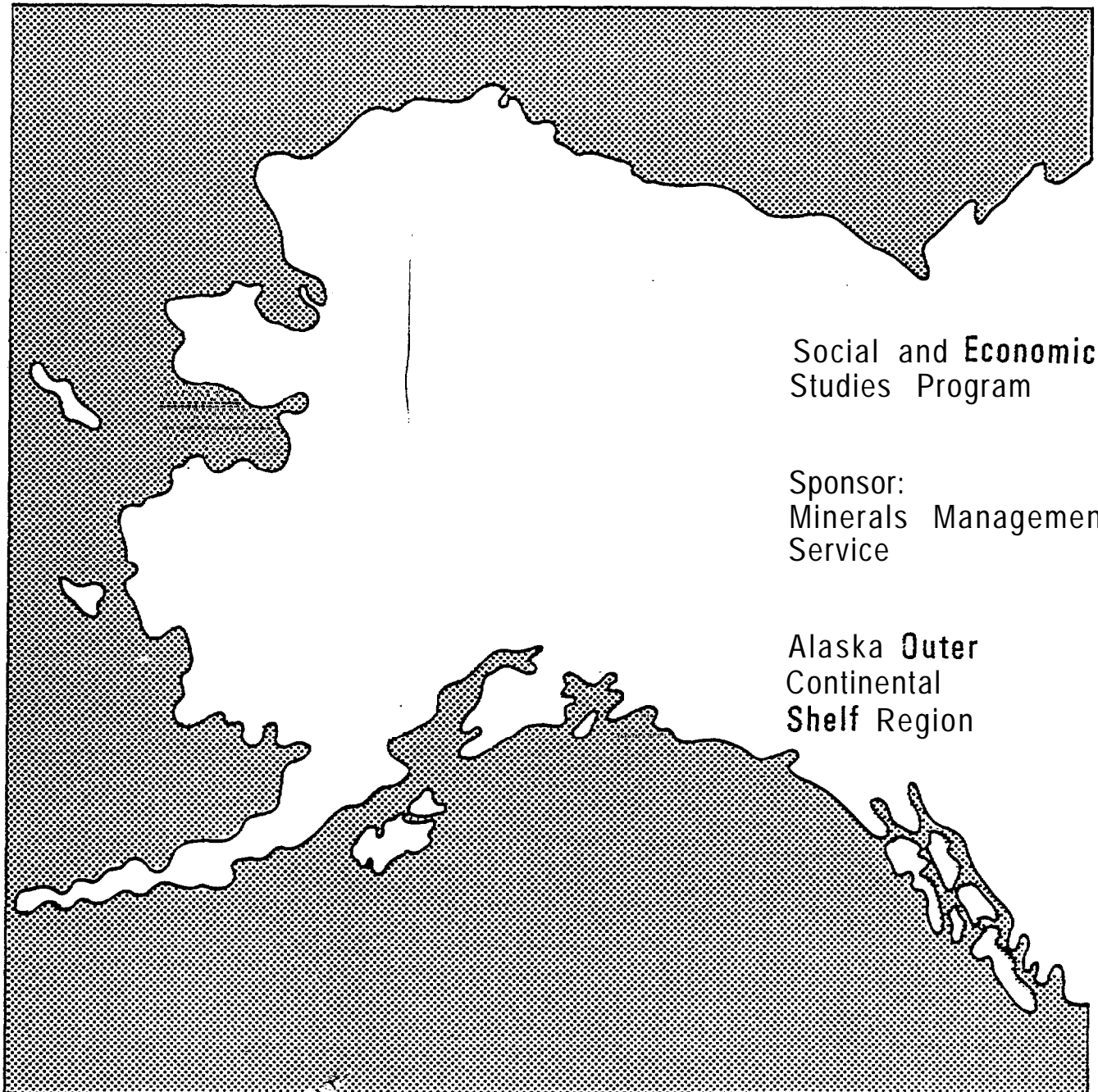


Technical Report
Number 74



**CHUKCHI SEA SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEMS
BASELINE ANALYSIS**

TECHNICAL REPORT NO. 74

Contract No. AA851 - CT0-58

ALASKA OCS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES PROGRAM

CHUKCHI SEA SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEMS
BASELINE ANALYSIS

Prepared by

CULTURAL DYNAMICS, LTD.

Prepared for

MINERALS MANAGEMENT SERVICE
ALASKA OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF REGION

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NOTICE

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Alaska OCS Social and Economic Studies Program
Chukchi Sea Sociocultural Systems. Baseline Analysis

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEIDC	Arctic Environmental Information and Data Center
AFDC	Aid to Families with Dependent Children
ANCSA	Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act
ANHS	Alaska Native Health Service
AVEC	Alaska Village Electric Cooperative
ASHA	Alaska State Housing Authority
ASRC	Arctic Slope Regional Corporation
AEWC	Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
BLM	Bureau of Land Management
CETA	Comprehensive Employment Training Act
CZM	Coastal Zone Management
DEIS	Draft Environmental Impact Statement
DEW	Distant Early Warning
EMS	Emergency Medical Service
FAA	Federal Aviation Administration
FY	Fiscal Year
KIC	Kikiktaguruk Inupiat Corporation
NANA	Northwest Alaska Native Association
NSB	North Slope Borough
NWASD	Northwest Arctic School District
Ocs	Outer Continental Shelf
OEDP	Overall Economic Development Plan
REAA	Rural Education Attendance Area

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(continued)

SESP	Social and Economic Studies Program
USGS	United States Geological Survey
USPHS	United States Public Health Service
UTA	United Tribes of Alaska

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This report is about the people in northwestern Alaska who live from Deering to **Kivalina**. It includes eleven villages and approximately 5,000 people located within the boundaries of the Northwest Alaska Native Association (NANA) region. This baseline description was written to provide background information for later study of likely responses to potential Outer Continental Shelf (**OCS**) exploration and other developments related to Lease Sale 85, the Barrow Arch, scheduled for 1985.

As one of a series of studies in the Alaska Social and Economic Studies Program, the report contributes to the knowledge of the distinctive cultural orientations of the people in this particular area of Alaska. It also adds to the development of methodologies for understanding the human capacity to respond to changing **conditions**.

This report should be of special interest to three distinct groups:

1. The **Inupiat** who, by reading and correcting the study, may come to new understanding about themselves. Their perceptions may serve to further strengthen their ability to respond creatively to the modifications facing their way of life.

2. Government and industry decision makers who may be encouraged **to** be more **fully** aware of how their decisions may **affect** people in **their** traditional physical and social environment.

3. The personnel in the OCS Program who **are** charged with preparing environmental impact statements. By drawing, in part, on reports such as this, **it** is hoped they will **be** better able **to alert** the **public** to the long--range costs and benefits of potential lease sales.

Major Findings

The results most important for our understanding of the cultures of the study area are **listed** here in abbreviated form. They are documented in the body of the report, and the relevance they may have to future developments is briefly summarized in the last chapter. These findings emerged from the joint efforts of two major researchers, **N. Davis** and **S. McNabb**, through the combination of perspectives gained from the literature and the special insights which can only occur through firsthand field experience, talking with **local** people, and being personally educated by their views as residents in the area.

Northwest Alaska is a diverse geographic region encompassing both coastal and **riverine Inupiat** communities. **We have found:**

- Strong village identities persist, complemented by continuing **intervillage** ties.

- The increase in populations of the coastal **communities** is slightly greater than the increase in **riverine** villages.
- Social, kinship and ceremonial boundaries are different from the political boundaries recently drawn.

Eskimo social organization is a complex blend of traditional and modern cultural institutions:

- Family and kinship continue to be major organizing features of contemporary **Inupiat** life.
- Traditional family relationships are reflected in namesakes and adoption patterns.
- Grandparent/grandchild ties may be enhanced by some modernization processes.
- Child-raising methods especially appropriate for hunting and fishing societies continue to be practiced.
- The recent emphasis on the elders is a conscious effort to create new cultural patterns and build on **old** ones.
- Church affiliations are strong and influence ceremonial cycles and politics.
- Recent increased stratification in Native relationships 'seem to cause greater concern to village **Inupiat** than changes in Native/non-Native relations.
- Mobility in and out of villages, camps, regions, schools, and jobs may be an effective pattern for managing "**Inupiatness**" in the modern world.

