriginal period.

### The Contemporary Period

#### POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Aboriginal Inupiat societies have been described in the classic ethnographic literature as devoid of formalized political institutions. Now, however, defining political institutions **solely** in terms of a non-kin based centralized state operating within a defined boundary has been rejected by many social theorists (**Balandier** 1970; **Schapera** 1967). **Social** scientists increasingly characterize political development less by type of institution than by **the** functions performed.

To date, a detailed analysis of the Inupiat aboriginal and early historic political sphere has not been done. However, many references are made in the literature to the organizational forms which helped to establish and maintain the internal cooperation and **external** independence of Inupiat societies. Additionally, traditional forms persist into the contemporary period **for** example, the whaling captains' associations, which demonstrate an interaction between the past and ethnographic present.

The contemporary period began with early attempts by **the** Inupiat to

politically organize themselves on a regional basis in the 1960's in response to state selection of Native land under the Alaska Statehood Act, the Native land claims effort, and the State's sale of oil leases at Prudhoe Bay. The communities had elected village councils long before then; in fact, several councils had been formally organized and functioning for as long as 50 years. These village organizations provided the base for regional awareness and development of the North Slope.

### Village Councils

The western model of formalized political organization in the region began with formation of village councils, promoted by missionaries and teachers to encourage democratic forms of local leadership. However, while it appears that the formal council organization is recent, participation, function, and decision-making processes are well grounded in traditional law ways and values. These communities are said to be organized on a "traditional basis" or to have "traditional" governments.

The second form of village governments comes from provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, extended to Alaska in 1936. The objective of the IRA was the political and economic assimilation of Native American societies into the larger national society by changing the structure of Native communities. The IRA provided for the formation of autonomous economic and political institutions based on the United State Constitution. Such IRA organizations include federally recognized tribal governments but are not incorporated cities under state law.



There are other IRA villages which are organized according to the conditions of membership, regulation of internal affairs, rules of inheritance, and disposition of tribal property, established by IRA rules, but which are not formally incorporated by **IRA**. Some communities are organized under the IRA and also formally incorporated under state laws. State-incorporated villages have varying municipal powers and responsibilities depending on their class status. However, as **Brøsted** (1975) pointed out in his study of **Ulgunik (Wainwright)**, the differences between villages organized on a traditional basis and those formally incorporated under state law are actually negligible. He noted that traditional councils without a formal jurisdictional basis function as formally organized governments, assuming control of domestic affairs and external problems and relations.

The forms of government and populations of North Slope communities in **1970 were as follows** (Federal Field Committee 1971):

<u>Communi ty</u>	<u>Form of Government</u>	<u>1970 Popul ati on</u>	<u>Percent Native</u>
Anaktuvuk Pass	4th-Class Ci ty	99	<b>98%</b>
Barrow	4th-Class Ci ty	2, 104	<b>90%</b>
Kaktovi k	Tradi ti onal	723	88%
Poi nt Hope	4th-Class Ci ty	386	97%
<b>Wainwright</b>	4th-Class Ci ty	315	97%

Those cities categorized as fourth class became **second-class** cities in 1972 as a result of legislative change. Barrow was later upgraded to a

first-class city. A discussion of the government of these communities now follows.

Wainwright. Brøsted's 1975 study of Ulgunik (Wainwright) presents a fairly detailed description of the town council in the early 1970's and provides insight into the development of local responses to external affairs and the integration of the village into the emerging regional organization of the North Slope. This study may be fairly generalized to characterize all North Slope village councils. Brøsted's work is the only recent available documentation on the village council but it generally characterizes all village councils and will be used extensively. Other village councils will be discussed to illustrate the Inupiat adaptations of a western government model.

The State has vested formal legal requirements, responsibilities, functions, and authorities in city councils, but village councils as they operate today are also greatly involved in traditional affairs. Brøsted's study reveals that since not all internal social problems are regulated by ordinance, decisions are often based on unwritten laws. Council deliberations often encompass matters dealing with social control, and complaints are often brought before the council before they are referred to the magistrate.

The following excerpts from Brøsted's minutes of several council meetings demonstrate the informal relationships the council has with various social entities in the community, which serves to strengthen its authority.

Also, council meetings often involve **people** who **are** not present, in which case either someone goes to get him or he is asked to report to the council later. Discussion topics are characteristic of North Slope village life:

- suggestion was made by N. to open Bingo game for the city.
- . . . the VFW reports that VFW **will** pay wages for one police for the **whole** year. Also reports that VFW can be of help to anybody. . . For one policeman is \$300 yearly. They are also putting **\$15** per bingo game for new Community Building.

There **shall** be dances held in **Wainwright** as of this date voted for . . . by the majority.

N. left to go get 0 for finding about Rec. **Com.** (Recreation **Com-mittee**) earnings. 0 reports that since he took over . . . had \$482.85 . . . Supposed to have \$678.94 . . . Committeeman had borrowed an amount of \$196.09 . . . Needs to pay \$50.59 to clear his name (debt).

Mayor's first subject was selecting 2 delegates to AFN (Alaska Federation of Natives). . . VFW will take care of one of **the** delegates and the Rec. Com. the other. . . .

. . . whaling captains had **told** the mayor to let the council stop

the bingo games till the whaling season is over, this is due to hardly any men at the camps on some bingo nights, votes will be taken whether to have Bingo games during the whaling season. . . . No Bingo games till whaling season is over with exception of having it during blizzards.

The recreation committee referred to in Brøsted's minutes falls under the authority of the council because recreation is one of two powers of the City (fire protection is the other). It raises funds by holding bingo games. The Council determined that 70 percent of the money raised could be kept by the recreation committee while 15 percent is taken for tax and 15 percent for the Community Building Fund which the residents plan to build. Additional uses of these funds include the large feasts held during Christmas week and search and rescue efforts for those lost on the tundra.

Like other city councils, the village council is concerned with educational programs, health issues, public welfare matters, and utility projects. Presently, they serve only in an advisory capacity on educational matters since the Borough is now responsible for education. Although the council represents all village citizens, it is heavily involved with Alaska Native affairs and the integration of the village in the regional organization as the following excerpts from Brøsted's minutes show:

N is reporting that the meeting he attended at Barrow with ASNA (Arctic Slope Native Association). He reports the oil co. is

planning to put up a pipeline from Fairbanks to the Arctic Slope. The ASNA is trying to stop it so the caribou can be free to roam back and forth. Also water pollution in the rivers from chemicals from oil drillers. This water pollution might kill the fish. O is reporting **while** at Barrow that Fred Paul the Attorney for ASNA told him that the people here should unite to help the association at Barrow.

Mayor P read a letter from Attorney Fred Paul concerning starting a borough in the Arctic Slope. The members agreed to have a borough so the natives have more say over what they done or not.

Next is a **letter** from William **Hensely** concerning the endorsement of Byron Mallet for Rural Cap Executive-director. The council is now endorsing him for that post, also the **people** will sign their names when this paper is hung at the store.

Sam **Talaak** of ASNA, Barrow is now talking about the matters. He is saying that **Wainwright** should make out a charter for IRA of 1934.

. . . The council would write to Peter Three Stars to find out how to go about the matter. Barrow, **Wainwright**, Pt. Hope, Barter Islands and **Anaktuvik** Pass will make out one corporation and chartered under about the ASNA. He is also saying that Stevens Village was recognized by the U.S. Court under its IRA Charter of 1934, while Beaver, **Wiseman**, and **Minto** were not, due to not having this Charter. . . . Barrow was in **1939** organized after the Indian

Reorganization Act, and in the part about the city's authority you can read: "The Village shall have the following powers:

. . . to stop any giving or taking away of Village lands or other property without its consent, and to get legal aid, as set forth in the act of June 18, 1934.. (From Article 4, Constitution and By-laws of the Native Village of Barrow.)

. . . people chosen as a committee to draft to Congressman Haley. The letter is to express we need more land than what was passed on the last Bill in the Senate. Discussion on land claims: The 40 million acres should be retained agreed by the natives in 1967. . . We want the 40 million acres of land agreed by our native leaders, even (though) we the people in this village do not think it is enough to take care for our substance. We always need about 750,000 sq. miles to hunt for our main diet. . . . T, is appointed to see about getting transportation to D.C. X drafted the letter to congressman Haley, Washington D.C. Copies of letter is to be sent to Tundra Times, ANB, ASNA, and the N.Y. Times. , . . N and Z is to explain to the people concerning writing letters on this land claims issue, each is to read the letter drafted and hunged at the store before they write themselves to Congressman Haley.

The letter on the Alaska Native land claims bill referenced in the minutes was written to Congressman Haley in September 1970. The letter demonstrates the degree of political sophistication and knowledge of the federal legislative processes the Inupiat had even then. The following

paragraph was abstracted from the letter written to the congressman from the Village of **Wainwright**:

May **we** make ourselves **clear**. We are concerned for our hunting grounds. This land has belonged **to** our fore-fathers since all remembrance. In that time it has been established that for **our** village to exist, we **will** need to retain a minimum of 150 miles to the south and **150** miles to the east and **45** miles to **the** north for a hunting ground. This land is not the type that is **able** to produce any type of crops even to a small garden There is some grass and a few berries but not enough **to** exist on. Our only **liveli-hood** and food comes from the range animals, i.e. caribou, fox, moose, fish, **wolf**, wolverine, bears and game birds. 100% of the people's total subsistence depends on these hunting grounds.

The land is **our** prime concern. However **we** are concerned **not** only for ourselves but for our grandchildren and their grand-children. We would therefore ask that **the** 2% over-riding royalty on the mineral holdings that has passed the Senate; be changed to a perceptual (perpetual) 2% basis.

The letter identifies the area the people utilize and illustrates residents' view of their settlement pattern, a view which differs considerably from traditional government **townsite** surveys which treat communities in terms of residential, commercial, and community facility land uses.

Point Hope. Although Van Stone's account of Point Hope's council was written 15 years before **Brøsted's**, there are many basic similarities. Point Hope's council was originally organized in 1920 (under the church's influence) and was **later** incorporated under the IRA. Van Stone noted that the council **was** involved in many aspects of village **life**, including the settlement of minor disputes between individuals or **families which** they could not resolve themselves. The council acted as a rule-making and law enforcement body, and although it had no power to enforce its ruling, it was effective because of the pressure of public opinion and the prestige of **the** council members. **In** instances where the council must take disciplinary action, there is an attempt to avoid open conflict with the individual or between individuals involved. By the time the council has decided to take disciplinary action the decision is generally unanimous. Conclusions were reached after lengthy discussions. Occasionally formal votes were **taken**, but generally everyone was in agreement by the time a matter had been fully discussed. As at **Wainwright**, **if** the presence of a villager was required during the course of a meeting, the council **marshall** went to get him. From Van Stone's account, it is **evident** that traditional law ways governed the resolution of conflicts. He noted that decisions reached by the council were based on precedent and that the council was loathe to put aside any old customs. Although the traditional laws are still not codified, they are well known by the community, particularly those laws governing hunting behavior and distribution of animals caught (Van Stone 1962).



Kaktovik. Although Kaktovik was classified (page 55 ) as having a traditional form of government in 1970, Kaktovik may also be an IRA government. **Chance** (1966) reported that in spite of the rapid changes that had occurred in the village because of relocation and DEW Line construction, the effectiveness of the traditional **leader** was unimpaired and traditional kinship ties remained strong. The practice of extending kinship privileges to non-kin by means of traditional formal partnerships may have served to integrate non-kin into the community. This may explain why Kaktovik did not formally incorporate as a fourth-class city until 1971.

Anaktuvuk Pass. New communities such as Point Lay, Atkasook, **Nuiqsut**, and Anaktuvuk Pass, were established within areas which were traditionally used as hunting and fishing camps. Anaktuvuk Pass was the first new town in the Arctic. The settlers represented two interrelated nomadic groups who decided to form a **community** because they wanted their children to learn English and to trade with the trapper who had recently arrived in the area. R. Rausch, who was a biologist with the Arctic Health Research Center at the time, was present in the Brooks Range when the Killik segment joined **the Tulugak** group in the summer of 1949. He reported that they knew no English and existed almost exclusively by hunting (Rausch 1951). In 1960 two families living 20 miles north of the village were the last **of** the two original groups to move into town.

The impetus for **formal** incorporation of Anaktuvuk Pass as a fourth class city in 1947 has not been ascertained, but it was a year or two years

after the church was constructed and three years before a school was established. Gubser (1965) described the two original groups as factions but noted that internal tension between the two groups should not be considered a dominating force in Anaktuvuk Pass social and cultural affairs. Marriages occurred between members of both factions, and some persons changed their alignments from one group to another. When group effort was required or the group as a whole was threatened, the two factions acted together. Gubser commented that the factions were most evident in political conflicts and times of economic crisis. M.S. Cline, who was a school teacher at Anaktuvuk Pass from 1967 to 1969, reported that the two factions had persisted and that the Killik faction was larger and thus in a position to dominate the Tulugak faction. He described a conflict in 1967 that split the villagers and council along factional lines (Cline 1975). The disagreement arose when the community was faced with a shortage of willow which was the fuel source. One group wanted to move the village to Umiat, about 100 miles north, while the other group wanted to remain at Anaktuvuk Pass. Government officials were called in to assist in finding a solution, and they proposed that those who agreed to remain would be provided fuel oil, stoves, insulation, and plywood for their houses while those who moved would get no assistance.

Cline also described the village council as it was functioning in 1969. He stated that a primary function of the council was representing the people to the "Tanik" (non-Inupiat, white) world. The council dealt mainly with Bureau of Indian Affairs and state matters involving the village. Minor village affairs were handled as needed, but major policies

were decided at general meetings attended by all adult residents. As in other villages, the **Anatuvuk** Pass council intervened in matters of social control that go beyond the realm **of** most city councils. They helped settle marital difficulties, alcohol problems, and other individual conflicts which could not be privately resolved.

Barrow. The Inupiat from **Utqkeavik** and Nuvuk united to form the present **community** of Barrow. It was also populated by members of various inland groups and southern coastal communities who migrated to Barrow during the commercial whaling period. During the military construction period, Barrow attracted more Inupiat from **Wainwright** and other **communi-**ties. More so than elsewhere, Barrow residents have kinship ties to **all** other arctic communities. **In** spite of the diverse population in Barrow, blending has been smooth since they **all** share a common cultural background.

This unity was **clearly** demonstrated in an incident that stimulated regional unification. The event, called the "Duck-In", occurred **in** the spring of 1961 when 138 **Barrow** hunters shot eider ducks after two hunters had been arrested by federal agents for hunting fowl out of season. The rights of the Inupiat to hunt and fish in their aboriginal homeland had never been challenged until **1961**. However, the International Bird Treaty of 1916 between the United States, Great **Britian**, and in 1937 by Mexico, threatened this basic freedom. The treaty allowed Eskimos and Indians **to** take a few species of seabirds in any season but prohibited **the** harvest of other migratory fowl from March 10 to September 1. Birds which

could be taken were available to only a few coastal communities, and the treaty set the open season on migratory fowl during a time that they were not present along the Arctic coast (Day 1969).

From 1916 to 1961, the Inupiat continued to harvest eiders as they had for thousands of years. Probably few, if any, Inupiat were even aware of the treaty. Yet, 45 years after the treaty was signed, three Barrow Inupiat were arrested for violating it. The enforcement officer was called to a Barrow town meeting, the "Duck-In", where 138 hunters, each with an eider duck in hand and a written statement saying he had taken the fowl out of season, were waiting. A petition had been signed by over 300 Inupiat demanding that President Kennedy issue emergency regulations permitting them to hunt migratory waterfowl for food at any time of the year and that treaty regulations be renegotiated to reflect the Inupiat right to harvest.

Etok (Charlie Edwardsen, Jr.) from Barrow, stated, "We were so well organized that if they had arrested every man in Barrow, the womenfolk were going to be next. An then the children." (Gallagher 1974). Lantis (1973) wrote about the "Duck-In, " "This unprecedented display of unity and determination by the men of the community, including a State senator . . . a president of the village council, and other leaders, obtained public attention through wide newspaper coverage." The story was carried in all major newspapers with most condemning the enforcement action. The U.S. Attorney representing the Department of Justice declined prosecution of the 138 Inupiat stating, "Although there were definite technical

violations, it is our decision in declining prosecution that since the problems of the federal agencies involved, it is our firm hope that the Eskimo people, having achieved national recognition of their difficulty, will rely in the future on the legislative process rather than intentional violation of federal laws." (Day 1969). **With** little support from the Department of Justice, the federal Fish and Game Bureau declined to risk an open "shooting war" during the following year's **closed** season.

The Barrow Inupiat also asserted aboriginal rights to the natural gas in the Naval Petroleum Reserve and requested that their homes be supplied with the fuel. It was already being provided to the five federal installations at Barrow. **Lantis** (1973) reported that they later did get natural gas for their homes, but it was granted "as a welfare measure."

### Summary

Although the village councils are structures after a western municipal governmental model and fulfill the necessary obligations demanded by State laws, they appear to have extended the functions of the council. The Inupiat have been successful in incorporating **the** council into their traditional values, activities, leadership patterns, and methods of decision making. Traditional **laws**, particularly those relating to hunting behavior, have survived. Council members maintain a close identity with the community by continuing to interact with community members. **The** councils, particularly in the smaller villages, appear to be **effective** in controlling **social** behavior and arbitrating interpersonal

conflicts. The councils tend to involve the entire community when major decisions must be made. Although, by law, the councils represent Inupiat and non-Inupiat, participation has been almost exclusively Inupiat. The councils also focus considerable attention on distinctly Native issues. The village councils have demonstrated a willingness and capability to respond to major crisis events. The councils were successfully integrated into the community and were ready to initiate and respond to increasing pressures for regional government development.

### Regional Development

The political evolution of regional organization among Alaska Natives was described by Worl (1976) in her testimony before Senator James Abourezk's Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. Hearings were held throughout the state to discuss the definition of "tribe" as it relates to Alaska Natives. Since the testimony was largely based on Worl's research in Barrow, sections will be abstracted to provide an introduction to the centralized organizations operating in the North Slope Beaufort Sea Region:

Political unification of various tribes within Alaska began when aboriginal land and hunting rights were threatened. Throughout various areas there was a movement towards regionalism. In Southeast Alaska, the Tlingits and Haidas followed by the Athabaskans and the North Slope Eskimos all united against common threats. Regional groups organized themselves on aboriginal concepts of land use and

occupancy patterns within regions. This natural evolution of regionalism in response **to** impinging forces could have occurred in aboriginal times. If they had, their regional entities **would** have been known as "tribes", but the fact that they occurred in historical times, they were called "Associations" instead, but the concept remains-the same. It may seem that I am belaboring a point, but **I** would like to emphasize that the evolution of 12 regional entities was a self-initiated action. If the groups had decided to call themselves "tribes" it **would** have been as legitimate as calling themselves "Association".

The regional entities were further codified into **law with** the passage of the Settlement Act. However, there were basic differences with which we **are all** familiar. **I** am speaking of the mandated profit-making characteristic. For the purpose of this investigation (definition **of** tribe) the "membership" limitation defined by **law**, must be the primary consideration. **While** the original regional entities included **full** membership, (of **all** Natives **within** a region), the corporations will facilitate the disenfranchisement of children born after the date of the passage of PL 92-203. (Alaska **Native Claims** Act) Although it is foreseen that some children **will** inherit "shares", it is also a foregone fact that not everyone, even today shares equitably **in** the distribution of the economic and political benefits of the Settlement Act in terms of land, monetary income, and the right to vote or be elected to governing board of directors of village and regional corporation. Moreover, **it is**

just as certain that under present legislation, membership in these native **corporations** will include non-natives.

Thus, in Alaska we have regional entities which include (?) the self-created regional associations, and the **Tlingit** and **Haida Central Council** which is distinct from the other associations because of its previous legislative and judicial history. (2) the **profit-making** corporation created under PL 92-203 (3) the regional IRA of the North Slope, the Inupiat Community of the Arctic **Slope** (4) the North Slope Borough, a state municipal government (5) in addition, Alaska has a number of regional-wide Reserves.

It is my opinion that the North Slope Inupiat took a progressive step in their formation of the North **Slope Borough** along with their regional IRA. (Tribal Government created under the **Indian Reorganization Act**) Each Organization had its own function be it a **profit-making** orientation or providing governmental services. **It** is an action that I am certain **will** be repeated in other rural areas because of the potential benefits. In the words of Joe Upicksoun, President of the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, "We created a government to take care of governmental functions and to deliver governmental services." Unlike the urban centers where natives are the minority and their influence in municipal governments limited, the North **Slope** Borough is a predominately Eskimo municipality.

Unquestionably, Alaska Natives **are** at the threshold of rapid and



significant cultural and social change. The situation in Alaska is complex, but perhaps the most critical factor to note is that Alaska Native Organizations are in a stage of flux. Although, the **Settlement Act** offers threats of potential conflict within the **intercorporate** relationships, these relationships and the delegation of functions and powers between regional entities and between **local** and regional organizations are currently being resolved.

Inupiat Paitot. In November 1961, several months after the "Duck-In" incident, the Northern Inupiat gathered together for the first time since the days of the great trading fairs. Village leaders met in Barrow at a conference named Inupiat **Paitot** (People's Heritage) to discuss their common problems. They discussed, among other issues, the right to hunt eider ducks and the proposed Project Chariot, which involved a nuclear experiment (**later** abandoned) to excavate a harbor **at** Cape Thompson. Other topics of discussion included construction of local high schools so that students **would** no longer have to **leave** home for secondary **school** and the practice by many contractors in the Arctic of importing their labor instead of hiring Eskimos. The introduction to the conference conclusion statement read: "**We** Inupiat have the same problems in **all** areas of Alaska. Now we know this, and we have joined together to **solve** these problems. . . . Our problems are two kinds: (1) Aboriginal **land** and hunting rights. (2) Economic and social development. " (1-antis 1973).

A second Inupiat conference was held **in 1962**. **Guy Okakok** of Barrow, together with a representative of the Association on American Indian

Affairs which had rendered financial support, traveled to the villages. Lantis (1973) stated, "Their communication in English and Eskimo languages of ideas from village to village must have not only sustained people's interest in united action, but achieved some unity in their thoughts and attitudes."

Land rights were of continuing concern. The Inupiat Paitot brought Inupiat concern to the statewide meeting where it agreed to affiliate with the Athabascan's Tanana Indian Conference and the Alaska Native Brotherhood representing the Tlingit and Haida Indians.

Arctic Slope Native Association. The Arctic Slope Native Association (ASNA) was the parent organization of the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope (ICAS), the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC), and the North Slope Borough (NSB). While Inupiat Paitot included the Inupiat from northwestern and northern Alaska, ASNA (or as it was originally called the North Slope Native Association) would represent only the Native people north of the Brooks Range. The new organization, founded by Etok (Charlie Edwardsen, Jr.), had as its objective the resolution of aboriginal land claims of the Inupiat.

Etok wrote letters to all the villages, and the first meeting at Barrow on January 15, 1966 was attended by more than a hundred people from the region. Etok told the group that the land they had viewed as theirs was not recognized as such by the U.S. government. He told them that the Navy had taken Petroleum Reserve No. 4, the Department of Interior had

taken the Arctic **Wildlife** Refuge, and **that** the state and federal government had the power to take even the land on which their houses stood.

**He** reiterated the legal rights the Inupiat had to the **land**. Land used and occupied by Alaska Natives was owned under the legal doctrine of "Indian" or "Aboriginal" **Title** and could not be extinguished until ownership was transferred to the federal government. Noah Itta responded:

I am happy that there are, at **last**, people taking action to protect the traditional hunting land of the Eskimo; in the past, we have always traveled the coast, the tundra, and the foothills **of** the mountain **to** the south in the ever-shifting pursuit of game to feed our families. Now **I** see these lands will be retained **for my** people and their children's children. My heart is happy. (Gallagher 1974)

**Etok** had met the old **Tlingit** warrior William **Paul**, Sr., who was the **first** Alaska Native lawyer and had pioneered the Alaska Native **land** claims effort since the 1920's. Paul was repeatedly to say to young Native leaders, "The **land** is yours. Why don't you fight for it?" **Etok** faced the conflict this challenge created, "To stay the way we are **we** have **to** fight. But if we **fight**, we are no longer the way we are." **Etok** chose **to** fight for the land. On January 5, 1966, **Etok** wrote to William Paul and requested his counsel. William Paul (1966) in behalf of the North Slope Inupiat filed a blanket claim to the U.S. Department of Interior for absolute title to all their aboriginal **land**, which included land north of the Brooks Range.

**ASNA** went on to become one of the most powerful regional organizations

in **the** Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN), which was the statewide Native organization. ASNA stood firm through the land claims battle, contending repeatedly that Congress was settling **legal** claims to land and not enacting an antipoverty or **social** welfare legislation. **ASNA's** position was that the **land claim** settlement must **be** based on a regional land-loss formula. Under **the** land-loss formula, each region would receive financial compensation and confirmation of fee **title** to land in proportion to its aboriginal land holdings **within** its region which would be extinguished under a settlement act. They advocated that since the Inupiat held aboriginal title to 56.5 million acres, which represented **15** percent of statewide acreage, ASNA should receive a proportionate share, of nine million acres, of **the** 60 million acres then proposed as the settlement. ASNA broke with the **AFN unified** front when **the** AFN board of directors voted for a distribution formula which allocated monetary portion of the settlement based on population.

Under terms **of** the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (85 stat. 688) which passed Congress in 1971, Alaska Native corporations, **12 regional** and over 200 villages, would receive 40 million acres, both surface and **subsu** Village corporations **would** receive the surface estate to 22 million acres to **be** divided among the villages according to population. The regional corporations would receive the subsurface **title** to the 22 million acres patented to the villages and full title to **16** million acres, divided among the regional corporations on the basis of the total area in each region or a land-loss formula rather than on the basis of population. The remaining **two** million acres **would** be **alloted** for Native historical

sites, and for other **communities** which did not qualify for land entitlements or village corporation. The \$462,500,00, to be paid over **an** 11-year period from U.S. Treasury funds and an additional \$500,000,000 from two percent of mineral revenues received from state lands, will be divided on a population basis.

An AFN convention was **called** for the same day that the settlement act was to be signed into law. The Native organizations planned **to** review the legislation as if they constituted a sovereign nation and then vote on ratification of the "treaty" with the United States. ASNA was not satisfied with a **land** claims act which they felt was unjust and inequitable. It sent a telegram to President Nixon urging him to veto the legislation. **When** the roll call vote was taken at the AFN meeting, ASNA was the **sole** Native organization to cast a negative vote.

The primary effect of ASNA, outside of the land claims resolution, was the political unification of North Slope groups. The **Nunamiut** (represented by those living in Anaktuvuk Pass), the Inupiat **group** at Kaktovik (who had closer ties to their Canadian relative at Inuvik), and the coastal **Tagiugmiut** unified in a centralized organization. This unification was achieved through the village councils, which sent representatives to ASNA meetings. The role of the village councils did not diminish, but greater activity occurred at the regional level. Village councils were increasingly exposed **to** proposed land claims legislation and new concepts of corporate ownership, land ownership, and resource utilization.

ASNA drew the Inupiat into statewide and national politics as well as interaction with other Native organizations. The local leadership role remained based in traditional patterns; however, the regional organization allowed for increasing participation by younger, more educated Inupiat males to deal with external affairs.

Although the land claims effort had focused on land for hunting and fishing, ASNA viewed the regional corporation's role to include the promotion of the health, welfare, education, and economic and social well-being of its stockholders by fostering industrial and economic development. ASNA promoted the establishment of a borough government under state law and a regional IRA tribal government under federal statutes so that leadership responsibilities would be shared.

The Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope. Not highly publicized or generally well known was the formation of a federally recognized tribal governing body under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (48 Stat. #378), extended to Alaska with the Alaska Act of May 1, 1936. (49 Stat. 1250). The Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope (ICAS) was established before the North Slope Borough or the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC) with the ratification of its constitution and bylaws on August 26, 1971. Of 1,190 qualified Inupiat electors, 541 voted for and 18 voted against their adoption.

The formation of ICAS was originally conceived within ASNA which recognized the merits of forming a region-wide IRA government. The ICAS

was originally designed to manage the political and business affairs of the Inupiat people. The positive powers and authorities of the ICAS flowing from **tribal** authority include contracting to administer 31A and Indian Health Service (**IHS**) programs, such as educational, social service, business, and health programs. Additionally, the **ICAS** has tax exemption possibilities and other potential advantages that have yet to be explored. Although the **ICAS** has as yet not functioned to its full potential which as yet has not been thoroughly explored, the ramifications can be significant. Possibilities of conflict with the NSB exist. Currently, the North Slope Borough is contracting **health** programs under the authority of the **ICAS**. ICAS is just now beginning to expand its operation. Clearly, a redundancy of functions **could** develop, but at this time **it** appears that the North Slope Borough and ICAS have established a cooperative arrangement to provide services.

The **Alaska** Native Claims Settlement Act (**ANCSA**) which provided for the conveyance of both property title and a monetary award in settlement of the Natives' aboriginal claim has been viewed by some Natives as a **possible** "Termination" vehicle which would sever the federal trust relationship with Alaska Natives. **ICAS**, together with several Indian legislative acts passed by Congress after 1971, reasserts a federal trust relationship with **the** Inupiat **of** the Arctic **Slope**. Its constitution provides for perpetual membership of Inupiat children.

The Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. The role of the Native **regional** corporations was specifically mandated under terms of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. The Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (**ASRC**)

was incorporated to manage and invest its entitlement under the ANCSA of 5.6 million acres and \$36 million, and all other corporate assets on a profit making basis for the benefit of its stockholders. The 5.6 million acres was selected from unrestricted lands outside the 23 million acre National Petroleum Reserve- Alaska and the Arctic Wildlife Refuge. Villages located within the petroleum reserve and wildlife refuge were able to select their corporation surface entitlements within the reserve and refuge. Any Alaska Native who was 1/4 degree or more Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo born on or before the passage of ANCSA, December 18, 1971, was considered eligible to enroll as stockholders. Alaska Natives enrolled to regions where they resided in 1970 or regions where they were born or had lived for an aggregate of 10 or more years. ASRC identified approximately 3,900 stockholders eligible to receive 100 shares of ASRC stocks.

Many largely unresolved questions have been raised about the forces generated by the passage of the land claims act and its effect on the Inupiat life-style. How, whether, and to what extent would the sociocultural characteristics of the Inupiat be transformed or manifested in the new organization? The corporate structure appears to contradict many of the traditional Inupiat values of sharing, cooperation, and equality. Could the regional and village corporations be compatible with traditional economic subsistence systems and still fulfill their financial obligations? The Inupiat had adamantly maintained throughout the land claims effort that substantial acreage should be transferred and confirmed from aboriginal to fee title. How would the new relationship to the land affect the survival of the Inupiat? Would the regional corporation be



able to avoid the conflict inherent in owning the subsurface estate of 1 and owned by the village corporation? Would the region, bound by a profit-making mandate, be put into the position of having **to** pressure villages to develop land **which** they might wish to maintain for subsistence?

ASRC opened for business in Barrow in March 1972. Approximately 3,900 Inupiat were eligible for 100 shares apiece in the corporation. Already this means that not **all** Arctic Slope Inupiat share equally in the corporation, including Inupiat born after December 18, **1971** who may never be able **to** participate in the village **or** regional corporation except by inheritance. Today there are Inupiat who own 100 shares, others who through inheritance own more than **100** shares, and others own less or none at all. Although by law the shares may not be alienated by Inupiat shareholders until 1991, it is considered possible that non-Inupiat may already have access to shares through a trust guardianship arrangement. High birth rates, interracial marriages, and sales of shares after 1991 **will** further dilute per capita ownership and create further inequities between shareholders.