Western institutional influences, particularly in the form of services and physical facilities, have accelerated in the past decade.

- The schools have become **major** sources of employment.
- **The** number of housing units increased 50% between 1970 and 1980 in the NANA Region. This growth and its associated costs may have permanent, region-wide effects on **social** and economic relationships.
- Communication **and** transportation systems have facilitated contact between families, communities and regions.

The study area includes divergent **political** entities whose various **levels** complicate the distribution of power.

- Traditional relationships between the sacred and secular leadership continue to balance political relationships.
- Women have become increasingly active in the political arena.
- **In 1981, little** information about Outer Continental **Shelf** development or Coastal Zone Management was available in the villages.
- Themes established early in the history of NANA Corporation, Incorporated, continue as regional goals.

Economic organization incorporates and integrates long-established subsistence resource utilization with wage and cash activities.

- The main sea mammal harvests in the study area appear to be: beluga (Buckland), bearded seal (Kotzebue), and hair seal (Kivalina).
- Partnerships between couples and between communities continue to influence economic activities.
- Converting surplus subsistence into other goods continues through traditional channels and customary trade patterns.
- e Men prefer **to** stay home **to** work for lower wages rather than leave their families for higher pay.
- e Families with a tradition in a particular occupational role tend to have a continuing interest in that line of work.
- The mix of cash with subsistence is a basic pattern established long ago.
- The NANA region may be amenable to future industrial development because of a combination of traditional values and recent events.

Format of the Report

First, the physical, historical and cultural context of the study area is introduced. These are very special human groups with unusual experiences in the modern world and with unique ways of responding and integrating differing cultural elements. To understand how they are special, the people must be viewed within the context of

their environment and history. This placement allows an **under-**standing **of** community variations and should **help alert** us to the likelihood **of** different responses to future changes (see Figures 1 - 3).

Next, a discussion of **social** organization leads topical discussions of the special arrangements that people have with one another. In **this** pervasive dimension, the **Inupiat** way of **life** seems most **per-**sistent and resilient. The emphasis selected for this study is kinship.

A chapter on services and facilities addresses the extensions of modern culture into what used to be an isolated Eskimo world. Through educational, health, transportation and communications systems, the outside world is modifying and **reshaping** life, and in some instances, offering opportunities and alternatives not **pre-**viously available. An important part of today's Eskimo culture is the **local** response to these **Western** services and facilities that have come in so many forms.

To deal with these external influences, new political organizations have developed. They reflect some traditional continuity and constraints on formal allocation of authority to **single** individuals; they **also** constitute the institutionalization of new political arrangements. The directions these organizations take **will** create a