Land Status Following ANCSA. Like the Migratory Bird Treaty of **1916**, the establishment of the 23 million-acre Naval Petroleum Reserve No. **4** (NPR-4) in 1923 **meant little** to the Inupiat **at** the time; few even knew of its creation. There was no immediate evident change, and the Inupiat continued to use and occupy land in the reserve.

When mineral exploration in NPR-4 began, the Inupiat participated in the cash employment opportunities as they had during DEW Line construction. However, after exploration and construction activities ceased, the Inupiat were left with scarred and eroded tundra littered with debris and gas drums. They used **what** gas **they could** find remaining in the drums for fuel and began to use the drums as land markers.

In 1960, the Arctic National Wildlife Range including 8.9 million acres in the northeast of the Arctic Slope was established. The significance of the petroleum reserve withdrawal in 1923 and the establishment of the 8.9 million-acre Arctic National Wildlife Range in the northeast Arctic in 1960 was not fully realized **until** the land claims effort began. ASRC was not allowed to select lands within NPR-4 or the Arctic National Wildlife Range. Barrow began to grow but **could** not expand **into** NPR-4.

The Alaska Native Allotment Act of 1906 authorized the Secretary of **In-terior** to grant up to 160 acres of land to each qualified Alaska Native applicant. By December 1971, approximately 250 applicants were filed for land in the Arctic region, mostly for sites near the coastal zone from Harrison Bay to Cape **Lisburne** but also along rivers at traditional land use sites. Because the applicants had to prove they had personally used the sites prior to the establishment of the Naval Petroleum Reserve in 1923, the applications were not accepted, and court **action** is currently **in** progress.

Wainwright, Barrow, and Kaktovik were allowed to select their village

surface entitlements from both federal withdrawals, and **Atkasook** and **Nuiqsut** were allowed **to select** lands in NPR-4. Point Lay, outside **NPR-4** selected its **lands** from areas outside federal withdrawals.

The creation of **the** village of **Anaktuvuk** Pass and the reestablishment of traditional settlements at Point Lay, **Atkasook**, and **Nuiqsut** were **reversals** of the migration and settlement patterns that have characterized rural Alaska in **the** past. That trend was summarized as follows by Hippi er (1969):

There appears to be several stages in this process of agglomeration, some of which are completed and others **still** under way. **With** the advent of traders, missionaries and in more recent times, **medical** and educational practitioners in the outlying areas of Alaska, native Alaskans began to settle in groups near such services **to** take advantage of them. . . as natives came to need money to buy the newly discovered Euro-American material goods. The population began to concentrate more and more in communities large **enough** to offer some cash employment.

Anaktuvuk Pass, Point Lay, **Atkasook**, and **Nuiqsut** appear to reverse this process of agglomeration. The **Nunamiut** who had left Barrow in 1930 and 1938 migrated to **the** Brooks Range continued their nomadic lifestyle **until** they settled in Anaktuvuk Pass. Point Lay which was an aboriginal use area was resettled in the historic period and **Atkasook** and **Nuiqsut** also represent a return to their traditional homeland. **While** the three

resettled sites **were** never completely abandoned, the land claims settlement permitted the reestablishment and construction **of** new homes. None of the new communities offered employment opportunities or the amenities of modern living, and life there generally required intense reliance upon subsistence activities.

In 1991 **all** landholdings of the region and village corporations become taxable to all property taxes, even if the land remains undeveloped. The village corporations, which have limited income, will be under great pressure **to** develop their land. The predominantly Inupiat **North Slope** Borough administration and elected assembly undoubtedly had **the** taxation of Native corporations in 1991 in mind when they adopted the extensive Capital Improvement Program.

The issue of land trust **responsibility** between the federal government and Alaska Natives will probably be raised. Arnold (1976) offered the following "restrictive" definition **of** this trust responsibility regarding land and resources: "**The** exercise of this trust responsibility exists because the lands and resources of Indian tribes and communities are typically held 'in trust' for them by the Department of Interior." Recent events suggest that the trust **relation** will persist, despite resolution of Native **land** claims. Recent legislation, such as the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (PL 93-638) continues to recognize and extend trust rights to Alaska Natives.

Edwardsen vs. Morton. A complex legal case, **Edwardsen vs. Morton**, which eventually involved more than 100 defendants, including some of the world's largest oil companies, contractors, and the State of Alaska, began over property rights. In 1971, just prior to the passage of **ANCSA**, Edwardsen and several other Inupiat filed a class action suit in federal court against Secretary of Interior Morton, arguing that **all** land dispositions on the North Slope prior to the settlement of their land claims were invalid. Charles **Edwardsen, Jr. (Etok)** claimed that the Interior Department had been derelict in its responsibility as a trustee in **protecting** lands claimed by Alaska Natives from third parties and that Inupiat hunting and fishing areas, graveyards, and consecrated areas were damaged by **oil-** and gas-related activities. Federal District Court Judge Oliver Gasch ruled in 1973 that land disposition and transfer of title **could** not be attached but that trespass action could be initiated against non-Native users of Alaska lands before December 1971. The decision required that the Interior Department, through the Justice Department, seek trespass damages from firms operating on the **slope** before passage of the settlement act. Federal attorneys filed the trespass suit in 1975 against 13 major oil companies, the State **of** Alaska and 112 other individuals.

In June 1977, Judge Fitzgerald **of** the U.S. district court ruled that the 1971 claims act settled all claims based on aboriginal title, use, and occupancy and granted the defendants' motion **to** dismiss the trespass case (Matthews 1977). The decision may be appealed.

The North Slope Borough. Creation of the North Slope Borough (NSB) was originally conceived by the Inupiat leadership as a method to protect the arctic subsistence economy through zoning regulations, a means to select 10 percent of state-selected lands within the region, and a system to provide local services and education through tax revenues from oil development. A petition for incorporation of the North Slope Borough was filed before the State's Local Affairs Agency by ASNA in April 1971.

The creation of a borough government was overwhelmingly supported by the North Slope Inupiat. At the Alaska Local Boundary Commission hearing, Alfred Hopson made this plea for the borough:

Our people lived here before your ancestors ever came to the United States and here we are, begging for some land. The white man has gardens to provide his food. Our apples, our oranges and our potatoes were running around all over the country and we had to follow them if we wanted to eat. The struggle for survival is based on the fact that we needed the whole Arctic Slope to survive. (Shulman 1971)

The boundary commission approved creation of the North Slope Borough in February 1972. The seven major oil companies operating in the area immediately started legal proceedings to halt its formation. The companies had urged the courts to rule that they were deprived of property without due process of law because they owned 98.5 percent of the assessed valuation of the entire borough and would pay nearly all of the taxes while receiving little in the way of benefits (Getches 1973).

Borough formation survived these legal actions and NSB was incorporated in the **summer of** 1972. Like the village council, the borough concept was non-Inupiat. The Inupiat had already demonstrated that they could adapt the council to respond to their traditional values; the question now was whether the borough structure was flexible enough to incorporate those same values **on** a regional scale. The Borough's home-rule charter was patterned directly on those of other borough governments in the state.

Volumes have been written and compiled on the North Slope Borough's operations, CIP projects, financial statements, community inventories, and numerous other reports and surveys. Other than noting the predominant Inupiat population, it might never be known from these reports that the Borough exists as part of a culturally distinct society. The NSB established administrative offices, commissions, committees, and a higher educational institution that reflect the **sociocultural** characteristics of its population.

**The** Inupiat are the predominant permanent population living in the traditional settlements and, as a result, hold most of the Borough's elected and appointed positions including the borough assembly and its commissions and committees. Naturally enough, the Borough reflects the people's desire to foster the Inupiat culture in **all** of its programs. This cultural preoccupation is unique in the state's boroughs to the North Slope Borough, and it manifests itself in many ways.

One of the primary incentives to formation of the borough was the desire **to** control the education of Inupiat youth and to end the practice of

having to send students to distant boarding schools. Culturally, the boarding school program had proved disastrous, and when 11 North Slope students were killed in 1971 enroute to the BIA boarding school at Mt. Edgumbe, dissatisfaction with this system boiled over into a demand for change. The formation of the Borough permitted the establishment of a local school district and high school.

The mayor of the Borough, Eben Hopson, had been denied an education beyond elementary grades and he well expressed the intense emotional attitudes and the hopes of the people for a local school system. His statement on the Inupiat educational philosophy in 1975 received wide publication throughout the state and in educational journals, and portions of it are abstracted below:

We Inupiat are a nation of people occupying the circumpolar Arctic from Siberia through Alaska and Canada to Greenland. We share common values, language, culture, and economic system. Our culture has enabled us to survive when no other man or culture could. Among our entire international Inupiat, we of the North Slope are the only Inupiat who have achieved true self-government with the formation of the North Slope Borough. We have the greatest opportunity to direct our own destiny as we have for the past millenia.

Possibly the greatest significance of home rule is that it enables us to regain control of the education of our children. . . . Today we have control over our educational system, . . . We must now begin



to assess whether or not our **school** system is truly becoming an Inupiat **school** system, reflecting Inupiat educational philosophies.

Hopson reviewed the **assimilationist** philosophy of the **BIA** schools and questioned whether the Borough was **simply** exercising political control **over** an educational system that continued to **transmit** white urban culture. He argued that "Political control over our school must include '**professional** control' as well if our academic institutions are to become an Inupiat **tradition**, values, and ideals." Hopson also assessed the role of teacher and curriculum, stressing the need for Inupiat/English bilingual and **bicultural** programs and teachers. He went on to chastise the isolationist attitude which characterized most teachers. He urged the desegregation of the privileged class **of** people who **lived** in quarters which resembled colonial forts and were subsidized by the Borough. He invited teachers to become contributing members of the community.

The formation of the Inupiat University of the Arctic, funded by the North Slope Borough, further demonstrated the Borough's commitment to the Inupiat language and culture. A primary stated **goal of** the university was to provide postsecondary education that **will enable** graduates to live within the traditional subsistence life-style or the urbanized technocratic society. The first president **of** the institution asserted that the programs would be based on the values and traditions of the indigenous people, and all course work would include as many aspects **of** Inupiat language and culture as possible (Vaudrin 1975). Although the university has been beset with continuous administrative and financial difficulties, the support of the borough administration and its commit-

ment to the maintenance of Inupiat language and culture has been critical to its survival. In January 1977 the borough formed the Inupiat Language Commission (Ordinance 76-31) to further sustain university and community efforts in this area. The Borough already had created the Commission on History and Culture (Ordinance 76-4) to develop a historical record of the land, people, and villages and to evaluate current developments and ongoing programs as they relate to the cultural and historical heritage of the North Slope. In this regard, Commission members have been extensively involved with National Petroleum Reserve- Alaska (NPR-A, formerly PET-4) research activities during the past year.

The Commission on History and Culture and the Borough Planning Commission have worked together to develop a traditional land use inventory to document all the traditional land use areas and historic sites in the North Slope region. The inventories will be used to develop a land use plan and to protect historic sites. This information is also being made available to NPR-A planning groups who will determine the best uses of the land in the reserve. Hopson, who worked on the inventory, stated, "The fact still remains that we, the Inupiat people, base our culture on the environment, nature and the land around us." (North Slope Borough, Planning Department 1976).

The Borough's Fish and Game Management Committee, with an appointed member from each village, was created in direct response to the drastic drop in caribou first reported in 1975 and resulting restrictive state regulations (NSB Resolution Serial No. 10-76). According to NSB Ordinance 76-9,

the **committee** is "to manage its fish and game resources and **to** regulate the harvest of the resources in such a manner as to be consistent with the needs and patterns of usage by residents of the Borough." The committee is also to recommend ordinances to the assembly relating to establishing fish and game reserve areas, recommend open and closed seasons for harvesting fish and game, set quotas and bag limits, and establish methods for hunting.

**The** Borough established an administrative office of Environmental Protection in 1977 "to provide local input on environmental matters affecting the lifestyle of the residents. . . ." A position of Caribou Protection Officer was created to assess the caribou crisis. The office also investigates other areas of major environmental importance to the Borough, such as offshore and onshore oil exploration, **oil** field and pipeline development, the gas pipeline, and uses of the pipeline haul road (NSB Ordinance 77-3).

The Federal Liaison Office, based in Washington D.C., was also **established** in 1977 (NSB Ordinance 77-3). The office was charged with the responsibility of obtaining support for the "protection **of** our traditional life style" through involvement with various federal agencies. Another cited priority was "insuring that all necessary environmental safeguards are taken prior to the start of any drilling for off-shore **oil**."

**Almost** immediately, personnel from these two devoted their undivided attention to the proposed ban on subsistence hunting of the bowhead whale by the International **Whaling** Commission. The Alaska Eskimo Whaling

**Commission** was organized through the cooperative effort of the Borough, the regional corporation, and the Barrow Whaling Association to challenge the proposed whaling ban. For the first time in history, **Inupiat**s were members of a U. S. delegation **to an** international conference. **The** political sophistication they had gained through the land claims battle and the knowledge they had accumulated through **the** centuries of whaling argued their case effectively. Because **of** their efforts, the moratorium **will** not go **into** effect during the 1978 **spring** whaling season, but a quota of **12** whales taken **or 18** whales struck was set.

The North Slope Borough also initiated an Arctic Coastal Zone Management Program. The program will assess outer continental **shelf** activities and nearshore and onshore developments and promote cooperative efforts for **an** international arctic coastal zone management program.

Although the North Slope Borough performs the **usual** functions of a borough government, its interests and activities have demonstrated a commitment to maintaining the traditional values, language, and culture of the Inupiat people. **Its** commissions, committees, and offices devote much **of** their **time** to protecting subsistence activities, subsistence resources, and the environment. Through tax revenues generated **by** the NSB, **the** most **immediate** effect of **the** Borough **which** involved a significant portion of its permanent population was the expansion of the wage economy.

Borough administrative personnel requirements and **CIP** construction created job opportunities in **all** the villages. ASRC, together with its corporate business subsidiaries and joint venture enterprises, and the village

corporations **all** created additional job opportunities for their **share-**holders. Jobs created by the Borough, ASRC, and the village corporations were available to persons who formerly had to leave the villages to obtain seasonal or other employment. The North Slope economy of the 1960's which was primarily subsistence based became a dual or mixed economy **in-****cluding** both subsistence and cash. The increasing job opportunities also attracted a non-Inupiat population primarily into Barrow.

**While** the primary corporate policy of ASRC has been **to** obtain land title conveyances to which it is entitled under **ANSCA**, a North Slope Borough priority has been protection of the environment and natural resources on which the Inupiat depend. Through the land claims effort, the northern Inupiat gained a political education to further their objectives. The NSB provided the political vehicle for the northern Inupiat leadership to respond to statewide, national, and international issues such as the North Slope haul road, caribou crisis, and the bowhead **whale** controversy.

Through the interlocking membership between the NSB Assembly, the **ASRC** board of directors, the village corporations, and village councils, the Inupiat have maintained effective working relationships to further their common goals. Notably, many of the members are also whaling captains or members of whaling crews.

The Inuit Circumpolar Conference. The NSB initiated efforts **to** organize the **Inuit** (**the** Eskimo people of Alaska, Canada, and Greenland) **to** discuss their common problems posed by industrialized development threatening their culture and environment. An international conference was

planned to examine **their mutual** concerns and to plan for the formation of a permanent international organization.

The first **Inuit Circumpolar** Conference (ICC) was **held in** Barrow in June 1977. A primary focus was conservation and protection of the arctic environment with a view toward developing **an** international policy for the region. **The** expressed purpose of **the** conference was stated:

Within this lifetime, the possibility of extensive damage to the fragile environment of **the** Arctic has become a real threat. To those **living in the** Arctic, this possibility **becomes** a threat to the very foundation of **Inuit** society. As the **quest** for resources **leads** the dominant cultures to **one** of the most promising, unexplored areas of the **world**, the Arctic **Polar** region, exchange among **Inuit** (Inupiat/people) becomes not only important but essential. (North Slope Borough, Environmental Protection Office 1977)

Inupiat delegates from Canada, Greenland, and Alaska and Yupik delegates from south of the Brooks Range attended the conference. Seventeen resolutions were adopted dealing with the organization of an international body and developing an arctic policy with a primary focus on offshore and onshore arctic resource development. The resolutions indicated a primary concern for the protection of subsistence resources within **their ecological** systems. Other resolutions related to land claims, language, exchange programs, health, education, and technology. An interim committee has continued to meet periodically since June.