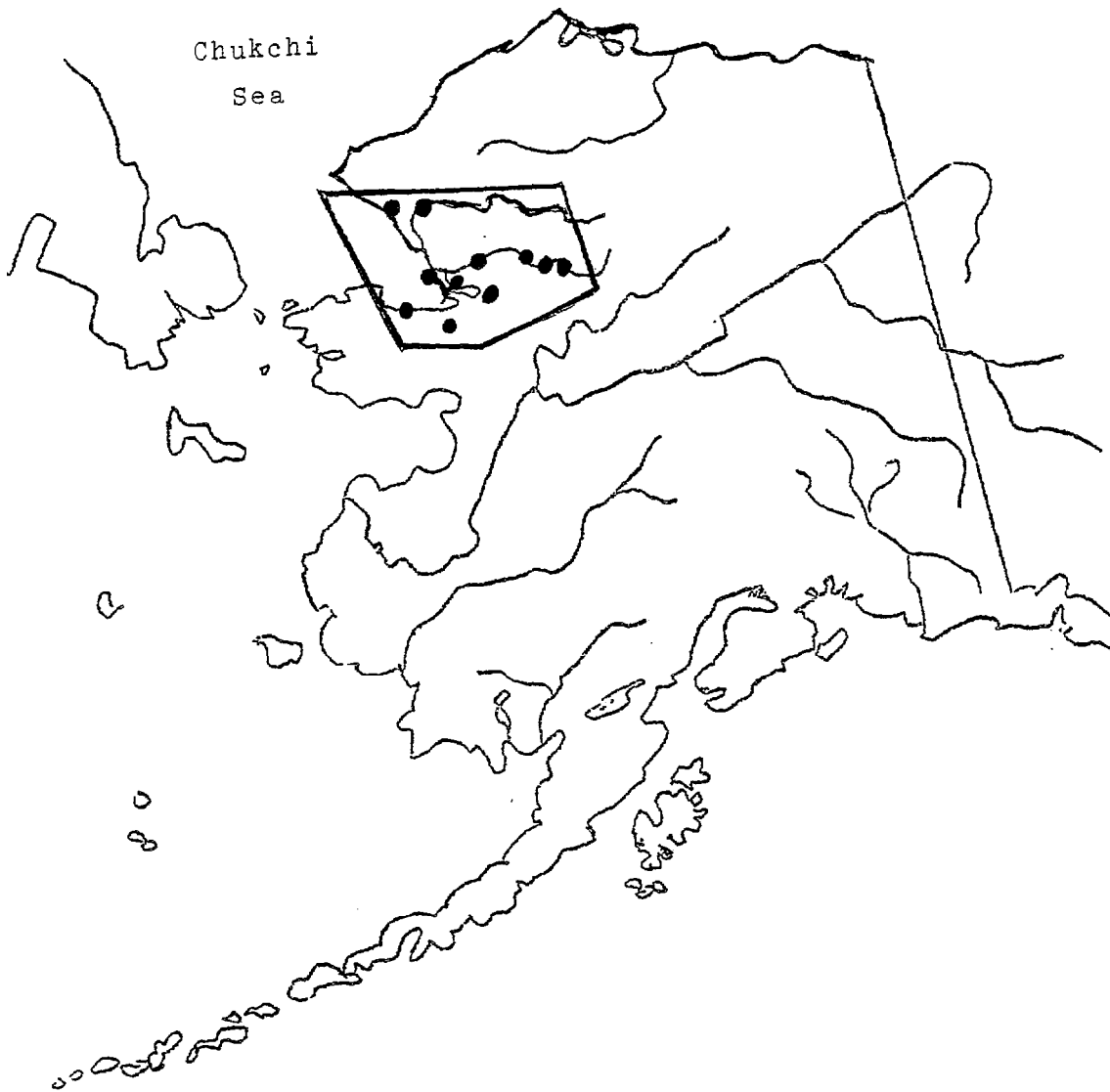


Figure 1
The Study Area

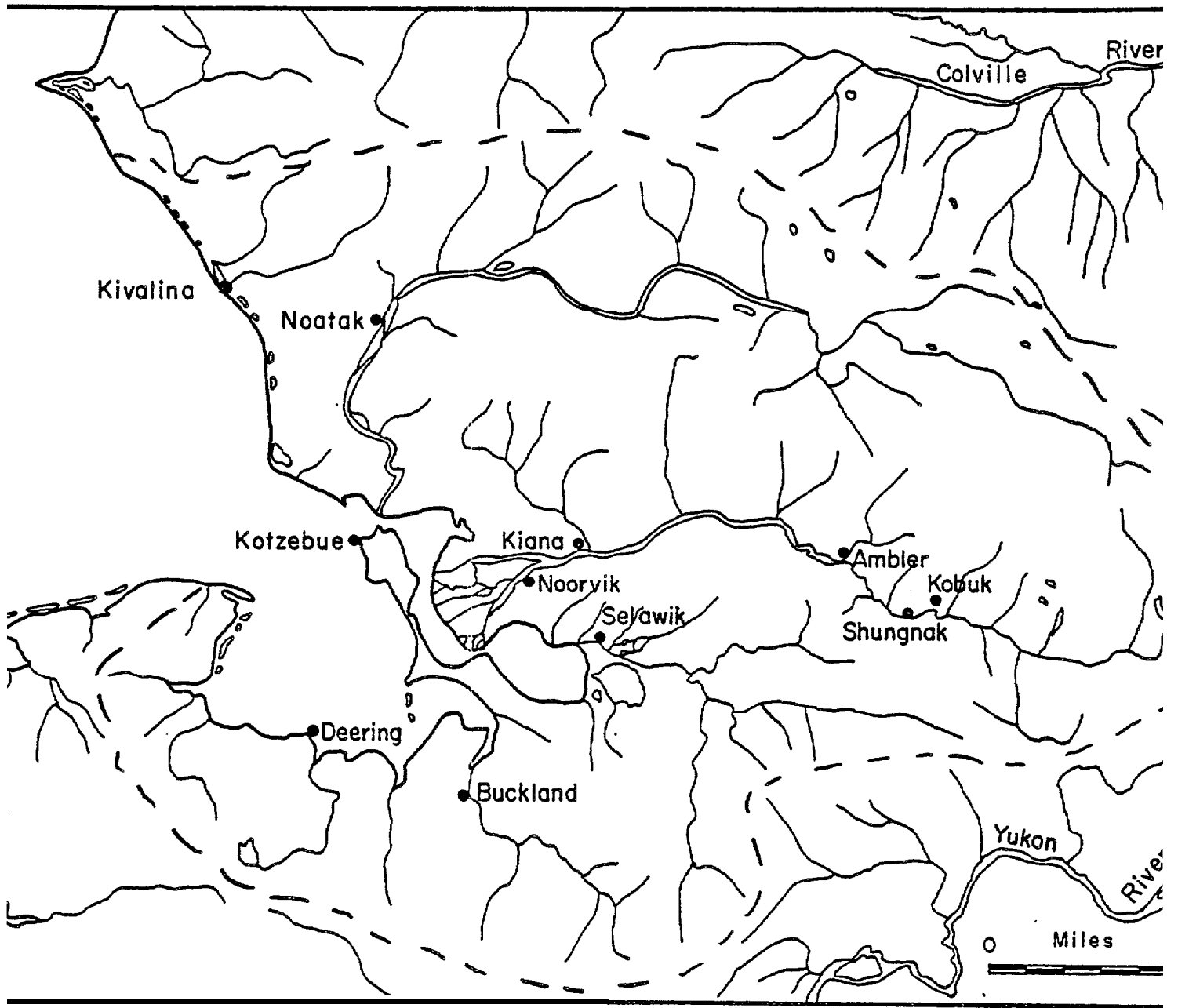


Figure 2

Communities in the Study Area

Source: Burch, E.S., 1982

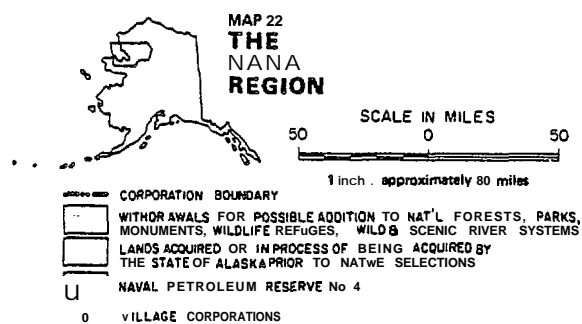
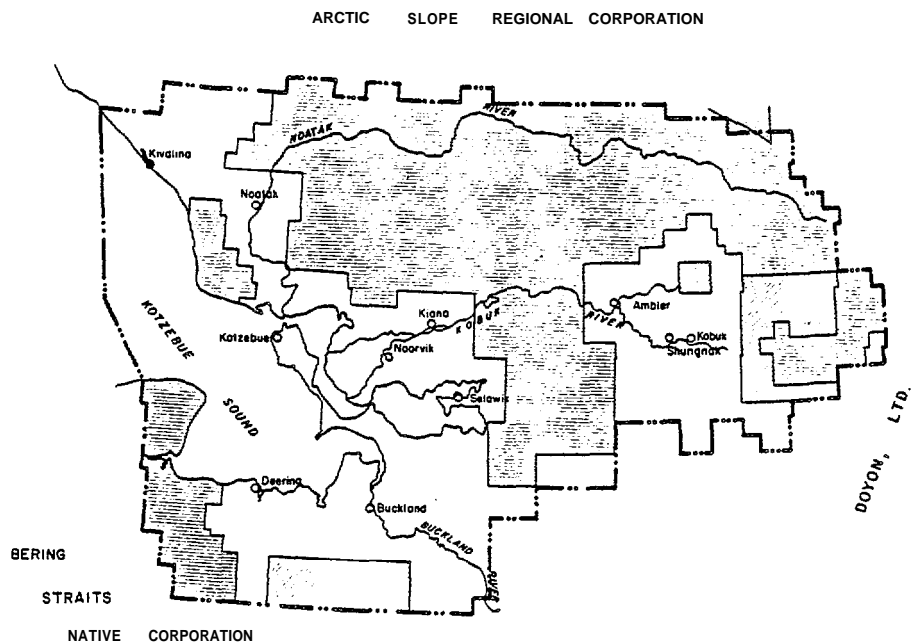


Figure 3

The NANA Region

Source: Arnold. 1976. Alaska Native Land Claims.

climate that is **likely** to influence future response to development.

The chapter on economic organization and change reviews **Inupiat** integration of traditional values, modern technology, wage earning opportunities and new boundaries and regulations. In this chapter, the significance of **Inupiat** social organization, the impact of services and facilities, and the implications of political directions are drawn together to provide a new synthesis **of** understanding concerning likely responses to future opportunities for change.

A final chapter on trends and directions summarizes the **major** findings documented throughout the report, and adds suggestions concerning **their** implications for **the** future.

Assumptions

Underlying this report are some conscious suppositions by the researcher. First of all, the author's **clear** bias is **this**:

The **people** are unquestionably the most important part of the environment.

Second, the concept of culture is a productive and comprehensive tool for thinking about and understanding people. Included in this concept are the following constructs:

- The idea that culture is a special whole design for living that shapes and directs human behavior in flexible, creative ways.
- Cultures do not change by a known formula with predictable direction.
- Much of the rate of culture change is related to several elements: the relative strength of the connections which hold the parts together; the nature of internal modifications occurring through normal processes of adaptation; the extent and intensity of externally introduced changes; and, the underlying values which influence the direction of responses (see Davis 1978:18).

Other, more technical assumptions made throughout the research include:

- Historical documents provide important information about the traditional cultural systems of the area.
- Ethnographic accounts sharpen our awareness of the cultural variations within the study area.
- Perceptive field observations by trained researchers and topical discussions with knowledgeable local residents provide critical insights into current conditions.

Methodology

RESEARCH PERSONNEL

The principal investigator, Nancy Yaw **Davis**, brought to **this** research a general knowledge of Alaska Native culture change. Although **temporarily** located outside the state, she has followed Native developments since 1960 and has had **field** experience in a number of different rural areas; both her **M.A.** and **Ph.D.** were based on Alaska research. Recent work includes previous OCS contracts resulting in Technical Report #15 on Historical Indicators (1978), and Technical Report #41 on Kodiak Native **Sociocultural** Systems (1979).

Steve **McNabb**, the research associate on this contract, brought to the project an academic background as a doctoral candidate at Brown University, a history of knowledge of NANA and of experience in the Region beginning in 1975. He has worked in the region on alcoholism problems, Native English proficiency, educational needs, and has taught courses at the community college. Marianne **McNabb** also contributed from **her** previous research on the **Kobuk** and her current observations of **Kotzebue**.*

***Wherever** these authors' names appear in the body of this report without standard bibliographic reference, it **may** be assumed that the material was prepared as part of the subcontract for this study.

William E. Davis edited the original draft, responded to the review comments, added some analytical and descriptive material and edited the final report.

The sole responsibility for assessment of major findings, the synthesis, and the writing of this report remains with Cultural Dynamics, Ltd., with N. Davis as principal investigator.