It is apparent that an international awareness is developing among the Eskimos of Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. Increasing interaction, communication, and cooperative efforts have already been noted. Canadian and **Greenlandic** Inupiat delegates to the **ICC** supported the Alaska Inupiat throughout the bowhead whaling crisis. One of the Canadian delegates to the December meeting of the International Whaling Commission, Sam Raddi, had also been a delegate to the ICC. An educational exchange program has already begun between **Alaska** and Greenland, and additionally, the Borough's Inupiat Language Commission is working to develop a **circumpolar** orthography. Financial support has been extended by **ASRC** to the **Committee** for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) of **Inuvik** to enable COPE to pursue **the** Canadian Western Arctic Inupiat land claims settlement.





### III. SOCIOECONOMIC SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS

#### Subsistence Issues

In the past few years the term "subsistence" has received considerable attention, especially in Alaska where indigenous people still depend on a hunting and fishing economy. Recent subsistence **issues** include **the decline** of the caribou population **and** resulting restrictive regulations; the bowhead whale controversy; the interests of environmentalists, **which** often conflict with subsistence needs; current (d) (2) **lands** legislation; and conflicts created by oil and gas exploration and development.

Current pending legislation under Section D-2 of the Alaska Native Land Claims Act which will prescribe the use of federal public **lands** in Alaska has drawn national attention to subsistence. Even as scientists, policy makers, and Natives discuss subsistence, its definition remains elusive. The subsistence issues on the North Slope relate to petroleum exploration and development activities, and to the increasing legislative and regulatory actions from the state, national, and international level. The most notable **and** emotional issues were the caribou and bowhead whaling crises.

The Caribou Crisis. An aerial photo census of the Western Arctic Caribou Herd in 1970 estimated a minimum population of 242,000. Alaska Department of Fish and Game reports in 1969 had indicated the **annual** harvest of **25,000** caribou from the western herd as "average" **and** "normal. " A 1973 borough inquiry about a possible commercial harvest

at Nuiqsut was favorably met by the Department of Fish and Game as follows:

Your idea is interesting and I feel that if the hunting were kept at the proper level the herd might support it. The western Arctic herd is quite large now, and kill has probably declined in the past few years because fewer people are feeding dogs. (LeResche 1973)

The 1974 harvest was cited as "below normal" in a Department of Fish and Game report (Davis et al. 1976). A 1975 census established the maximum number of animals in the herd at that time at 100,000. By July 1976, the estimate had dropped to 50,000 caribou.

Another Fish and Game publication (1976) attributed the decline to human use and wolves:

From data that are now available, it is apparent this herd has declined to its present size because of excessive use of caribou by humans, in combination with the significant impact of natural mortality including predation, especially by wolves. . .

Significantly, Fish and Game absolved sport hunters and the oil pipeline and related activities as causal:

Because of the region's remoteness, there has been little hunting in the area by conventional recreational hunters. . . .

It seems **obvious** to place some of the blame for the decline on construction of the **Trans-Alaska** pipeline. However, there is no evidence that the two events are related. (Alaska Fish and Game **1976**)

The Western Arctic Caribou Herd was a major source of meat and raw materials for boots, parkas, and mats **until the** caribou crisis. **Commercial** meats were sold in village stores on an extremely limited basis, if available at **all**. Until July 1976, Barrow, a community with a population of nearly 3,000, did not have a store with a meat department. Caribou meat is prized by the Inupiat above all others, even high-grade beef is judged as "too fatty" in comparison. Caribou is eaten boiled, frozen, and dried. Even the stomach **lining** and bone marrow are eaten, and the back fat is used in a delicacy **called** Eskimo ice cream.

In 1976 the State instituted the first regulations ever imposed on the harvest of arctic caribou. Permits were allocated to the residents of the villages based on population, availability of alternate food sources, and local employment opportunities. Sportsmen in Fairbanks reacted and filed a suit seeking to enjoin the allocation of permits. The Inupiat were prohibited from hunting caribou until the action was resolved. Permits were again issued in the **fall** of **1977**.

The Borough's Fish and Game Management Committee was established in 1976 in response **to** the State's decision to limit the taking of caribou to 3,000 from the Western Arctic Herd in 1976. The Inupiat challenged the reliability of the count, theorizing that caribou from the Western Herd

were stranded with the Porcupine Herd east of the **trans-Alaska** pipeline and haul road. The **committee felt** that construction activities and heavy traffic along the road may have interrupted normal migration and interaction between the herds. According to the Borough's Arctic Coastal Zone Management Newsletter, the Borough has been researching **Alaska's** liability and the possibility of compensation from a \$100 million liability fund created by the **Trans-Alaska** Authorization Act of 1973.

Changes in wildlife populations can **affect** the settlement patterns of hunting and **fishing** societies. During the commercial whaling period, the disappearance of the **Nunamiut** from the Arctic tundra was attributed to the decline of **the** caribou. **In the** present period, the limitation on caribou hunting can be expected to increase the Inupiat's dependence on a cash economy. Hunting pressures on other resources can also be anticipated.

The Bowhead Whale Controversy. In June 1977 the International Whaling Commission (IWC) voted to **cancel** the right of Native people to harvest bowhead whales. The Inupiat challenged the validity of **the** scientific evidence used by the IWC to support the moratorium. Seventy-two whaling captains **from nine** communities met in Barrow in late August 1977 and **organized** the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC). Jake Adams, a young whaling captain, borough assemblyman, and land chief for the regional corporation was **later** elected **as** chairman. All 72 whaling captains went to Tokyo in December 1977 as part of the United States delegation to the IWC to lift the ban. Among the official delegates were NSB Mayor Eben Hopson,

**AEWC** Chairman, **Jake** Adams, and Arnold Brewer, Sr., President of the Barrow Whaling Association. After considerable negotiation, the Inupiat whalers reluctantly agreed to 18 whales struck or 12 landed as their quota.

The **AEWC** has adopted its own whaling regulations and is currently **attempting to** obtain state support through the legislature to conduct a scientific study of the bowhead **whale** population. The commission is also continuing its efforts to restore a full subsistence hunt without the restrictive quota, which they view as inadequate to meet their nutritional needs.

The **bowhead** whale, more than any other resource, is an integral element of Inupiat culture and society. The cooperative hunting efforts and the communal patterns **of** sharing form the foundation of Inupiat society. Continued limitation on hunting the **bowhead** whale and caribou hunting threaten the survival of Inupiat culture and the organization of their society. Restriction on the taking of bowhead whales and caribou have caused social and psychological stress at both the individual and community levels.

Petroleum Exploration and Development Activities. Besides the possible impact of oil- and gas-related activities on land animals and their habitat discussed earlier, there is great anxiety among the Inupiat about the effects of petroleum exploration on fisheries. They have **repeatedly** reported finding dead fish or a depleted number **of** fish in lakes, which they attribute to seismic exploration activities.

During a public hearing at Barrow on October 27, 1976 on regulations of the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act, ASRC urged protection of subsistence resources and that steps be taken to protect the fisheries. At a meeting in Anchorage on February 8-9, 1977 with members of the National Petroleum Reserve, Alaska's Land Use Task Force, North Slope representatives expressed their concern that exploratory work, seismic and drilling activities, and dewatering had adversely affected the fish populations in lakes. They further charged that caribou were becoming entangled in wires that were left by seismic crews, that wolverine dens had been bulldozed, and that aerial surveys might be disrupting caribou, birds, and other wildlife patterns.

During 1977 jurisdiction of the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska, formerly known as Petroleum Reserve Number 4 located in the North Slope, was transferred from the Navy to the Interior Department. The Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976, Public Law 94-258, allowed petroleum exploration of the reserve but prohibited development until authorized by Congress. The Act directed the Secretary of Interior to establish a task force to conduct a study to determine the values of, and best uses for the lands contained in the reserve. The study was to consider the Natives who live in or depend upon the reserve lands, the scenic, historical, recreational, fish and wildlife, and wilderness values, in addition to the mineral potential. While the task force will recommend the priority of land use, Congress will ultimately decide the final designation and disposition of the 23 million acre reserve. Since the Inupiat are highly dependent on the inland resources and continue to

use the inland areas extensively, the fate of their subsistence lifestyle can be largely determined by Congressional action. It is not known whether the Inupiat **will** continue to have an unrestricted access and use of the inland areas as they do today. Large **scale** petroleum development within the reserve is also conceivable. Development could be expected **to** have impacts on the environment, the migratory game as well as the Inupiat.

Offshore petroleum activities have also been resisted by the people in the region. A joint letter from ASRC and the NSB to the Alaska District Corp of Engineers expressed an objection to Union Oil's proposed construction of an ice island at Jones Island. NSB and **ASRC** were not convinced that the technology existed to safely proceed with the project and noted that the impact on the subsistence economy had not been assessed (Adams and Hopson 1975). Additionally, the **Nuiqsut** village corporation was concerned about the effects of the project on fish migrations. Recent proposed seismic refraction studies using explosives in the **Beaufort** and **Chukchi** Seas were **also** opposed by the Borough because of the potential threat **to** the subsistence resource base and damage **to** the ecosystem (Rosenstein 1977).

The NSB administration has also taken a firm position against offshore development:

"We, the Eskimo people of the Arctic, are opposed to offshore drilling in the **Beaufort** Sea, or elsewhere offshore in the Arctic. . . . We have much to lose: our food chain, our homeland, our **life** as a

people. . ." (Hopson, 1976)

The villages of Nuiqsut and Kaktovik which are the communities closest to proposed BeauFort Sea OCS development oppose any oil development activity. Both communities passed resolutions (1978) contending that oil development threatens their subsistence resources. They also noted that benefits to the local residents from Prudhoe Bay oil development and exploratory activities at Harrison Bay have been extremely limited. Currently, employment at Prudhoe Bay is limited to two persons from Nuiqsut and none from Kaktovik.

The North Slope Haul Road was turned over to the State of Alaska from Alyeska Pipeline Company after the trans-Alaska pipeline construction was completed. It was generally presumed that the haul road would be open for general public use. However, both the state administration and the North Slope Borough questioned the value and costs of maintaining unrestricted public access to the road. The North Slope Borough opposed the opening of the haul road north of the Yukon to the general public citing an estimated cost of \$20 million annually to maintain the road as an extreme fiscal burden to the state. North Slope Borough Mayor Hopson (1978) also expressed concern about the adverse effects of the road and traffic to the environment and subsistence resources. He noted that the road and pipeline had already affected caribou migration and group formation patterns. Hopson pointed out the potential damage to the fish migration caused by plugged culverts which were used instead of bridges. The North Slope Borough recommended limiting the road to industrial use



and a controlled tour bus operation on a seasonal basis. Above all, the North Slope Borough appeared **to** be concerned about another threat to their subsistence lifestyle and the potential damage to the wildlife resources and the Inupiat traditional land use sites. They recommended that the management system be designed to protect and enhance Native cultures.

At the present time, the Inupiat subsistence lifestyle appears to **be** threatened unlike any other period of time. The limitations on subsistence harvest imposed by the caribou and bowhead whale hunting restrictions, the potential damage to the environment and wildlife and fisheries posed by petroleum exploration and development both on and offshore together with an increasing traffic to the North **Slope** by sports hunters by air transportation and possibly on the haul road endanger the Inupiat **sociocultural** system. Worl (1978) attributed the persistence of the Inupiat culture through the past development periods to the continued Inupiat:environment relationship. She noted that the direct relationship formed the basis **of** Inupiat **social** and cultural systems.

Worl's (1978) study of subsistence, in which she proposed included **three** basic elements: economic, social, and cultural, utilized a qualitative approach. While she recognized the quantifiable variables of subsistence in reference to the resource population, the harvest, and the expenditure of time and financial costs, she noted that quantification could not add significantly **to an** analysis of **the** dynamic interactions **and** changes that occur in **the** human ecological system nor to holistic

understanding of ecological interactions between the human social and cultural systems and their environment. She added that an inadequately based quantification might advance misleading interpretation. A quantitative subsistence study of an entire socioeconomic system and its interrelationship with a monetary economy integrated within the social and cultural system awaits further research.

### Subsistence Elements

Contemporary subsistence systems in the North Slope region are composed of three basic interrelated elements--economic, social, and cultural. Social scientists have traditionally viewed subsistence solely in terms of hunting and fishing activities to satisfy the basic physical needs for food, clothing, and shelter. However, it is now recognized that the methods by which a group organizes itself to appropriate the resources affects the overall harvesting patterns. The adoption of the term socioeconomic is utilized to designate the social unit engaged in the economic activities of subsistence.

Economic Aspects of Subsistence. Presently, the economic aspects of subsistence relate to the appropriation of natural resources, primarily food and clothing. Modern equipment and supplies require money, so contemporary economic subsistence systems in the Arctic are interrelated with the monetary economy. The present economy has been described as "mixed" or "dual." Analytically, the economic systems can be held distinct, but the Inupiat experience demonstrates an interrelationship of the two economic systems.

Worl (1978) described the current patterns which may be utilized singly or in combination to obtain cash:

The subsistence participant may alternate between subsistence activities and cash employment. This method may take various forms, with the subsistence participant working part time or on a temporary job.

Or **the** hunter may have a position whereby he works for a short period and is off for another period. Other forms involve seasonal employment during construction periods. Another pattern is that of the hunter who works for a period, quits his employment during peak subsistence periods, and then seeks other employment.

The subsistence participant may receive financial support from one or more relatives, a spouse, or a hunting partner. A common pattern is for the wife to seek employment while the husband devotes **the** greater part of his time **to** subsistence-related activities. Another observed pattern is where one member of the **family** works while other members hunt and fish, **Family** members often alternate between the enterprises. It is also common for a woman to be **financial** sponsor for her brother or father's subsistence or whaling activities. The sponsor may provide cash directly to the subsistence participant, or he or she may furnish equipment and supplies in exchange for sharing in the subsistence harvest. A financial sponsor may establish reciprocal relations with one or more hunters.

The subsistence participant may also sell or trade his surplus products for other subsistence goods, or trade for other items such as ammunition or gas. The object of selling Native goods between the Inupiat is the maintenance of the subsistence system, not financial gain or profit. The cost of the Native product is not related to actual harvest or production expenditures but to an informal determination of the level the community members can afford.

By-products or raw materials from the harvested resource may be used directly by the subsistence participant or his wife for cash income from the sale of arts and crafts or Inupiat clothing or footwear. Raw material, such as baleen, furs, or bones may be sold or traded directly to a craftsman. The arts and crafts cottage industry is an important source of cash income.

A subsistence trapper may sell his furs to commercial buyers, but there is also a significant internal traffic in furs used for production of Inupiat clothing, which has tested far superior to commercial clothing.

Worl further noted that interrelationship of the economies has facilitated the survival of the Inupiat culture and that cash income opportunities have remained compatible with the subsistence system.

The Socioeconomic Unit. The appropriation of resources is achieved through an organized system of social relations. Spencer (1959) suggested

that the Eskimo **family** was the key to understanding the sociology of the Barrow Eskimo. He noted that the Eskimo culture tried to raise individuals as useful members of the **family**, which was the basic economic unit, by promoting cooperation and a level of equality between members **of** the group. Hippi er (1969) believed that the **family** explains the cultural persistence of the Eskimo. **Burch** (1975) characterized Eskimo societies in **terms** of interrelated domestic and **local** families that together constituted a social network. He noted that **major** subsistence efforts by **males**, even in 1970 in the villages, were carried out either on **an individual** basis or in terms of kin-based hunting and fishing crews. **Burch also** describes Barrow, which has had the greatest and most intense contact with white influences, as exhibiting a high degree of organizational continuity.

**Worl**, in her recent study of North Slope subsistence, concluded that **economic** action is conducted by the social unit and that analysis of **subsistence** must include:

. . . the production, consumption, **and** trade of all subsistence products must be considered cumulatively, since **the** products are exchanged or traded for other subsistence commodities within a network of **social** relations. To review the harvest **of** only one subsistence resource independently **would** not reveal the **exchange-and-reciprocity system** which is an integral **aspect** of the **total** economy.

Worl described the socioeconomic units and roles as occurring in:

(1) the kin-based level, (2) the trading/hunting partnership, (3) the voluntary whaling association, (4) the community, and (5) the regional organization. The strength and continuity of defined and structured relations decreases as the scale of smaller to larger socioeconomic unit increases.

With the incorporation of a monetary economy, the roles may now include: (1) Subsistence Harvesters, those who actively engage in subsistence pursuits and related activities within the existing patterns of the division of labor by sex and age; (2) Subsistence Users, those who are recipients of subsistence products through the various sharing mechanisms, or trading or purchasing habits; (3) Financial Sponsors, those who render financial support for subsistence activities. . . . The individual role may vary, depending on circumstances, or the individual may combine the functions of more than one role. Subsistence resources and by-products are shared by the majority of people in all communities, but the role of sharing beneficiary is especially important for senior or physically handicapped citizens who can no longer actively engage in subsistence activities. The Financial Sponsor's investment in a subsistence enterprise is not economically comparable to a profit making venture. A whaling captain and/or his supporters may expend up to \$6,500 during a season with no financial gain to themselves. The return cannot be analyzed in quantitative measurements, but

rather in qualitative conceptual categories **which** escape formal economic analysis. (Worl 1978)

Cultural Values of Subsistence. Cultural values are the most elusive element of subsistence; yet **if** subsistence appears to be threatened, **its** importance to the culture is most strongly defended. Evaluated solely in monetary terms, it is **likely** that subsistence would be judged as a net loss venture. However, **it** is the absence **of** economic rationale among participants that may help to explain their cultural values and emotional attachment to the **land** and environment. The **umealik** (whaling captain) may spend as much as \$6,500 to support his crew and activities associated with whaling because this, not monetary gain, gives him status in the **community**.

Cultural elements reflect the environment with which a **group is** interacting. The Inupiat believe that their cultural survival is based on a direct and intimate relationship with their environment. This is demonstrated in their act and dance forms and by the feasts held during various times of the year. The rituals also serve to integrate the community and strengthen community bonds.

#### Settlement Patterns and Land Use

The North Slope Borough's Traditional Land Use Inventories describe intensive use of coastal and **inland** areas. Hopson (North Slope Borough 1976) documented more than 140 sites in the **Tasikpak** Lake and **Nuiqsut**

areas alone. The listing includes both contemporary and historic sites of cabins; graves; cemeteries; ruins (including sod houses); fishing, trapping, hunting, and camping areas; ice cellars; and other important resource sites. The report cited 107 persons who lived within these areas during some part of their lives during the last 170 years. The wide range of the occupants' ages suggests that the areas were used even when the caribou population was quite low, and the number of people involved suggests extensive use. The sites are primarily located inland along rivers and lakes, so 119 of the 240 sites are listed as fishing areas,

Although the populations are centered in permanent communities, the inventory demonstrates a continuing use of inland areas. Fish camps are generally occupied by various members of a family from spring through fall. Most families leave their permanent homes in May, or as soon as school is out, and return when school begins again in September or October. Fish camps may be continuously occupied throughout the summer, or they may be visited periodically. Husbands often leave their wives and children at the fish camps during the day or week to work in town but return on weekends or evenings, depending on the distance. Many Native Allotment applications, discussed earlier, were made on traditional family fishing sites. Inland areas are also used as temporary campsites, which may be frequented by various family groups throughout the year. Hopson's work also identified defined, consistently used access routes between campsites, fish camps, and the permanent communities as well as major historic trails that are still used.



The number of sites and extensive access routes identified by the inventory testify to **the** high degree of mobility of the Inupiat. These inland areas are probably utilized to near the extent they were in the aboriginal period and certainly more than during the early historic period when the population had suffered a drastic decline. With the aid of the snow machines, which have replaced the dog teams, a hunter may range hundreds of miles away from his permanent settlement. Additionally, air charter flights are available to many of the fish camps.

The following account of subsistence use is largely drawn from **Worl's** 1978 study. The primary subsistence activities in inland and coastal areas are caribou hunting, fishing, fowling, and trapping. The inland area is the source of caribou, which provides high protein meat as well as raw material for parkas, boots, and mats. However, since the caribou crisis the Inupiat have had to increase their use of commercial meats.

The principal **summer activity** at inland camps is **gillnetting**, primarily for white-fish. Nets can also be used under the ice in winter, **Ling** cod in the early spring and **grayling** after freezeup are caught with a hook and line. Enough fish is taken for the family's winter supply and to **sell** and trade.

Duck hunting remains the dominant coastal activity from spring through fall. Some **families** move out to the camps in the spring and **remain** until the **fall** migration has ended. The inland region **also** provides an abundant source of other fowl. Although fowl is not a major subsistence **item**, the meat and eggs are an important dietary supplement.

During winter, trapping is done in the inland area for fox, wolf, wolverine, and ground squirrel; however, this is less a subsistence activity than a supplement to cash income. Trapping can be fairly lucrative, depending on the intensity of the pursuit. Many high school boys have traplines that they tend after school and on weekends.

### Ice Hunting

The following account is from Worl (1978) with a few changes and deletions,

The essence of contemporary Inupiat culture is nowhere as evident as in the whaling complex. Whaling, governed by patterns of cooperation and an elaborate structured system of sharing and distribution, serves to integrate the community as a social and cultural unit. The sharing and distribution of the whale to other communities strengthens ties with those communities and families. For the individual crew member, the exhilarating experience of the chase and sense of accomplishment when a whale has been caught can be summed up by one whaler's statement: "There is no greater reward than knowing your whale has fed the community."

The Association of Whaling Captains is a modern version of a traditional organization. It evolved from the aboriginal karigi (men's meeting house). Today, the association's membership includes all umialgich (whaling captains). They meet each year in early April before the whaling season to discuss the rules which govern the whale hunt and distribution and to determine if they are still acceptable to all the captains. Although some rules are never codified, they are accepted, e.g., snow

machines are not used too close **to the** camps since the noise frightens the whales. They also discuss any problems from the previous season, distribute a **list of** each captain's identification mark for his property, and make plans for construction of the ice trail out to the leads.

Whaling is an expensive undertaking, as the following list, which does not include all necessary items, shows:

Snow machine	\$2,000.00
Sled	250.00
Tent, frame	200.00
Camp Equipment	200.00
Gas, food, bombs	2,000.00
Clothing	300.00
Ugruk skins \$50 each x 6	300.00
Skin sewing for umiaq	300.00
Umiak frame	<u>600.00</u>
Tots 1	\$6,150.00

As in the past, only the wealthy can afford to support **an** average-sized crew of eight during the whaling season, which may last **up to** six weeks. Some captains pay their crew members a token sum, while some pay more or nothing. Other costs assumed by the successful captains include hosting a feast **for** the entire community when a whale has been caught. Also, a successful captain and his wife must sponsor the summer feast **called** Nalukataq for the community if he caught a whale. The costs for each feast may **range** up to \$1,000.

The total labor force actively and steadily engaged during the summer whaling season can involve more than 500 people, not including the Nuiqsut and Kaktovik crews engaging in fall whaling. Each crew requires eight men, one or more women, perhaps a young apprentice, older women who prepare and sew the ugruk (bearded seal) skins for the Umiak, and up to 50 or 60 people intermittently involved to pull the whale up onto the beach and butcher it. This number may be even greater since as many as 20 men may be considered members of one crew but only participate periodically during the season.

Preparation for whaling begins with the hunting of ugruk (bearded seals), primarily during June and July but also in October and November and occasionally through the winter. The bearded seal is of particular value to the whalers because its skin is used to cover the umiak and for boot soles. Seals are also important for their meat, oil, and skins used for parkas which are mostly sold. The traditional umiak remains superior to all other types of boats because of its light weight and quietness in the water. A few crews have tried aluminum skiffs, but generally they are considered too noisy.

The appearance of seals and success of the hunt depends on the presence of sea ice. Hunting conditions are best when a lead is narrow and the migrating ugruk are concentrated in this area. Hunting is very poor if the ice breaks up and the seals disperse. Nelson (1969) gave an extensive description of the various hunting techniques, including breathing-hole hunting, ice-edge sealing, sleeping-seal hunting, and hunting by umiak--all of which are employed along the coast. The bearded seal is

divided between the participating crew members **with** the skin **going** to the owner of the boat.

Many other tasks are completed before whaling actually begins. **Ice** cellars are constructed, expanded, **or** renovated. These **cellars** are **built** approximately **15** feet down into the permafrost **where whale** meat can be stored **for** as long as two years. During **March** and **early April**, sleds are constructed or repaired, **all** whaling **equipment** is meticulously cleaned, and the **umiak skin** is cleaned or replaced,

The whaling season begins in early April in Point **Hope** and a few weeks later in **Wainwright** and Barrow. The arrival of the snowbirds is the first sign that the opening of the **whaling** season is near. People begin scanning the horizon for evidence of a lead opening. Surveys are made of the ice pack to **map** out and construct **trails** to selected camp areas. Wedging out a trail through several miles of sea ice is arduous, and knowledge of **the** sea-ice environment is imperative. **The** captain must **check** the surface of the ice for cracks and flaws **to** insure the safety of **his** crew. Camps are moved in **the** event of dangerous changes in the ice. The Inupiat must be able to understand and predict the movement **of** the sea ice, which is impacted by both wind and sea currents.

Although camp life **on** the ice is laborious, it can also be enjoyable. **The** division of **labor** is well defined between the sexes. Lookouts are posted, and many tedious hours are spent patiently watching for the **arrival** of the **bowhead** whale. Seal, migratory **fowl**, and ducks **are also** obtained **during** this period. Meat not eaten by the **crew** is shared with

their families. When a whale is finally spotted, the whalers' knowledge of the whale's behavior must be as extensive as their knowledge of the ice. They must be able to predict the whale's movement as they pursue the 30- to 60-foot whale (weighing between half a ton to one ton a foot) in their tiny boats. They must be able to forecast where the whale will surface and then maneuver the umiak so that the harpooner can get a good shot into a vital organ.

Once the whale has been struck and the take is assured, word spreads quickly through the camps and community. Several crews rush to assist the successful crew in towing the massive whale (which can weigh a half ton to a ton per foot) to the ice. A crew member is dispatched to the village to raise the captain's flag over his house. In Barrow an announcement is made over the local radio station, Offices, schools, and homes empty as people rush to the camp to assist the whaling crew. All those who assist are given fresh muktuk (skin with a layer of blubber) and also receive a share of the whale meat.

Rules governing sectioning of the whale and sharing and distributing patterns vary from community to community, but they are well defined and strictly followed. The most complex system, which most likely has remained the most conservative and has its roots in great antiquity, is at Point Hope. Barrow's method is simpler and probably reflects the commercial whaling influence and adaptation to an increasing population. One whaling captain recently remarked that sharing a whale in Barrow is now like sharing a seal,

The meat and **muktuk** are important sources of protein and other nutrients for people throughout the **entire** North Slope **area**. **Other** edible parts are the white gum material from the base **of** the baleen, the liver, brain, heart, and kidneys. The baleen and **shale** bone **are** important **for** arts and craft products **which** may be sold.

Sharing **begins** with distribution and a feast on the ice which progresses **to** a feast at the captain's house. The captain's wife **may select elderly** members of the community and those known **to** be in need and distribute additional shares to them. Subsequent feasts include the **nalukataq** (captains' celebration) in June sponsored by successful captains. This feast is a time of **great** festivity with the traditional blanket toss and Inupiat dancing. Formal Thanksgiving and Christmas feasts are served to **community** members, and **muktuk, whale** meat, and fish are distributed to all families. A family may receive one to three boxes of fish and meat weighing up to one hundred pounds each. **In** Point Hope a special feast of whale **tails** is **held** in the fall when the **first** "slush ice" forms in the ocean.

The most important subsistence activities conducted on and from the ice are whaling; hunting **ugruk** and other seals, walrus, polar bears, and ducks; and fishing. As previously mentioned, some of these activities may coincide with the whaling season **but** are secondary when the whales are migrating. Smaller sea mammals are also harvested at other times, but with the exception of duck hunting, they depend on the presence **of** ice.

Beluga herds (white whales) generally arrive prior to and with the bow-heads. They are hunted from the ice edge or from umiaks. There have been rare occasions when belugas have been trapped in the ice, and hunters were able to catch 20 or 30 at a time. One beluga provides several hundred pounds of meat, and they can be important when the bow-head catch is low.

The best season for walrus hunting is during July and August, and some families leave inland camps to participate. Walrus commonly lie sleeping on the ice floes and are hunted from umiaks. Crews must exercise extreme caution hunting among the floes lest they get caught and carried away with the moving ice. Although the walrus hunt is maximized if several crews joint together, there is indication that the present walrus hunt is pursued by a single crew. The meat, blubber, and skin are divided between the crew members. The ivory tusks belong to the owner of the boat whether or not he was on the hunt. The walrus, which may weigh as much as 2,000 pounds, is distributed throughout the extended family. The range of sharing became apparent in the summer of 1975 when an epidemiologic investigation was initiated after eight people in Barrow got trichinosis. The investigation involved individuals from 23 different nuclear families who had all shared in the same walrus.

The catch from marine fishing activities is not as significant as that from fresh-water fishing. It is not considered a major subsistence resource and is conducted mostly by older people and children. In early fall after the sea ice has formed, they walk a short distance from the



shore to fish through ice holes. Tom cod is **caught** both in fall and **in early** spring.

Most polar bears are killed incidental **to** other activities. Polar bear meat **is** highly prized, and the fur is important because it is waterproof,

### Interethnic Relations

Reviewing the historical literature, one finds that the Native population of arctic **Alaska** was viewed as aberrant **in** most respects and part of the resources to be exploited, and often they were. The Russians were the first Westerners **to** reach the sub-Arctic, beginning in the **1700's** in areas inhabited by the **Aleuts** and the **Yupik** Eskimos of southwest Alaska. These groups were also the first to experience contact with the whaling **fleet**, which eventually pushed northward through **the** Bering Straits **to** the Mackenzie **River** delta.

These early contacts, particularly **in** southwest Alaska, were less than harmonious. The greatest impact was the elimination of large segments of the indigenous population by murder and disease. **Whole** villages were pressed into slavery by the Russians and forced to assist **in the** depletion of the **natural** resources they depended upon **for** their own survival. Later contacts further north with the Yankee **whalemen** were a bit less severe, but the goal remained **the** same: exploit the resources upon which the Native population depends **while using** them as a key tool,

This pattern of conquering Native-held lands in America and settling them with often less than savory elements of Europe, Asia, and the east coast of the United States is of great significance in Alaska. From what is now known of early cultural contact situations and the role of continuous contact in shaping new directions for indigenous people, it is important to recognize the influence on these Native peoples of their earliest lessons in the behavior of Western man and the model of "civilization" they provided. The majority of these men were not bold, courageous adventurers, but instead were often rapacious, ruthless, and avaricious. They had been thrust out to fringes of their own society, outcasts among their countrymen except as sources of furs, minerals, and information as explorers of frontier areas.

Available data on the relations between the men of the whaling fleet and the Inupiat are sparse but at about the same time (late 1800's) accounts of whaling voyages and exploration became popular and detailed scientific description of indigenous peoples began. Two categories of literature therefore emerged--accounts of whaling experiences and ethnographic descriptions of the Inupiat. Literature in the first category mainly treats information about the Inupiat as a "sideshow" of alien and repugnant life-styles, customs, and appearance. This information is mostly useful as a basis for understanding the interaction between the two groups. Mention is also made of the Inupiat as a hunter, guide, and as a crewman for the whaler. Data from the second category focuses on the description of the Inupiat as a compact self-contained cultural group. Because of the nature of this material, there is little mention of Inupiat contact with outsiders.