RESEARCH PROCESS

Four integrated steps were involved in this research process. The sequence is reported in greater detail in the monthly progress reports to the Social and Economics Studies Program, beginning in September 1980. The following is a brief summary.

Organization

The organization of tasks and topics prepared for the proposal focused the research in areas requested in the Request for Proposal (RFP). The range of topics was holistic and comprehensive, beyond what ultimately could be addressed in detail. However, the initial organizational table provided a guide for the kind of information that was sought; and it was referred to as an indicator of where gaps in our information might exist.

McNabb addressed the villages from Deering to Kotzebue, including the Kobuk villages, and Davis included Kotzebue and four villages and a military site north. Many telephone conversations were held throughout the contract period, and in-person meetings to coordinate activities and compare insights were held in September and November 1980 and in February, May, July and August during 1981.

Literature Review

The process of preparing the chart of organization for the tasks assisted the selective review of the literature, the second step. For example, more attention was given to the subsistence reports than to early historical records. The scarcity of any reference to certain recent developments led to inclusion of these topics in field discussions. The literature accumulation and review continued throughout the research period and was impressive in volume. The strengths of the published material include the level of scholarship this area has received; the weakness is how little about contemporary life can be learned from it.

Field Research

The greatest emphasis in the field research was to supplement the current literature in areas where the review indicated this was needed (especially contemporary issues). For village-based interviews, topics included intervillage ties and visiting patterns,

values of village living, local perceptions of change, and Native/non-Native relationships. In Kotzebue, topics tended to be more institution-specific. Preparation for field research included writing to key personnel in the regions, preliminary discussions to explain the project, and reading site-specific reports.

An effort was made to plan field trips to intercept some of the key meetings held annually in the region. For example, McNabb attended the Health, Education and Social Service meetings in October 1980, the NANA Regional Strategy meeting in January 1981, and the Fourth of July events in Kotzebue in 1981. Davis intercepted the end of the 1981 February Elders Conference in Kotzebue, the 1981 February Alaska Eskimo Whaling Captains' Conference in Barrow, and the 1981 May school carnival in Noatak.

Difficulties encountered included the usual: unpredictable weather, cancelled flights, and limited field time. Nevertheless, a range of new information and perspectives were gained. In an assignment such as this, time in the field can be devoted to a wide range of efforts, so flexibility and spontaneity were required, necessary, and unusually productive.

Two trips to Alaska were made by Davis in the fall of 1980 after the contract period began, but under other funding. The first trip

with OCS funding was between January 29 and February 21, 1981, to Juneau, Anchorage, Kotzebue, Barrow and Fairbanks. At that time, several state officials, officers of the North Slope Borough, Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, NANA and Maniilaq were contacted. Other meetings in Kotzebue included the mayor, elders and school district personnel.

During a second trip May 2 - 25, Kotzebue, Barrow and Cape Lisburne and three villages were visited. In the villages, ten general topics were discussed, though conversations extended far beyond. Some of the people met in February were met again in Kotzebue and Barrow, and follow-up discussions were held.

During two days in Noatak, eight informal household discussions were held, including the IRA Council president and vice-president, store manager, health aide, school employee and fee agent. During three days in Kivalina, 15 discussions were held, including the city administrator, mayor, chairman of the Maniilaq Board, a CZM board member, school board member, two school employees, a church leader, postmistress and three whaling captains.

Subsequent to the trips and the preparation of this report, the Social and Economic Studies Program requested the analysis concentrate on the NANA region. To comply with this request, references to the

North Slope have been deleted from the final version, although many of the insights gained by the field research and discussion time with residents in the Pt. Hope and Barrow areas contributed to the principal author's understanding of contemporary **Inupiat** life.

McNabb was better known in the NANA region and built his **field** time around previous contacts. In addition to numerous interviews in Kotzebue, including follow-up discussions, he visited four villages. In **Selawik**, he contacted **19** persons, including commercial fishermen, agricultural staff, IRA Council and city council members, store owners, elders and the chief of police. In Deering, his interviewing concentrated on both reindeer herding and commercial fisheries, and included the mayor and school board members. In **Buckland**, **McNabb** held a successful town meeting with 19 village residents. The focus was on **beluga** hunting, sharing and regional distribution patterns. In **Kiana**, he **talked** with elders who had worked in mining, and others involved with the topics noted above.

An effort to coordinate general topics of discussion led to comparable data from **all** the villages visited. Although **field** techniques varied because of our differing experience, background and personality, the quality of our resulting insights indicates each gathered the kinds of information needed for this baseline report.

Analysis and Synthesis

The fourth phase of the methodological sequence was the most **difficult**: the analysis of what was learned from **the** literature and **field** research leading to the subsequent synthesis reported here. Sometimes "new" ideas were found to be reported elsewhere, and not "new" at **all**. Other times, what appeared **valid** on one village **could** not be documented in another. As careful as the research record has been, there is still much room for hunches, each of which needs to be more thoroughly documented.

This report, while area-specific, presents a synthesis that points the way for consideration of **larger** implications. Clearly, this is not a general theory of Alaskan Native culture change; at the same time, **it** presents a basic description of the area that **will allow** potential changes from **OCS** development to be charted. In this respect, it is critical to note that the verbatim quotes are not anecdotal but village-based expressions of wider concerns which capture the residents' way of saying important things. A quote or an example is not used unless it represents larger issues and says something qualitatively important and perceptive.

Constantly during the synthesis, the question was **asked**:

Is this theme isolated in a particular village or are there data enough to state that the trend is **characteristic** of NANA as a **whole**, or can this even be seen as a part of **Inupiat** modern culture?

Since all communities were not visited (the "universe" was not available), every generalization must be qualified. But constant qualification detracts from the insights gained in the search for consistent patterns, which is what this report is all about.

DATA LIMITATIONS

The information presented in this report has many limitations. Most important are those having to do with quantitative data. For example, census data has become increasingly suspect in recent years. A decade ago, the problem of the **undercounting** of Native Alaskans was pointed out (Rogers 1971) yet similar problems remained in 1980 (McNabb 1981).

Similar limitations apply to the available subsistence data. With respect to harvest figures gathered by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (1978), some are now judged "highly unreliable" (SESP 1982). Further, to understand the interconnection of subsistence activities with other forms of economic behavior requires long-term comparative data. As noted by the OCS SESP Program, itself:

"Users of this report need to know that each development in the NANA Region which might impact subsistence will require thoughtful analysis specific to the communities affected at that time. Such analysis will involve variables of human perception difficult to predict specifically in the long term" (SESP 1982).

For the clearest statement of the limitations inherent in this kind of contracted research, see Ellanna (1980:17-21). Many of **the** same difficulties constrained this report.

Definitions

Only three definitions are deemed necessary for this report.

CULTURE

As noted earlier, culture is a **whole** design **for living** that shapes and directs the special nature of human behavior. It consists of many interrelated parts, some of which are more closely connected to each other than **others**, and some of which are especially resistant to change. For instance, a pervasive aspect **of village** culture is kinship relations. One approach to understanding the **whole** of a village culture is to start with kinship and investigate how and where **family** connections intercept other major social segments. In this way, the special design for living and its variations **lead to** an overall understanding of the group. For this report, it helps identify **likely** direction of changes in the future.

To understand the **local** contemporary Alaskan Native village **life**, one must extend that village far beyond its physical boundaries.

A village is no longer an autonomous unit, but it is, rather, a set of relationships whose whole includes connections of varying degrees to other communities, to the regional town, and beyond. To understand Northwest village culture, one must understand its connections across time and space.

TRADITION

Several theoretical positions exist about the meaning of "tradition" in the cultural context. The following clarification is offered: Tradition is often perceived as passive, something that constrains change; it is seen as providing a conservative guide for the way things ought to be, with the implication that things ought to be the way they used to be. Redfield and his followers viewed tradition primarily as a force preventing change, and as a kind of cultural storage device. Tradition in this sense may appear irrational, as an emotional response of what ought to be done; but it may also promote the internal solidarity of a group, especially needed during threatening times. Associated with this idea is a notion that whatever is traditional will disappear as cultures become modern (see Shanklin 1981 for an excellent discussion).

In modernization theory, tradition is perceived as a point on the way to modernity, giving change processes direction. Tradition in

this usage is active in shaping what is accepted as new, and what is coming into being. An example would be the revival of traditions and using them when it is politically expedient to enhance the identity of an ethnic group. Placing emphasis on the Inupiat language can be seen as an attempt to heighten self-awareness of a person's Inupiat membership in the face of rapid change. Bilingual programs then become new traditions as a part of modernization. Tradition can be used in adjusting to new reality by reorganizing behavior to be more in tune with changed external conditions. Traditions in this theoretical sense are constantly being innovated; they involve the growing of new patterns out of old in response to the changing world.

The definition of tradition used in this report combines both ideas:

A tradition is learned behavior that may function to constrain cultural change or may function to expedite it, giving change direction.

This definition allocates to the concept both active and passive dimensions. It is used here primarily to demonstrate where pre-modern behavior persists in present day Inupiat life, providing it with both a dynamic, ongoing adaptive part and with new, emerging cultural patterns.

To illustrate, **along** the **Kobuk** a long-time activity was meeting for spring sport games. Visiting included the giving of gifts and the exchange of prestige items between partners and between villages. In the old days, the means of transportation was primarily dog teams. This tradition of village **get-togethers** has been adapted and expanded to include the Friends Church Quarterly Meeting and the annual meeting of NANA shareholders. Visiting and exchanges **still** occur, although snowmobiles and charter airplane flights now provide the way for people to get from one location to another. Thus, a previous pattern of spring visiting between villages has been continued and adapted to include both sacred and secular modern activities. By combining an established tradition with new ways, a continuing Eskimo identity is validated for those who attend.

In sum, a tradition can be passive and refer **to** what used to be, or a tradition can be an active ingredient in what is now and what is coming to be.

VALUES

Values are those tenets of culture that shape choices to alternatives, influence response to experiences, and **label** behavior as good or bad. They are the learned "sense" of rightness or **wrongness**, of proper being and behaving. Values are powerful determinants in life, Eskimo or otherwise.

Part **of the** power of values lies in the fact they are learned so thoroughly that they are difficult to unlearn even when they cease **to** be valuable for the continuity of a group. Most people are not **fully** conscious of the **value** systems which direct **their** behavior. **Values** dictate commitments for positive or negative action; they imbue decisions with a sense of "rightness" or "wrongness." Because **values** so pervasively **underly** culture and **are so** deeply embedded in thoughts, actions and decisions, **it** is difficult to be precise about them. Like traditions, values provide a screening device for change; they influence acceptance and its rate, or rejection and its weight.

In this report, an attempt is made to sharpen an awareness of each of these conceptual levels: culture, the whole framework for distinctive human behavior; traditions, the behavioral acts which are the physical evidence of the culture; and values, the pillars which **tend** support and direction to those **acts**.

Ethical Considerations

'An ethical dilemma arises whenever writing a report of this nature: How many of the insights gained about Native affairs and the dynamics of living in Northwest Alaska should be made **public** in a written **form**? How **shall** the investigator determine which information

is too private to be a part of the report? Which insights will assist those most concerned in understanding contemporary Eskimo life?

My basic commitment is to knowledge and making ideas available. How others respond, use, or misunderstand this report is beyond my control, but not beyond my caring. I sincerely hope I have not violated confidences nor individual privacy in this attempt to write a baseline report.

A special word of thanks is warmly sent to the residents of the Northwest who took the time and the risk of trying to educate the researchers, trusting this report would be as accurate and sensitive to the special Inupiat way of life as Outside researchers can be under the many constraints inevitably a part of such an endeavor.

This report is presented with the sincerest hope that it will help form a foundation for a deeper and broader understanding between peoples.

Literature Resources

Six different kinds of references are available for this region of the North. Although many resources are valuable documents for

comprehending what happened in the past, and for thinking about local response to the costs and benefits of future developments, little can be learned from them concerning contemporary village cultural life. These secondary resources are only briefly discussed here in order to give more attention to the insights that evolved during the field work.

BASIC REFERENCES

These include the anthropological accounts addressing the general area (Oswalt 1967, 1979); descriptions of traditional societies and how they changed (Burch 1975a); and more specific area studies, such as VanStone (1962a) on Pt. Hope, Spencer (1959) primarily on Barrow (with reference to groups south), and Smith (1966) on Kotzebue. These texts are the most comprehensive discussions of the whole culture (See Burch 1979a for a research guide).

VILLAGE-SPECIFIC STUDIES

Data from a number of village-specific investigations has been accumulating over the last 15 years. For example, the village surveys which provided the Federal Field Committee with information for their report (1968); the Arctic Environmental Information and Data Center community profiles (1976); BIA summaries (1965) and a few village surveys (1968, 1969, 1973); housing

application forms (1968); school enrollment figures and the water and sewer surveys (1980). These tend to provide descriptive detail of physical facilities and of the changing numbers of people. Rarely is a comment about the special way of village life mentioned.

PLANNING DOCUMENTS

In more recent years, planning and associated documents have come in vogue. They reflect a relatively new development in the United States -- assessing what is and what might be. The kinds of thinking that are associated with consciously shaping a future more wisely, with more awareness of the possible consequences of decision alternatives, have only recently been applied to frontier areas like Alaska. Here we include the recent Coastal Zone Management (CZM) Plans; the NANA Regional Strategy Plans; Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission recommendations (1979); and the U.S. Department of Interior/Bureau of Land Management Northwest Planning Analysis (1981 b).

A comprehensive compilation of information about the area (made available in the mid-1970s) can be found in volume V of Alaska Regional Profiles prepared by the Arctic Environmental Information and Data Center and L. Selkregg for the State of Alaska and the Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission. Under the section

on **the** man-made environment, this volume includes basic information on the **people** (history, **population**, economy and government.), **land** (status and existing use), and **services** (-transportation, communication and community facilities).

GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED STUDIES

A number of documents have been prepared **in** connection with mineral and petroleum development on Federal lands. For example, the National Petroleum Reserve Area studies done by the National Park Service and published by the United States Geological Survey (USGS 1979), familiarly known as the 105(b) and 105(c) reports in reference to the sections **of** the statute that required their completion. Another example is the data generated by the **OCS** Program; some information about the people of the region is found in Socioeconomic Technical Reports, especially #53 and #54.

Another example of government-sponsored research occurring in the mid- to **late-1970s** is the historical site and land use studies, including specific subsistence studies by **the** National Park Service. Especially valuable are the reports by **Eisler** (1978); **Uhl** and **Uhl** (1977, 1979); and Anderson, et. al. (1977). Most of the emphasis was on documenting evidence of human use of the land and its resources; for instance, graphs of which resource is taken at what time of year are available in these studies.

An example of work sponsored by a state agency is the Coastal Zone Management research. **McNabb's CZM** report (Social Research Institute 1982) addresses the major conditions, trends, and characteristics of the NANA area; it brings together much current information. To eliminate duplication, where his CZM work covers topics that are also a part of this **OCS** report, reference only is made to it. For example, his section on historical demography provides the detail needed to document the mobility of people, referred to in this report. His section on subsistence gives special data on clustering of villages, noted here in Chapter VI. Topics in his section on social life overlap three chapters of this report: social organizations, services and facilities, and political organization. Finally, **McNabb's** section on cultural change and persistence lends support to certain trends also reported here.

REGIONAL AND LOCALLY SPONSORED STUDIES

There are several region-specific studies, such as the NANA survey (**Mauneluk and Northrim 1979**); **Kruse (1981)**; the **Mauneluk Health Plan (1979)**, the Overall Economic Development Plan (1980), the Draft of NANA Regional Strategy (**1982**) and the NANA Shareholder Annual Reports and News Letters. Each of these contributes toward understanding some specialized aspects of the region.