John Murdoch's description of the Point Barrow Inupiat **is** one such work. **He** briefly recounted contact with the Inupiat, beginning with an 1826 visit from a barge **of** the HMS Blossom, under the command **of** F.W. Beechey, and with the Plover in 1837. These were followed by sporadic contacts varying from a few days to a number of weeks until the Plover overwintered in 1852-53 and 1853-54, **during** which " , , , the officers and crew, after some misunderstanding and **skirmishes**, established very **friendly** and sociable relationships **with** the natives." Also, that ". . . though there was considerable intercourse between the sailors and the Eskimo women, there are now no people living at either the village who we could be sure were born from such intercourse." (Murdoch 1892. Pp. 52-53)

The year 1854 seems to have been the turning point of contact in northern Alaska. The whaling fleet penetrated to Barrow and began years of continuous contact and trade. Murdoch seemed to think that the Inupiat remained culturally remote from their white visitors for the most part and showed **little** inclination to change, being essentially a conservative people. Murdoch disagreed **with Petroff (1884)** who stated that the Barrow Inupiat regulated their movements according to the whaling **fleet** location and proximity. Murdoch does mention the cessation of autumn whaling **for** themselves, "possibly on account of the presence **of** the whaling fleet at that season." Following are some excerpts from Murdoch's work that illustrate contacts between the sailors and the Inupiat:

. . . The one unmitigated evil of their intercourse with the whites has been the introduction of spirits, . . . Our two years of friendly relations with these people were greatly to their advantage. . . . In all their intercourse with the whites they have learned a little English, chiefly a few oaths and exclamations like, 'Get out of here!'. , , (Murdoch 1892)

A more contemporary book covering the periods 1884 through the 1940's was written by Charles Brewer. Entitled Fifty Years Below Zero, this popular book is still in print and still sold at his son's store in Barrow. It chronicles his life in the Barrow area as a whaling entrepreneur and documents the effects of that industry on the Inupiat, Brewer covers many facets of change in the Inupiat life. He discussed the spread and effect of the use of liquor and the subsequent debauch of the villages up the coast from Point Hope where a trader introduced it; changes in whaling practices; employment of Inupiat by Brewer and others in commercial whaling; the application of white man's law to the relationships between the Inupiat and the outsiders; the usurping of marriageable women (sometimes married by whalers who wintered over); the unruliness of the whalers from the east coast; the rapid decline in the Inupiat take of whales; the effects of the introduction of religion; and disease and its effects on the population,

Charles Brewer was a notable exception to the transient pattern set by most of the non-Inupiat in the Arctic. Brewer became the chief contact for all who came to the northern Alaska coast. He often acted as mediator for the various communities in the Arctic and encroaching outside

world. His occupational experience in the Arctic included being the store owner, chief trader, operator of the shore whaling stations, U.S. Commissioner with the responsibility of taking **the** census, and administering the law when necessary.

Generally, relationships with outside **people** at this time appear **to** have been poor in quality. **With** few exceptions they were episodic, with few of the whalers or traders staying longer than the winter months. The whalers were a diverse lot from many different parts of the world. With rare exceptions they were single, uneducated, and unruly, as evidenced by the journals of the whaling captains, Charles Brewer, and the various member of **the** U.S. Revenue Service.

Sometimes ships were crushed by the ice, and whole crews had to spend the winter or longer on shore. Even during these times when crews were dependent on the good **will** of the Inupiat, they often acted abominably towards their hosts. Brewer (p. 208) related the wholesale robbing of graves for clothing and wood in the Barrow area. Further south, **over-**wintering whalers and those manning the shore stations are said to have introduced the skill of distilling liquor from molasses and flour **to** the Natives so that they **would** have **a** ready supply themselves. The literature also indicates that there was tremendous competition for eligible women between men in the villages and the men from the whaling ships and shore stations.

## AREAS OF CONFLICT

### Economic Factors

By 1900, areas of economic conflict had already developed between Natives and whites. The whites controlled access to rifles, ammunition, flour, tea, sugar, molasses, cloth, and metal items which the Inupiat wanted and were finding more and more use for in their daily lives. The Inupiat had to deal with traders to obtain these goods, and the principal mediums of exchange were furs or baleen which could be sold in the United States for a handsome profit. This caused a shift in Native hunting patterns from game which could be eaten to furbearers for trading purposes and disrupted the traditional economy.

Not all traders conducted themselves in a reputable manner. It was not uncommon for a trader to obtain a tremendous amount of fur or baleen for literally worthless materials. Many masters of the whaling ships also engaged in trading liquor for furs and baleen in order to compete with others in the area, although several noted that they abhorred this practice. Nevertheless, the transient nature of their contact and their economic motivation cause them to continue to wreak havoc on the local people. (Brewer, 1942)

Employment opportunities in the shore-based commercial whaling stations contributed to the centralization of the population on the coast. Brewer mentioned that some of the members of his own crew were Inupiat either banned from participating in traditional whaling because of taboos or were from the inland.

## Social Factors

There were numerous areas of social conflict fostered by the **lack** of a mutually intelligible language. Only a very few Inupiat spoke English, and English and Portuguese were the two most common languages of the **non-Inupiat**s. This situation created many misunderstandings between parties bargaining over the sale price of furs **or** the trade **value** of non-Native products.

Inupiat life was circumscribed by a **wide array** of taboos relating to **almost** everything in the environment from eating habits and choices of food to when and where they would hunt and whom they could take as a spouse. The Inupiat saw the weather, the seasons, and **the migratory** patterns of game animals as being greatly affected by their ability to understand and observe these taboos, **On** the other hand, the traders and whalers as a groups saw no value in these taboos. In many instances, they went out of their way to break them and show their Inupiat companions or employees that **such** behavior was **foolish** and only interfered with their ability to get on with the business at hand, whether it **was** hunting, whaling, or traveling.

The Inupiat society was a complete matrix of prescribed personal **relationships** developed over many generations. Law ways developed around **the** same circumscribed matrix. There was no law enforcement personnel in Inupiat society, so order depended on adherence to traditional roles and patterns of behavior, The threat of banishment, or death were strong

deterrents. A person acted or behaved in a certain manner towards other individuals because it was prescribed through taboo or through social relations developed through generations.

While Inupiat society was capable of incorporating outsiders into this system, outsiders generally saw themselves outside of the context of Inupiat society and became disruptive by not complying with Inupiat norms. For example, Charles Brewer recorded the first murder of a non-Native by an Inupiat when an Inupiat male killed a Portuguese whaler because he had been living with the Inupiat's spouse. Brewer indicated that had this occurred between two Inupiat, the family members would have settled the matter in their own way. The murder of a non-Native posed tremendous problems, particularly since the outcome would set an example to both the Native and non-Native community in dealing with situations where anger or hostility had been generated. Brewer and the other members of the shore whaling teams chose to deal with it in a manner compatible with their understanding of the laws of both societies. They took the offender into custody, held a trial, found him guilty, and executed him.

On another occasion where a murder had occurred, Brewer was prevented from intervening on behalf of the Inupiat community by relatives of the victim who handled the problem themselves, thereby establishing a system in which white man's law prevailed where non-Natives were involved, Inupiat law remained the sanction employed when only Inupiat were involved in a crime.



## Institutional Factors

The late 1800's saw the arrival of another significant group of non-Inupiat--missionaries. Missionaries had multiple roles. Their intent was to save the souls of the Eskimos, **but** besides holding church services and proselytizing, they also established schools for the children, and provided medical services. **In** the Barrow area, for example, the Presbyterian minister was also a medical doctor.

Accompanying the missionaries, were two related institutions--schools and hospitals. The schools were first associated with missionary activities, but after the 1930's lay teachers were hired. The hospitals, originally sponsored by the Presbyterian Church, were later taken over by the Alaska Native Service. Thus, three powerful institutions from the outside world became resident and powerful within the world of the Inupiat.

Murdoch (1892) documented the chronology **of** the introduction of Christianity into arctic Alaska. While initially meeting with **little** success **in** converting the Inupiat, their control of clothing, food, and money, coupled with the fellowship of the church situation, began to attract the people. As the missionaries learned some of the language they were **able to communicate** better. The provision of medical services in conjunction with their spiritual responsibilities began **to** make the people more responsive to conversion.

Murdoch specifically cites the ability of the missionaries to break the apparent powerful influence of the shaman over the community. While most writers recalled this as a very positive step, it also disrupted one of the most intricate and deep-rooted area of the value system-- taboos. This system not only supported the role of the shaman, it also functioned as a primary social control mechanism. Because the shaman could not effectively deal with many of the newly introduced problems, particularly disease, medical missionaries, such as Dr. Marsh, who could cope with these diseases with some degree of success, strengthened their position. This drew the Inupiat community closer to the church and away from traditional beliefs regarding illness, the spirit world, and taboos.

#### Sociocultural Impact of New Technology and Rate of Change

The literature clearly indicates that the Inupiat were quick to adopt technological and institutional changes from outside their culture to meet their own needs (Murdoch 1892; Milan 1964; Nelson 1969, 1974),

Inupiat involvement with the non-Native world was compressed into a short period of time, and this, coupled with their cultural adaptability, leads to a great deal of confusion regarding the actual transitional or "acculturative" status of the North Slope population. Many observers (Chance 1966; Hippier 1969; Cline 1975) have interpreted this as indicating a rapid change from traditional cultural integrity and traditional communities to a more urbanized lifestyle. They cite as evidence the

establishment of urban centers, such as Barrow, and the **outmigration** from these centers to larger cities of Alaska and the **lower** 48 states. Chance pointed to the **immigration** of **100** residents **from** the **community** of **Wainwright** to **communities** outside the **North Slope** region as one strong indication of this trend. Hippiar stated that the declining population of the villages throughout Alaska as **well** as the Arctic Slope area and the **swelling** of the **populations** in **regional** centers such as Barrow and Kotzebue indicates the same tendency.

Since **1969**, however, a new phenomenon has begun, **particularly** on the North Slope. The **population of smaller**, more traditional villages is growing, and three communities, **Nuiqsut, Atkasook,** and Point Lay, have been resettled. This is largely due to settlement of Alaska Native land claims in late **1971**, the formation of **the North Slope Borough in 1972**, and the population's preference for a life-style which vastly differs from that postulated as favored by the preceding authors.

The important point **is** not that **the** theories were wrong but that the suppositions did not take into account that the Inupiat were reacting to the only alternatives available to them. Schools, health care, transportation, access to other necessary supplies, and **the** availability of cash work **were** primarily centered **in Barrow** and, to some extent, communities outside the region. **The** smaller communities, **Kaktovik** and **Wainwright**, had growing populations because of the **jobs** that were available through the **DEW** Line and a conscious choice on **the** part of the **people** for a **more** traditional life-style,

Spencer (1959) recognized that **the communities** have weathered a great many economic changes as a **result of their** relationship to non-Inupiat institutions and pointed out that there remains a **strong** base of Inupiat culture that sustains them. In particular, **he** emphasized that the cooperative family unit maintains the

. . . core of contemporary **Barrow** Eskimo society. **For**, despite the cash **economy**, the social organization **of** the aboriginal **Eskimo** is **still** the potent force. The series **of** benign interrelations between individual within the family setting can be made effective in promoting the cooperative effort again **to live off** the land **should** the necessity arise. To be sure, members of the group **once** accustomed **to** the advantages of the outboard motor, **the** washing machine, mail order luxuries and **the like**, may **find life** more **burdensome** if these are removed **or** curtailed. However, as long as **mutual** interdependence can be kept **to** the fore, **it** is unlikely that such deprivation will bring dire consequences with it. This point emerges more clearly, perhaps, in the analysis of the **social** and familial relationships.

The emerging picture of the individual, then, must be viewed **as** one in which control of one's **life and** destiny has **shifted** from Inupiat **institutions** which were **well** understood by all to foreign institutions of a culture outside the Inupiat sphere of knowledge,

As contact with the outside **world** increased after **the** turn of the century, particularly after **the oil and gas** deposits of the North Slope

became of national significance, these conflicts intensified at the interpersonal and institutional levels. Inupiat began to take control of the non-Inupiat institutions, particularly the **church**, governmental entities, economic entities, and the court system, as population grew and understanding of these institutions and the potential Inupiat role in them increased.

Until **World War II**, there were few outsiders who had any long-term experience in the area. The exceptions were a very small **group** of non-Native entrepreneurs and missionaries who generally stayed from two to five years before going to another assignment. This pattern of temporary contact between individuals probably has had the most lasting effect. Long-standing relationships have not had an opportunity to develop, and the Inupiat have ended up relating only to outside institutions over time.

### Increase and Diversity of Social Contacts

**World War II** and its aftermath brought an increase in the **number** of non-Natives on the North Slope. Some came to organize and train units of the Territorial National Guard, some to explore for oil and gas in the central part of the North Slope now known as the National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska, and many **more** to build and operate **DEW** Line sites and the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory at Barrow.

Taken together, these developments have created more full-time and **long-term** employment opportunities in the cash labor market for Inupiat

residents. As the Inupiat have developed the **skills to** compete in a construction-oriented economy, they frequently find themselves in competition with non-Natives from outside the region for these jobs. Many of these jobs allow a person **to** earn relatively **high** wages with a minimum outlay of cash, and the high profits to be made from such jobs attract many nonresident competitors. Those outsiders who secure work generally do so on the basis of past experience with a given trade or company or through experience and being considered a resident at the time when jobs are advertised or where hiring is actually being done, often Fairbanks or Anchorage. This is particularly true if a union is involved as a trade representative since only a few Inupiat have become union members and attained seniority that allows **them** a better chance to secure these **jobs.**

The immediate effect of this situation **remains** unexplored. One impact noted by the author is to increase the frustration at a community level when criticism of hiring practices is thwarted by the few **examples of** successful hiring from the **community.** It was recently reported by one employee of a contractor that only six of over 100 employees at an exploration staging area were Inupiat. Significantly, in a **report** of Alaska Native hires on the **trans-Alaska** pipeline project (TAPS) done by the University of Alaska, Institute of Social and Economic Research (February 1978) the North Slope area had one of the lowest hiring rates in terms of numbers and percentage of population,

This access **to** a relatively **stable** cash economy has made it possible for a number of non-Inupiat who originally came to the Arctic to work on such

projects to start small businesses, such as stores and **guiding** services, or to find stable employment within the community. **Most** of these individuals have married into the community and become part of it.

The **vast** majority of those who come **to** the Arctic still leave within a very short period of time and never expand their relationship with the **community** beyond economic exploitation. These transient individuals have no ties to the **community** and, as a group, tend to disrupt it. The areas of primary conflict involve their seeking local **female** companionship, their role as a source of alcohol, and drugs, and more importantly, as competition for jobs. Recently, most of the transients working **in** the region are isolated in camps that **are** far enough from communities to minimize the occurrence of disruptive situations. This was ostensibly the case when the Navy and the **community** of Barrow had a "**gentlemen's** agreement" to keep those disruptive people out of the community. The same situation held true near the community of Kaktovik, and also **Wainwright** during a construction phase. These gentlemen's agreements, however, are very difficult to enforce and those who view the communities as a place and a source of recreation are free to mix with the townspeople.