Another source of information is the newspapers and periodicals that address Northwestern Alaskan matters. For example, the **Alaska Native Management Report** told of major developments between 1972 and **1978**. The **Tundra Times (1962-)** tended for many years to report **little** on the NANA region, although the great controversies that developed on the Arctic **Slope** were covered. Little in-depth information about village life is found here, though NANA was figured prominently during **1981**. For several years (1976-1980), **Mauneluk Reports** was distributed out of **Kotzebue**; it reflected the development and history of programs **during** that time. The **less** comprehensive and more infrequent **NANA (1980-)** continues to cover some events in the region. The **NANA Region Corporation Newsletter** and the **Arctic Coastal Zone Management Newsletter** (now issued as the **Arctic Policy Review**) cover some key developments.

Overall, none of these resources provides a picture of the region from a contemporary cultural perspective that consolidates the data into a **single** approach. Each is valuable in its own way, but each has its drawbacks. For instance, the ethnographic work (Spencer, Burch, **Oswalt**, Smith, VanStone) **is dated**; the environmental assessments (USGS) are concerned **mainly** with natural resources; the **AEIDC** work with physical facilities.

CHAPTER 11. THE STUDY AREA

This chapter places the people of the study area in the context of their physical location, history, and demography. Since so much has already been written about the area, most of the chapter is a summary of previous research efforts; sources are identified where greater detail can be found if more specific information is desired. Because information is readily available, much is not repeated here; the interested reader is urged to consult the sources cited for additional discussion.

Historical Background

The northwest coast of Alaska has been inhabited for at least 10,000 years. A discussion of the prehistory is available in the Regional Profiles (Vol. V:182-196). For greater detail, consult Workman (1972) and Bandi (1972:99-127). The most important archaeological sites appear to be Onion Portage, Cape Krusenstern, and Tiagara. A detailed mapping of historical sites can be found in Burch (1981) and Anderson (1977).

The traditional social order appears to have had two common properties: extensive physical mobility and relatively small, self-sufficient family units (Burch 1982). There is evidence that the mobility of the people is a characteristic that extends long into

the **prehistory** of the North. For example, the similarity between a **Kobuk River site (Ekseavik)** and the artifact types found **at Thetis Island** in the **Beaufort Sea** (dating approximately 1400 A.D.) suggests considerable movement **of ideas**, people and cultural **traits** across northern **Alaska** and beyond (**Hall 1981:72**).

Oswalt (1967) designated 21 Alaskan Eskimo tribes in the entire state. Four **of** these are found in the study **area**: the **Kovagmiut, Malemiut, Selawikmiut** and **Noatagmiut**, which are generalized terms probably including a number of subgroups. **Burch** (1980), reconstructing the distribution for the period 1816-1842, identified 25 traditional groups in northwest Alaska; ten of these are included in the study area. **Burch** called his groupings "societies" but **Ray** (1967; **1975b**) uses the term "tribes." **McNabb** (1982), noting that many of the names are merely descriptive, suggests the **labels** may not necessarily connote strictly bounded societies. For instance, the name for the people **living** on the Upper **Kobuk** means "people at the head of the **Kobuk**;" **McNabb** suggests this is like "uptown" or "downtown" and not a **solid** social designator. The most important thing to understand is where the **Inupiat**, themselves, saw separate entities.

Contact with white, Western individuals began over a century ago. The sequence of historical contacts is well-documented (see **Ray 1975a** and **b**; **VanStone 1962b**, 1977, 1980; **Bockstoce 1977a** and **b**; **Burch 1972**, 1980; and **McNabb 1982**). An especially concise

history is available in VanStone's recent analysis (1980) of materials collected from the Kotzebue Sound area.

The initial series of contacts came in the first half of the 19th century and included **Kotzebue** in 1821, **Beechey** in 1831, and a number of expeditions in search of the missing Franklin party in the 1850s. Following transfer of Alaska to the United States, exploration continued. The whaling trade brought **Westerners** to the coast. The government engaged in mapping and scientific studies; for example, Navy Lt. **Stoney's** expeditions to the **Kobuk** and **Noatak** Rivers in the 1880s.

A period of establishment of Western institutions followed. Church missions and schools were the major social structures introduced during the early 1900s, although elements such as employment for wages and reindeer husbandry may have done more, initially, to interrupt traditional hunting and gathering patterns (Spencer 1959).

Opinions differ as to how disruptive the historical contacts were. Some investigators, notably **Burch** (1980), contend that these intrusions -- combined with natural events, such as caribou population fluctuations -- eliminated whole segments of the people and culture. Other researchers, like **McNabb** (1982) find extensive migration and -- while admitting population decimation, especially from disease -- doubt that wholesale catastrophes caused such dire consequences.

Another point to consider is that some of the destructive things that happened to the people in the late 19th century may have been balanced by certain positive experiences. For instance, increased trading opportunities and an expanded availability of goods may be aspects that countered some of the negative conditions, such as the diminution of the caribou. For the established entrepreneurs of the Kotzebue area, the late 19th century could have been a heyday.

In any case, as disruptive as some of the events were, the Eskimo culture did not die. Instead, it proved to be impressively resilient in the face of adversity and clearly adaptable to changes such as new opportunities for trade and wage earning.

A parallel can be drawn between events of a century ago and those of today. More recent events include statehood, land claims, rural education, the formation of local governments, the proliferation of external agencies, and a new flow of money, goods, and people. There has not been time enough to evaluate what these events may have done, but they certainly involve more people simultaneously than anything that occurred before 1960. The consequences of the introduction of guns in the 1850s pale in comparison to the extensiveness of the introduction of new housing, whale quotas, caribou hunting restrictions, corporation formation and agency involvement.

Demography

As stated above, the residents of northwest Alaska have long engaged in extensive movement throughout the arctic. These were hunters, fishers and gatherers, and they required and enjoyed far greater movement than the more sedentary, agriculturally-based Native Americans to the south.

The traditional names, estimated sizes, and dates of Western contact for the period between 1816 and 1842, as reconstructed by Burch (1980), are given in Table 1. Other studies that have considered the question of the distribution of the people, and the boundaries of their territories, are Larsen (1973), Gubser (1965), Burch (1974), Nelson (1974), and Clark (1974). The relationships of Eskimos to Indians also have been investigated (Anderson 1970b; Burch 1979b; and Clark 1970).

As in former times, the past century has been characterized by physical mobility. Movement in and out of villages, in and out of the study area, and along the Arctic coast is a traditional pattern that continues to the present. Communities may have become fixed (e.g., through schools, churches, housing and ANCSA designation) and thus, residences are more stable, but the people continue to be mobile. One village, Pt. Hope, has been occupied for centuries, whereas all others were seasonal camps that have become established communities only in the last 90 years. This mobility is one key to the success

TABLE 1
NORTHWEST ALASKAN ESKIMO SOCIETIES
OF THE 1816-1842 PERIOD

<u>Society</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Estimated Popul ati on ca. 1840</u>	<u>First European Contact</u>
Goodhope Bay	Pitarmiut (?)	300	1816
Buckland	Kangigmiut	300	1820
Selawik	Silvingmiut	775	1850
Upper Kobuk	Kuvaum Kangianirmiut	500	1860s or 1870s
Middle Kobuk	Akunirmiut	375	1860s or 1870s
Kobuk Delta	Kuungmiut	260	9850
Kotzebue	Qiqtarzurmiut	375	1826
Upper Noatak	Nuatarmiut	550	1826
Lower Noatak	Napaqturmiut	225	1826
Kivalina	Kivalinirmiut	300	1821 or 1838
Point Hope	Tikrarmiut	900	1821
		4,860	

Source: Burch 1980.

of the villagers' adaptation. For example, **McNabb** reports that the ability to move about is associated with pragmatic thinking and flexible economic adaptation that is a "widespread, conscious adjustment and accommodation to rapid change" (1982).

At the same time, physical mobility makes it difficult to conduct a reliable census. A review of the counts of individuals in the area reveals that there are few accurate figures available. The first census was taken just a hundred years ago, in 1880; there appears to be as much contention over the 1980 counts as there is doubt about the accuracy of the 1880 ones. For example, **McNabb** (1981) does not even include the 1890 or 1900 figures in his review of the NANA region because of their recognized inaccuracies.

Analyses of the population began with **Petrof** (1884) and include **Porter** (1893), **Rogers** (1971), **Babb** (1972), **Hippiar and Wood** (1977), and **Harrison** (1979). Table 2 presents **Burch's** estimates for 1800 through 1960. Table 3 is the U.S. Census counts for 1970 and 1980. In spite of the reservations about the exact numbers, it is clear that the total number of Native Alaskans in this study area has grown over the years, and probably will continue to do so (**McNabb** 1981). This regional increase is consistent with a rapid population growth noted throughout the Arctic and attributed mainly to the control of communicable diseases through intensive public health work and to improved nutrition (**Milan** 1979).

TABLE 2. POPULATION ESTIMATES
1800-1960

District	1800	1850	1880	1900	1920	1940	1960
Buckland	300	200	50	25	150	275	190
Goodhope Bay	300	75	50	25	75	230	95
Kivalina	300	300	275	50	80	100	140
Kobuk Delta	250	250	200	25	25	0	0
Kotzebue	375	400	225	100	225	375	1290
Lower Noatak	225	225	200	125	150	325	275
Middle Kobuk	375	375	325	100	380	375	640
Selawik	775	775	725	300	275	250	350
Upper Kobuk	500	500	450	300	100	225	260
<u>Noatak</u>	<u>550</u>	<u>575</u>	<u>600</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Totals	3950	3675	3100	1050	1460	2155	3240

Source: Burch 1982.

Table 3

U. S. CENSUS BUREAU POPULATION BY" PLACE

	1970	1980	Percent Change 1970-1980
Ambl er	1 7 &	192	9. 1 ^{b/}
Buckland	104	177	70. 2
Deeri ng	85 ^{a/}	150	76.5 ^{b/}
Ki ana	278	345	24. 1
Kivalina	188	241	28. 2
Kobuk	165 ^{c/}	62	-62.4 ^{b,c/}
Kotzebue	1696	2054	21. 1
Noatak	293	273	-6. 8
Noorvi k	462	492	6. 5
Selawik	429	361	-15.9
Shungnak	165	202	22. 4
<u>Other^{d/}</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>282</u>	
Totals	4048 ^{e/}	4831	<u>f/</u>

NOTES :

a/ This figure provided in a footnote to Table 11.7 of the Overview 1981 volume (see Sources, below).

b/ Calculated by the author using the adjusted figure cited in note a/.

c/ The Overview 1981 volume notes that "approximate 1970 populations" are cited in the footnotes after adjusting for boundary changes in census areas and for the establishment of municipalities where unincorporated places existed in 1970. In spite of this, the cited figure appears far too high, and the resulting percent change untenable;

d/ In both the 1970 and 1980 figures, the totals for the census area are greater than the sum for the listed villages. This category was calculated by the author to provide column totals in this chart.

- e/ The 1970 census, before boundary adjustments, had a total of 4434 people in this area. Cited here is the **total** from the Overview 1981 footnote after the adjustments.
- f/ The 1980 **Final** Counts, using the **total** cited in **note e/**, gives a **9%** increase for the area. Using the adjusted **total**, the increase is **19%**.

SOURCES: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Final Population and Housing Unit Counts (March 1981; PHC80-V-3). Alaska Department of **Labor, Alaska** Population Overview 1981 (Juneau, no date).

The ethnic composition as reported in the 1980 census is provided in **Table 4**. An estimate prepared from figures for July 1, 1981, by the Alaska Department of Labor indicates that 85% of the Kobuk census area's population was non-white. This proportion is exceeded only by that of the Wade Hampton (Lower Yukon) area. By comparison, the North Slope Borough was only 52% non-white in 1981.

Table 5 indicates the changing ratio of Native/non-Native populations between 1970 and 1980. Overall, there was a decrease in proportion of Native population, though two villages showed very slight increases (**Selawik** by +.1% and **Kivalina** by +1%). Of the eight villages with a decrease in percentage Native, the most marked was **Ambler** (-13%); with **Shungnak** (-8%) and **Buckland** (-8%). What is perhaps most surprising on this table is the relative continuity of the percentage of Natives reported living in **Kotzebue**: 78% of the population in 1970 and 77% in 1980. This is in contrast to other regional centers such as **Bethel** (77% Native in 1970; 68% Native in 1980) and **Dillingham** (62% Native in 1970 and 57% Native in 1980). However, the actual increase in non-Native residents in these areas may be somewhat masked; these figures do not account for some changes in reported **ethnicity** which may have occurred between 1970 and 1980 as a result of the **ANCSA** enrollment.

Table 4

POPULATION BY ETHNIC DESIGNATION
1980

	American Indian and Alut.	White	Black	Asian and Pacific Islander	Other	Total
Deering	138	12				150
Buckland	161	13			3	177
Noorvik	467	24			1	492
Selawik	352	8		1		361
Kiana	325	20				345
Shungnak	179	14			9	202
Kobuk	59	3				62
Ambl er	155	33	1		3	192
Kotzebue	1574	471	3	5	1	2054
Noatak*						273
Kivalina	237	2			2	241
Other*						282
						4831

*Noatak is missing in this report but was included with 273 total residents. The "Other]" category includes all others not identified in a community but which, included, bring the number to 4831, the reported official total for the region.

SOURCE: U.S. Census, 1980 Census of Population and Housing. Advance Reports, March 1981, PHC80-V-3.

TABLE 5
CHANGING NATIVE/NON-NATIVE PROPORTIONS

Village	1970			1980		
	Total	Native	Percent Native	Total	Native	Percent Native
Deering	85	83	98%	150	138	92%
Buckland	104	103	99%	177	161	91%
Noorvik	462	443	96%	492	467	95%
Selawik	429	418	97%	361	352	98%
Kiana	278	268	96%	345	325	94%
Shungnak	165	160	97%	202	179	89%
Kobuk*				62	59	95%
Ambler	169	159	94%	192	155	81%
Kotzebue	1696	1318	78%	2054	1574	77%
Noatak	293	286	98%	273	259	95%
Kivalina	188	183	97%	241	237	98%

*No data.

SOURCE: Compiled by the author from U.S. Census documents for 1970 and 1980

Physical Location

Eight of the ten villages are located on rivers: five on the north bank of the **Kobuk River (Kobuk, Shungnak, Ambler, Ki ana, Noorvik)**; one on the **Selawik River (Selawik)**; one on the west bank of the **Noatak River (Noatak)**; and one on the west bank of the **Buckland River**. Only two, **Deering and Kivalina**, are coastal communities. **Kotzebue**, the regional town, is also coastal. Village location reflects the peoples' dependence on a complex **coastal/riverine** ecosystem (Tiepelman 1982).

In general, those villages located closest to **Kotzebue** are the largest, and those most distant (with the exception of **Buckland and Deering**), the smallest (see Table 6 and Figure 5). While it is true that many factors affect where people choose to live, as **Kotzebue** increases in importance in the region, a more rapid growth in those villages closest to this regional town may be anticipated. Those furthest away may experience the slowest rate of growth; should this occur, it will be important to determine if those persons most committed to a traditional way of life are becoming concentrated in the more remote villages.

The proportions of the total population living in **riverine** and coastal communities are given in Table 7. The eight communities located along river systems in 1980 made up 46% of the total; the three coastal locations **54%**. A decade earlier, the proportions were about reversed, with 51% living along the rivers and 49% on the coast. These data suggest a slow drift of the population to the

TABLE 6
 VILLAGE RANK ACCORDING TO SIZE
 COMPARED WITH LOCATION

	Popula- tion Rank	Distance from Kotzebue	Locati on
Noorvi k	1	43 mi les E	Kobuk Ri ver
Sel awi k	2	70 mi les SE	Selawik Ri ver
Kiana	3	60 mi les E	Kobuk Ri ver
Noatak	4	55 mi les NW	Noatak Ri ver
Kivalina	5	80 mi les NW	Coast
Shungnak	6	150 mi les E	Kobuk Ri ver
Ambler	7	140 mi les E	Kobuk Ri ver
Buckland	8	70 mi les SE	Buckland Ri ver
Deeri ng	9	57 mi les SE	Coast
Kobuk	10	160 mi les E	Kobuk Ri ver

Compiled by the author.