Resident Inupiat. Against this sketchy backdrop, **we** can **begin to** assess some trends in intergroup relations. The most important **group** is the resident Inupiat, who call the region "home." They have long been considered by others and themselves as experts on living in and from the arctic environment. Their right to travel the land and use it to meet

their own needs has remained unchallenged into the present century, Only in the last 30 to 40 years have they come into intensive contact with the outside world and the western institutions which characterize it, In the past the Inupiat relationship to these Institutions has been one of control, either through incorporating the values of the Institutions, as in the case of the church, or through maintaining a symbiotic relationship to the institutions, as is the case with both the legal system and the educational system. The passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act which created the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation was in a large part due to the strong solidarity and leadership shown by Inupiat participants in that effort. Their concern at that time was for securing to themselves the right to continue to hunt and use their own land base, and they were less concerned with the monetary aspects of that act, When major portions of the act were centered around financial provisions, the Arctic Slope voted "No", the only one of 12 organizations to do so. This action is indicative of a desire to remain as a cultural enclave and not to become a part of the greater society through its purely economic values.

This view of themselves is severely threatened by the necessity of active participation through corporate and municipal programs recently developed in the North Slope. In large part; the formation of the regional corporation and the formation of the North Slope Borough, which occurred in 1972, may be taken as indicators of this strong sense of cultural solidarity.



Associated with the formation of government and business entities on the North Slope has been an influx of **non-Inupiat** to fill many key positions, many of them highly paid and carrying a measure of prestige in the communities. This may have done a good deal to lessen the Inupiat feeling of actually controlling activities **within their** own area. Many of the non-Inupiat workers filling positions within these organizations **fall** within two categories yet **to** be discussed, non-Inupiat residents and transients.

Resident Non-Inupiat, The non-Inupiat residents are a small **group** who, as previously mentioned, are characterized by **having made** long-term commitments to the area and, in many instances, have married **local** people and become members of a **community. Originally,** most of these **people** came to the Arctic as part of the construction industry or the educational system or as entrepreneurs providing services. **In** almost every instance, these residents have positions of some influence within the community because of their business activities and personal rapport with other residents of the community. Many of these individuals have done well financially and play a large part in the supply of goods, the control of property, and the accumulation of money. None of these people has yet reached retirement age, but indications are that most **feel** at least a working life commitment to their communities. Due to family and **economic** ties within **the** communities, there is probably a great deal of mutuality between the Inupiat and the non-Inupiat residents.

Transients. Transients fall into two major subcategories which exert quite a different influence in the communities than the two preceding groups.

The first type of transient is the well-educated professional who comes to the North Slope to take a position with either the regional corporation, municipality, school district, or federal government. Many are somewhat adventurous and service oriented, and most arrive hoping to make some lasting contribution to the area. Others in this category are those who serve in a professional consulting capacity to the various governmental and institutional entities on the North Slope. The role of these transients in a larger urban environment would probably deserve little mention, but on the North Slope they are highly visible in the day-to-day operations and overall functioning of various organizations. While actually in residence for only a very short period of time, their impact is perceived as great by the residents and as one more element isolating them from those organizations set up for their benefit. Many in this category are relatively young, single males with no or very small families.

The second category of transients is also predominantly male and young, but with few exceptions, less educated than the first category. Most are single or divorced and are principally motivated by the high wages that are available in the region. Many of these individuals in Barrow, for example, have had serious problems with the law, poor work records, or low skill levels, which makes it difficult for them to obtain work where there is high competition for jobs. In Barrow it is relatively

easy **to** get a well-paying job in most skilled and unskilled trades **be-** cause of high turnover and low competition, **Additionally,** most **tran-** **sients** arrive on the North Slope **with** some contact who can provide them with a job or information or references that **will** lead **to** a job, This causes friction as it effectively locks **local** residents, particularly the Inupiat, out of certain sectors of the job market,

Almost **all** transients seem **to have one thing in** common, they **live** in **en-** **claves** separate from the rest **of** the community, The most **obvious** examples of this in Barrow are the residents of the Naval **Arctic** Research Laboratory and attendant camp, the North Slope Borough School District **facilities,** and **Indian** Health Service housing. The pattern **in** other communities is similar.

This type of enclave system is maintained by social pressure from both the residents and the transients. Residents seem to feel that until a transient has spent a relatively lengthy period of time in the community and has demonstrated not only his willingness, but also his ability to get along in a number of social situations away from work, he **will** receive very little overt acceptance from them. Transients invariably tend to view the social mood of residents as hostile, Transients, government workers, school teachers, and researchers have fostered this image **of** the North Slope, particularly Barrow. **During** 1977 this general attitude spilled over into press coverage of several unfortunate **incidents,** which reinforced this **image** of hostility in the eyes of the general **public** **outside** the North Slope. Illustrative of this problem **are** the following incidents:

7. In the fall of 1977", a representative of a state agency refused to send personnel to any of the North Slope communities for fear that they might be involved in some type of violence.

2. A Medical Specialist-refused to visit two North Slope communities in the fall of 1977 because on his last visit to one community, someone had thrown rocks at the house in which he was staying, and he viewed the people as being, therefore, ungrateful and hostile towards his presence.

3. Two professionals who had applied for positions with the North Slope Borough called and withdrew their applications, ostensibly due to a double murder which was covered in a sensational fashion by the Fairbanks News Miner and picked up by the Associated Press,

4. Alaska Natives, some Inupiat from the North Slope, reported that they were roughed up, had eggs and debris thrown at them and were verbally harassed in Fairbanks after this coverage.

#### Indications of Negative Impact

The history of contact between Inupiat and Western cultures involves several key areas of negative social impact, These will be briefly enumerated and discussed.

Alcohol and Drugs. As mentioned previously, alcohol has been considered a widespread problem in the region almost from the first contacts

with the outside (Murdoch 1892; Brewer 1942; Spencer 1959; Milan 1964; Chance 1966), and alcohol abuse continues to be a major area of concern. The circular impact of alcohol is particularly destructive. Excess consumption constrains individual and group effectiveness in dealing with daily problems, which in turn inhibits participation in healthy social, economic, and family activities. This often leads to increased feelings of frustrations, hostility, and rejection and more drinking to combat " these feelings. While consensus is that alcohol is a major problem, how to deal with it is a major area of conflict.

There have been two main sources of liquor on the North Slope--Barrow City Liquor Store and the DEW Line sites. A bar was opened in the hotel in 1974 but was subsequently closed due to damage to the facility and the amount of fighting that took place on or near the premises. Individuals traveling in the region often transport liquor to the smaller communities. The increase in wage employment, influx of non-Inupiat, and the increase in travel associated with borough, regional corporation, and construction activities have heavily contributed to an apparent increase in access to and consumption of liquor.

Drinking behavior on the North Slope seems to follow patterns discussed by Lubart (1971) in the Mackenzie delta region of the Canadian Arctic where similar social and economic conditions are impinging.

Generally speaking, drinking was begun with the express purpose of getting drunk. . . . While most subjects interviewed professed at first to drinking because of tedium, it became apparent that

motivation was far more complex than **this**. Many males showed anxiety about their future, and complained of tension and mild to moderate depression: They expressed bitterness toward the government, toward white men in general. . . , mainly because **so** many women preferred their company. . . , there were many evidences of emotional disturbances which were temporarily **relieved** by alcohol, . . . In some instances there **were outbursts** of violence, sometimes temporary and controllable; at **other** times, markedly impulsive, **assaultive**, not subject **at all to** reason and ending in arrest, . . . . Individuals involved in these incidents tended to be less euphoric and sociable when drinking, but were rather sullen, tense, irritable, surly and quarrelsome. **Fights** would **commence** on slight picayune provocation. . . **In no** instance. . . , was there a case of assault against a white man, even **though** bitter feelings about them were **so** frequently expressed **during** drunkenness. Instead men assaulted Eskimo acquaintances, generally with much shame on becoming sober. . . , Violence against whites occurred during the act of arrest. . . , In some instances, men who were ordinarily good-natured, hard working, gentle and good humored within **daily** contacts **would**, after a few convivial rounds of beer, suddenly burst forth in wild, **assaultive**, unprovoked violence. They seemed out of contact, unreachable even by close friends, and bent on a destructive course. . . .

In discussing a major aspect of inter-racial and cross-sex drinking Lubart notes that women and 'teenage **girls** usually obtain' liquor from men "usually native, but often white. "The goal of males was generally to provide alcohol as a means toward **sexual** ends."

**Lubart** also succinctly described at least the pattern of alcohol use across wide stretches of the Arctic.

Drinking can be disruptive **in** other ways as well. Since there are **no** accessible bars, except the Dew Line, drinking occurs in the home. This has had ill-effects beyond those stated above. Younger children are encouraged to drink via example and **if** a party **is** long, school children **will** be kept from completing homework, and often from getting to school on time and/or sleeping or being extremely sleepy in school,

Another impact of this is that whole households and families **are** often affected by violent or abusive behavior, On several occasions **people** have expressed feelings of extreme helplessness over this situation, yet being unwilling to involve the **police**. Others have stated that they find participating to be the only way to cope with **such** situations.

Alcohol as recreation has been discussed by **Lubart**. Several young **people** in Barrow have pointed out to the authors the lack of alternative activities: "Usually you just visit around. **It's** boring after a while. But if you wake up with a hangover, you know you-had a good time." (1976 fieldnotes)

The Department of Public Safety, in an undated Memorandum (1976), points out that most of the activities are oriented to the school gym and are accessible from after 5 p.m. to 10 p.m. **only**. **This** Memorandum suggests that rapid economic "boom" with a large influx of "outsiders" has stimulated a shock wave to the morale of the community, increasing tensions,

particularly during the winter months when the need for organized recreation is the highest:

"The limited environment, house space, and social activity within the **community** are the major constituents. . . in confining our **daily** activity. . . . **It** is obvious that **our youth** and **adults** become restless and aggressive; therefore, when they become intoxicated they tend to be violent towards the **values** and standards of **the** dominant society. That is, they become very disruptive and contemptuous towards the dominant society's technological inventions--motor vehicles, guns, the white man and public buildings"

For the transient, similar problems with alcohol arise. Frustrations regarding isolation, lack of recreation, inter-cultural conflicts and other personal problems find release through alcohol, marijuana and/or drugs. **At** such times, hostility towards the Inupiat seems to become a focal point of **all** pressures. It is not unusual to hear a **white** transient holding **forth** about Inupiat as lazy, dishonest, mentally ill or dangerously prejudiced. Such talk appears **to be** prompted by **pre-existing** prejudice and perceived tension within the community. Minimal socializing occurs between this group and the Inupiat. That which does **occur** is usually between young Inupiat women and white males. Some socializing with Inupiat men **from** work may occur but quality of relations is generally poor and characterized by mistrust and occasional violence. The general character of alcohol use is quite similar. Many transients arrive **in** the Arctic with serious **pre-existing** alcohol problems.



Teachers and other professionals are not immune from problems with alcohol. The relative isolation (teachers usually only socialize **with** teachers or other professionals), perceived racial tensions, and frustrations of the job often lead to alcohol induced expressions of hostility towards the Inupiat:

"The parents don't care **enough to** support **education**, the kids are **all** extremely prejudicial against us, what can you do?"

Many teachers express resentment at the fact that they are not more overtly revered within the **community**. "My reward has been to hear 'honky' behind **my** back in class, and to my face in **town**."

Teachers in the smaller communities tend to fare somewhat better. **Opportunities** to become more **familiar** with a **wider** section of the **community** and the necessity of sharing more of the Inupiat **lifeways** (albeit through necessity) create a more harmonious situation. Controlling access to the **school** facility which is needed for meetings and activities, controlling the 2-way radio, controlling a few part-time and **fulltime** jobs, and having the most experience generally **with** the white society provide the teacher **with** prestige. **In** turn, the Inupiat generally control adequate clothing (which must be made locally), skills in securing necessities such as water, keeping **snow** machines running, hunting, fishing and recreation outdoors. Thus, small **community** relations provide more mutually beneficial contact and chances to **isolate** oneself become **limited**. (Good discussion of this is contained in Cline, 1975.)

Partially through self-selection and partially due to community scrutiny and enculturation, these teachers are not as susceptible to alcohol problems, personal or social.

The situation in Barrow becomes complicated at the institutional level. The city-owned liquor store produced profits of approximately \$300,000 in 1975. These funds supported the city police department, volunteer fire department, and the city offices. A subsequent move to close the liquor store, vocally supported by the administration of the North Slope Borough, was viewed by some as largely a political move to gain financial control of those city services. Police powers were soon transferred to the Borough, and a boroughwide public safety program was established after the closure of the liquor store by election in the fall of 1975,

The liquor store was opened again after an election the following year, but it was reclosed in the fall of 1977\*. This seesaw pattern seems to stem from the fact that a tightening in the availability of liquor produces an immediate drop in social disruptions. For example, the City and the Borough mutually agreed on a moratorium on liquor sales after a double homicide, a stabbing death, a death in a car accident, and two reported shooting and beating incidents occurred in Barrow within a few days of each other in 1977, which may explain the subsequent vote that fall to again prohibit liquor sales in the community. In 1977 13 of the 18 unnatural deaths in Barrow were alcohol related according to Department of Public Safety statistics.

Closure of the liquor **store** only means a ban on retail **sales**. Private clubs (Lion's, Veterans of Foreign **Wars**) **can** sell liquor for on-premises consumption, the **DEW** Line Bar remains open, and the PX at **NARL** sells beer to employees. Also, it is legal to mail liquor through retail outlets in Fairbanks and Anchorage to "dry" communities, A **Wien** Air Alaska employee estimated that nearly as much alcohol was being shipped to Barrow after the closure **in 1975** as before. The price of liquor varies with supply, demand, and **retail** cost, For example, the going price **for** a fifth **of Calvert's** whiskey fluctuates between \$20 and \$40 or more, This commerce is consistently conducted by a cross section of Barrow residents during "dry" periods but is only sporadic in the smaller communities except when the Barrow City Liquor Store **is** open,

Statistics related to alcohol problems are difficult to acquire. The Barrow Service Unit Hospital does not record alcohol as a cause **of** death or injury separate from the physical ailment involved. If a person is injured and drunk, only the injury is recorded, The exception is a diagnosis of alcoholism, but since this designation is problematic it is seldom made.

During 1967 to 1969 the Barrow Service Unit recorded **no** diagnoses of alcoholism. In 1974 one death due to alcoholism was recorded, Statistics on outpatient visits to the Barrow hospital may be showing a trend of increased visits due to alcohol, Alaska Consultants (1978) reported a large increase in diagnosis of acute/chronic alcoholism, and schizophrenia and other psychoses.

Figure 1

Alcohol and mental health diagnoses, percent of annual total and year for Barrow-Service Unit:

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>
Alcoholism Acute/Chronic	NA	NA	NA	(2%) 413	(2%) 451	(3%) 597
Accidents & Injuries	(8%) 825	(8%) 875	(8%) 802	(11%) 1,903	(13%) 2,576	(9%) 2,215
Schizophrenia & Other Psychoses	(3%) 257*	(3%) 272*	(3%) 249*	(1%) 226	(2%) 397	(2%) 414
% Previous Year		+1%	-1%	+43%	+16%	+13%
Total OPD Visits**	10,101	10,697	9,801	17,122	20,462	23,393

\*1966-1968 The category heading is "Mental, Psychological, and Personality Disorders." This is a much more inclusive term than the 1974-1976 term.

\*\*OPD visits are for the Barrow Service Unit which excludes two North Slope Borough communities--Point Hope and Anaktuvuk Pass.

Sources: (1) Alaska Consultants, Inc. "Baseline Studies of the Man-made Environment" for the OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program; January 1978.

(2) J 970 Program Support Statistics, Indian Health Service, Alaska Area Native Health Service.

Minors (those under 19 years of age) are also heavily involved with alcohol, and following are a few indicators of the extent of this problem,

Figure 2

Reported Incidence of Alcohol- and Drug-Related Violation  
(Department of Public Safety, North Slope Borough. )

<u>Category of Violation</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>
Juvenile arrests, Total	119	129
Minor consuming Alcohol	50	70
Drugs	--	5
Adult arrest Total	--	384
OMVI (drunk driving)	24	--
Unnatural Death Total	--	18
Alcohol Related	--	13

Drug usage (marijuana is included for purposes of discussion) follows very much the same pattern as alcohol. The use of LSD and **similar** hallucinogens has declined slightly with the increase in availability of marijuana and cocaine. Amphetamines and depressants are still widely used, particularly **by young people** (age 18 to 25). To date, heroin use is not widespread, but there have been some disturbing reports about the results of its use.

Of all drugs (excluding nicotine and caffeine) marijuana is most widely used and available in North Slope communities. If there is a choice, it is often preferred over alcohol. The intent **of** use is to get "stoned" in most cases, not just "high" or "mellow". Often it is-used in conjunction with alcohol and many believe it has a calming influence on the

socially disruptive behavior often associated with alcohol use. It is highly valued as an adjunct to virtually any social occasion, especially among the young. Its use by grade school children is reportedly frequent but there are no statistics. Marijuana can be expensive, from \$30 to \$100 per ounce depending on the quality. Sources of marijuana, as with liquor, cut across ethnic and social lines.

Amphetamines, prescription medicines, and hallucinogens are used more on the basis of convenience rather than choice. However, there have been several break-ins at village health clinics, ostensibly to secure valium, antihistamines, and other medicines that can produce a "high". Amphetamines and hallucinogens seem to produce some of the same social problems as alcohol.

Heroin has occasionally been used by Inupiat youth but appears to be more prevalent among transient construction workers. One recorded episode of heroin use by residents occurred last year. Reportedly, a young man from an outlying community was partying at the hotel in Barrow and injected some other young people with either heroin or an amphetamine. This situation came to light only because two badly frightened youths showed up at the hospital, one of them badly needing treatment for what appeared to be a psychotic episode. As many as 10 youths, many of them juveniles, appear to have been involved.

Documentation of this kind of impact is scarce, but it is fair to say that these kinds of incidents as well as alcohol abuse and mental

dysfunction will increasingly recur as long as there is a wide availability of cash and a lack of integrating alternative social activities.

Family Discord and Violent Behavior. Problems within the family unit are predictable given the circumstances in North Slope communities-- increased outside contact through travel; visitors; increased transient workers; more governmental interaction; and increased pressures on traditional values, social roles of individuals, and the perceived locus of community control. Pressures in these areas usually increase tensions within families. The following factual example is offered as a qualitative verification:

"A" is a man approximately 35 years old, He has gone to school through his junior year in high school. He is married to "B" and they have two young children. Up until 1970 "A" has worked sporadically and earned about \$4,000 annually, He has depended almost entirely upon his skill as a hunter to provide the principle meals for his family, Work has always been secondary in importance and he would often quit a job to hunt, to join a whaling crew or to spend up to three months at a fish camp maintained by his family (parents), The products of his hunting activities have always been shared according to need or on the basis of traditional values held by his family. "B" has graduated from high school, has had some business college experience and has been sought as a worker by several institutions as clerical help with training is in short supply, "B" is considered an excellent worker, while "A" is considered erratic and

undependable although generally a capable worker,

In the year of courtship and first two years of marriage "A" and "B" got along reasonably well. Each expressed some jealousy of the other but there had been only one major argument which had led to violence. Each had struck the other and he had a black eye which everyone smiled at. In 1972, "A" took a job at a pipeline camp through an opportunity provided by a Regional Corporation, "A" made more money in six weeks than he had the previous year, "A" worked the usual 9 and 1 shift (9 weeks working at a remote camp, one week off), for nearly a year. "B" and the two infants moved to Fairbanks after several months where they had a small apartment, television and friends primarily from home. Their diet changed somewhat, television was greatly enjoyed, and for "B" there was more socializing outside the family unit and more drinking while "A" was working.

In 1974 they moved back home. During the interim, "A" had made good money, most of which was spent or given to relatives and only some of which was saved. Their move home was prompted by a series of violent episodes with "A" accusing "B" of infidelity and beating her on at least three occasions, two of which sent her to see the doctor. "B" threatened to leave him and, in fact, precipitated the move by doing so, returning home with the children. A contrite husband followed a month later and a reconciliation took place. Upon returning home, "A" began hunting again to provide meat and



"B" took a **clerical job that** paid **about \$1,000** monthly. This eliminated any real need **for "A"** to work **at all**.

With the income of "B", more **material** things became available. Also, alcohol and marijuana were purchased occasionally for parties. "A" continued to drink frequently when **he wasn't** hunting. "B" began making more and more of the **major** decisions, **pre-empting** what "A" saw as his role. "B" often chided him about his lack of cash income, violent family arguments were frequent and they separated twice more in a year, except these occasions found "A" moving to another community for a month or two months before they reconciled. When drinking, "A" would frequently alternate between deep depressed silence, and abusive violent temper tantrums. He complained that they ("A" and "B") were being **sucked** into a system which had no place for them. He was angered that "B" could work steadily while he could only find work tolerable for short stretches. **It galled** him to take orders from **taniks** (white people) that he felt were uninvited to his country. He found it doubly frustrating to find that there were some that he liked. This created an ambivalence that **found** him alternately raging when drunk and quite hospitable when sober. He became convinced by "B" {<sup>s</sup> success and her easy manner with **taniks** (especially males who are greatest in number) that she may consider running off with one of them. "A" became **almost** speechless when he first heard about not being allowed to hunt **caribou**, as this was one of his greatest joys and provided him with the basic food he and his **family** ate (several times a week). He resolved,

without fanfare, to continue hunting. Conversation with him, when drinking or not, usually turned to this subject, Drunkenness always led to rage and any tanik around him became a target of invective, insults, taunts and occasionally blows. This happened infrequently as he seldom drank or socialized at all where there were whites-- either he or they would leave. Fights between "A" and "B" became frequent. "B" would not leave him because of their families, and the attachment and loyalty to him and their children. Both sets of parents encouraged them to "work it out" and to ignore the bad times. "B" also felt that quitting work would be helpful but was fearful of losing the income since they had bills regularly for rent, utilities, store and snow machines. Both "A" and "B" felt trapped, unable to extricate themselves from their involvement in a system which they called "foreign". Both vaguely attributed all tanik presence to oil, never to the intermediary institutions. (Personal notes, 1977)

Violence is not confined to the Inupiat. The following example, also factual, examines another North Slope life-style.

"A" is a teacher in his early 30's. He has been on the North Slope for 1½ years. He is single, very active, and a reasonably dedicated teacher. He hails from the South. At the beginning of the second year, his girl friend, "B", came to the Arctic, Both got along well with their fellow teachers, and she developed good rapport with many students, "A" did not fare so well; having an older group of

problem children, he was **frequently** frustrated, Their **socializing** consisted of frequent parties at which "A" drank heavily, as **did** some others. **When** "A" drank heavily he became morose and argumentative. "B" often tried to calm him down and get him to **leave** the party. On one occasion they left and "B" called the party asking for help as "A" had **gotten** his gun out, had abused and threatened her and was acting very wild. Through **deceit**, the gun was **gotten** away from him. Little more was **said** about the incident but "A" did not return the following year, though "B" stayed. (Personal notes, 1978)

Barrow teachers and **school** personnel generally socialize **within** their own group, but until very recently they **lived** primarily in enclave housing with services such as running water, flush toilets, laundry, **and** warm and **cold** storage. In 1977, teachers began occupying housing (albeit new housing) interspersed in the community. This arrangement could either intensify or ameliorate interracial tensions, but **there** are no numbers, case **counts**, **or** other statistics to help evaluate the situation.

Intergroup violence **is** presently on the upswing. Again without a **case-**by-case examination of magistrate records and detailed interviewing, no statistics are available. It is clear that opportunities for intergroup socializing are much more frequent than in the past, primarily because of the higher non-Inupiat population and the increased working relationships between groups at the Borough, regional and village corporations,

and construction. As mentioned previously, alcohol often releases hostile feelings among both groups, and it is not uncommon for a **fight** (or an attempt at one) to occur at a party. These instances are **almost** always quickly **halted** by mutual friends. **An** exception to this follows:

A **tanik** worker, new **to** the Arctic boasted that he would not "be **in-**timidated by any **Eskimo!**" He usually carried a .22 **calibre** derringer attached to a **belt** buckle "**just** in case". There was general knowledge about this "**Honky's**" attitude and some **young** people made a point to antagonize him. One evening **an Inupiat** man was drunk and pounding and kicking his door. The tanik fired his gun through the door, hitting the other man in the foot.

There have been a few reports of guns being fired at **white** males, and shots have been fired through the window of the FAA station **at** Barrow. Another incident involved a white worker, quite drunk, firing a gun in the air and at the ground, threatening to kill all Eskimos. Such events do happen, but **not** with any regularity. Tragically, one exception occurred in **1977**, when two hikers were shot to death near Point Barrow. A young Inupiat man has been convicted of this crime, but press coverage so sensationalized **the** story that severe **repercussions** resulted. Among others, Native people **in** downtown Fairbanks were harassed, pushed, and had eggs thrown at them, and in Barrow, already strained by the event, accusations and paranoia increased.

Fortunately, most hostility is expressed through verbal baiting and a refusal to mix on the **part** of some within each ethnic group.

Suicide and Mental Illness. Self-destructive behavior is another area frequently associated with social and cultural disruption. In an analysis of suicide and suicide attempts in the North Slope area, **Schall** (no date) analyzed records from 1965 to 1971, Noting that suicide is generally underreported, **Schall listed** four successful suicides between 1965 and 1967 and none from **1968 to 1971.** **There** are **no easily** accessible figures for 1972 to 1975, but from 1975 through **1977** there were seven known suicides. This apparent resurgence after a period of relative dormancy should not be interpreted as anything other than an indication of heightened dynamic social processes impinging on individuals to an extreme degree. **Schall** found **positive** correlations between suicidal behavior and alcohol use at the **time,** loss of a **loved** one, high degree of Inupiat to white blood, previous suicidal behavior in the family, and low family income. R. **Kraus** (quoted **in Schall**) postulated **that self-**destructive behavior is closely related to disruption of **valued** patterns **of** mutual support focused in the Inupiat nuclear family. The suicides in **Schall**'s study all indicated elements of this pattern. **It** is also significant to note that again the young, **ranging in** age from 17 to 35, are most susceptible.

Predictably, in an area where self-destructive behavior is rated high, the **indidence** of psychological illness is also high (see Figure 1). In 1975 the Barrow Hospital Service Unit recorded one of the highest **regional** rates of hospitalization at the **Alaska** Psychiatric Institute in Anchorage with a total of 12 cases--a rate of 4.3/1,000 (**pers. comm.,** Jack McCombs, Alaska Div. **of Mental** Health).

The rate of absenteeism from work and school is another good indicator of adjustment at both the community and individual levels. Absenteeism has been mentioned to the authors as a coping strategy for expressing embarrassment over a mistake, and also more frequently as expression of antipathy towards bosses or co-workers. Complete records of job absenteeism were unavailable except for notations that it was occasionally high especially during peak subsistence seasons. If a person had a record of absenteeism, it was most commonly either morning lateness or blocks of days. Non-Inupiat were reported to miss days sporadically. Associated with this phenomenon is high job mobility for many. The school reports chronic tardiness as a major problem and attributes it to a lack of concern for punctuality and crowded living conditions that make it difficult to get to bed early enough.

Indicators of Positive Change. The preceding discussion has focused principally on negative impact. Too often, positive impacts are overlooked, and areas that could be mitigated are not identified.

As mentioned previously, the Inupiat provided a strong segment of the support and leadership for the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, which was and is a source of immense pride to the majority of the people. From their ranks and with their support a strong voice of the people was heard, and their leaders have proved they can take active roles in national and state issues.

The ability to form new organizations in response to recent events has been critical. When the people start an organization they are generally

very supportive even though they may verbally attack at points in its evolution. Through the Indian Reorganization Act governments, Arctic Slope Native Association, Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, North Slope Borough, and borough **school** district, they have been able to insure that they are capable of responding **to** each new **situation** as **it** arises.

Through this variety of entities, each **with** its **own** constituency and functions, the individual is assured of a platform for his views as well as capable representatives to air those **views** beyond the sociopolitical boundaries which restrict the individual.

The "**Duck In**" is a good example of the solidarity and activism that can be generated against outside interference. At another **level**, the **Inuit Circumpolar** Conference demonstrated the same type of unity across national boundaries. These and similar responses may both derive from and support a **feeling of** autonomy and control, which often leads outsiders **to label** some past and present leaders as "militant" and unreasonable. No Inupiat leader need fear a **lack** of support when dealing with outsiders; however, there is often a good deal of political infighting at home. This has often **led** outside analysts to assume a highly fictionalized population, only to actually encounter a unified front.

To satisfy the need or desire for cash income no longer means **moving** south. Borough, regional and **village** corporations, and **private sector** jobs are more plentiful and pay better than ever before. This **new** economic situation has done much to encourage young people to go beyond high **school** and then return to the village and has also attracted many who

had left the area back. **Roles with real** opportunity and prestige await the Inupiat who **feels** challenged by this change.

These events have allowed the populace to isolate itself from many of the pressures of the **outside world and** carry on **their** traditional lifestyles. New leaders are emerging, and **it** is critical that they retain **community** support while often **having** to work far away from the **life-style** they may seek to protect. **Many** new institutional responses are in process, and it is important to understand: (1) what outside or inside pressure triggers a response; (2) to what extent the response is apparently effective; and (3) to what extent **individuals** are **able to relate** to this response. Indications **are** that **outmigration** of the individual from smaller communities to **larger** and from the **larger** communities to outside the region as described by **Milan** (1954), **Hippier** (1969), and **Bloom** (1972) may be ending. Since 1972 there have been instances where those who had left the area returned, many to work **within** the new institutions. Schools through the twelfth grade now **serve** to keep many families together. There is more employment, At the very least, these trends indicate a new vitality in the communities.

Vigorous efforts **to** retain the Inupiat language may serve as **another thread** in the fabric **which** provides **the** Inupiat **with** a sense of control and participation in the emerging community,

Traditional **food** remains not just as a symbol but as an important dietary item. The role of subsistence foods is immense as it relates not only



to physical health but also to **major** areas of sharing and cooperation within the **community**. Whaling **and** other subsistence activities **are** presently threatened **by** international treaty and national **legislation**, but the Inupiat have strongly and effectively defended their **rights** to their traditional ways against powerful **forces**.

If these events are true indications of the effectiveness of the **Inupiat** **in** dealing with pressure from the **outside world**, it has been achieved through the strength of old and new Institutions and the Inupiat's ability to insulate themselves culturally and personally from the pace of the outside world.



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## GLOSSARY

### **Inuit**

People, **commonly** used in Canada and Greenland, Term currently used to designate the entire **circumpolar population** of Inupiat-Yupik Eskimo.

### **Inupiat**

Real person; term by which the indigenous **population** designate themselves; Eskimo.

### **Kaktovik**

Barter **Island**

### **Karigi**

Communal **or** ceremonial house

### **---miu (miut)**

Post base stem added to a specific geographical **region** meaning inhabitant of i.e., **Nuvugmiut** = **Nuyuk** villager

### **Muktuk**

Whale skin **with** blubber.

### **Nalukataq**

Blanket toss. Generally refers to **Captain's** Feast held in the **summer** sponsored by whaling captains who caught whales,

### **Neqlik (Neglik, Nirlik)**

Aboriginal trading center at the mouth of the **Colville River**.

### **Nunamiut (Nunatarmiut)**

Inhabitants of **land**; inland people, Term by which **Nunamiut** designate themselves.

### **Nuvuk**

Point Barrow

### **Tagiugmiut (Tareumiut)**

Inhabitants of **the** sea; coastal people.

### **Tikigaq (Tigara)**

Point Hope

### **Ugruk**

Bearded seal

### **Umealik**

(Literally having an **umiak**). A rich person; whaling captain,

### **Umiak (umiaq)**

Large skin boat.

**Umialgich**

Rich people. Whaling captains.

**Utqkeavik**

Barrow

**Uuliktaq**

**Qliktok.** Aboriginal trading site.

**---vik**

Post base stem meaning place, i.e., Kaktovik = sei ning place.

Yupik

Southern group speaking a distinctive language from Inupiat; collectively classified with Inupiat in English as Eskimo,