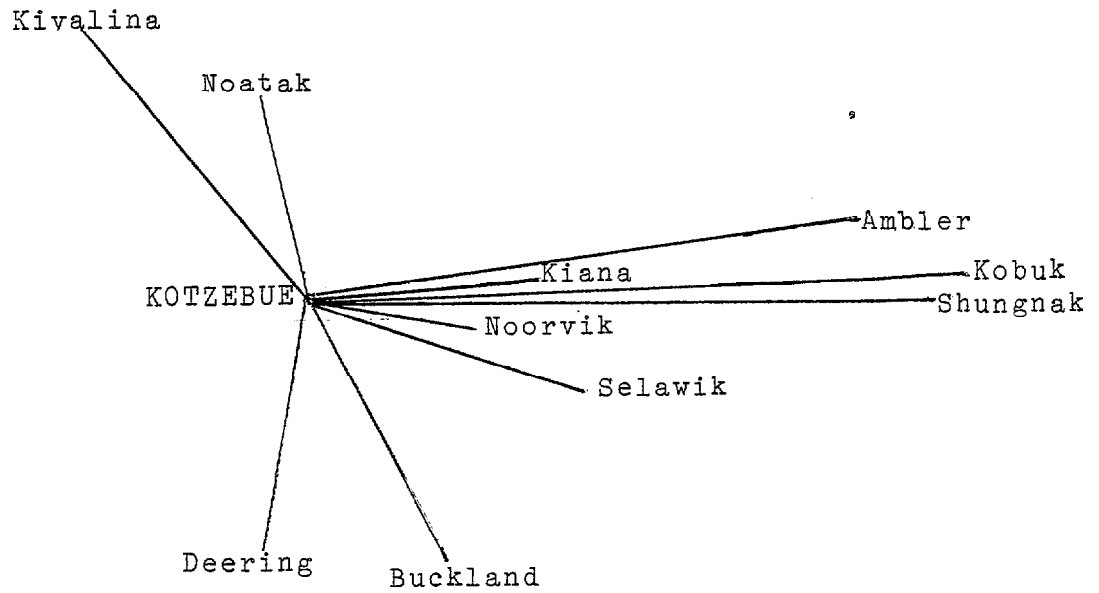


Figure 5

NANA REGION

Relative distances from Kotzebue

coastal villages. (The trend is evident even with the deletion of **Kotzebue**: from 11.7% living on the coast in 1970 to 15.7% in 1980.)

TABLE 7
 COMPARISON OF COASTAL AND RIVER LOCATIONS

	1970		1980	
	<u>Census</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Census</u>	<u>Percent</u>
3 Coastal Communities	1969	48.7	2445	53.7
8 Riverine Communities	2072	51.3	2104	46.3

This shift deserves to be watched because, even if the drift to coastal communities is slow, it may have some long-run effects both on **ocean-**based resources and OCS developments. Other **coastal/riverine** areas outside this region, perhaps, should be investigated for a similar (or contrasting) drift. For example, even with developments in the Prudhoe Bay area, the relative proportion of people living in the three North Slope Borough villages on the **Chukchi** Sea increased.

Additional long-term data are needed to explore these trends, especially in light of the continuing physical mobility of the people. More facts are needed to find out what' the causes might be; for instance, one hypothesis is that getting away from centers of rapid change (i.e., Kotzebue, Barrow) may account for some of the shifts. Some villages may be

seen as havens from the pressures of modern life. The situation could become double-edged, however, if a village intentionally became more "traditional." The attempt might be confounded by the migration of others wanting to participate in the "older" lifestyle but who -- by coming -- might make such a life more difficult to maintain.

Community Analysis

'Each community in the study area is unique and maintains its sense of specialness in many ways -- through kinship, ceremony, reputation, and politics. Each community is a modern version of the old tribes, since they rose out of single or combined tribal groups. For example, the people at Noatak include at least two former groups, whereas Noorvik is a newer village, having drawn its members from a number of other areas (especially Deering) in 1914.

As today's version of the former tribes, the villages maintain many of the traditional patterns of relationships between one another. For example, the people in Selawik are Inupiat, but a different kind of Inupiat than their neighbors at Ki ana. Deering may be physically close to Buckland, but the people, having descended from several different groups on the Seward Peninsula, would not want to be identified as "the same as" the people at Buckland.

Thus -- no matter how desirable to an outsider or valuable from a sociological or policy point of view -- clustering the villages is difficult. Grouping them together may violate their own special sense of uniqueness. Each village sees itself as a separate entity in its own right, with differing connections to other communities and to the world beyond.

Also, the social culture is different from the physical boundaries of a village. Of course, a village has physical boundaries, features, and facilities. But its residents are fluid, coming and going, and connecting with work, other villages, the regional town, and beyond. This social web contrasts with the necessarily finite physical limits, so that the residents born in a **particular place** take with them **where-**ever they go, a special identity which is, for life, associated with that village.

NORTHERN SEWARD PENINSULA COMMUNITIES

Deering, Candle and **Buckland** share a mining history, but little else. The people from Deering have roots in the direction of **Shishmaref** and Wales, and ties to **Noorvik** through a **1914** relocation of some individuals there. Candle was primarily occupied by white residents, though during summers some Natives from the region worked there and obtained mining experience. As early as 1906, men came from as far away as

Pt. Hope to work in the mines. **Buckland** is a conservative community with ties to **Koyuk** to the south, but with limited connections to Deering or **Noorvik** or **to the Kobuk**.

Deering

This community has a history of great mobility of people in, and out, and back in again. This movement may be indicative of how young a village it is. Established in **1901** as a staging station for gold mining, it later became a reindeer station. The people are probably descendants of the "**Goodhope Bay society**," which was located in the North Central Seward Peninsula along the rivers and coast from **Cape Espenberg** to **Motherhood Point**. The estimated population around **1840** was **300** (**Burch 1980:288**).

The first recorded historic contact was with the explorer **Kotzebue** in **1816**. He met eight Eskimos in an **umiak** about ten miles north-east of the present village of Deering. Apparently, the encounter was fraught with suspicion and was not productive for either party. **Kotzebue** reported the Eskimos treated his party contemptuously, and the Europeans moved on (**Ray 1975:59-60**).

As noted, the population of Deering shows considerable flux. From a high of **250** in **1945**, it dropped to **174** in **1950**, and reached a low

of 48 in 1964. By 1970, the population had picked up to 85, and the preliminary figure for 1980 is 104, one of the largest increases in the region.

In 1927, Andrews identified where people came from. Some families were from Topkok, which means "the beach westward toward **Shishmaref** from **Espenberg**." The mayor's adopted daughter was a girl from Pt. Hope. One woman was from Big **Diomede**. Two persons were from the **Kobuk** and others were from Wales and Kotzebue (Andrews notebook 1927).

The most detailed account of **Deering** found during this research was in diaries written by three village schoolgirls in 1927. Especially valuable was the one kept by Anna **Augrook** from January 5, 1927, to May 7, 1927. Among the events documented by Anna was the coming and going of many people in and out of Deering, some of the local happenings, including church activities, deaths, and subsistence activities. In beautiful handwriting, she wrote, for an example (March 10, 1927):

"Tonight translating class down at Ins's place. 7 o'clock. Yesterday Fred **Kowmalook** and Max Lieb go to **Kotzebue**. Last night **Mickie** Thomas arrived here from **Kugruk**. This morning Martha Thomas and **Albertha** Thomas go to coal mining and my Father and Harry **Karman**. Last night we went down to prayer meeting."

One of the three girls became ill and stopped writing on April 25. Anna reported on April 29, "Fannie Barr taken to **Noorvik hospital**;" then, on May 7, word was received that Fannie Barr died. The ties

in Anna's diary in 1927 continue today: to Kotzebue, Nome and Shishmaref (Eisler 1978:93).

Deering is one of the rapidly growing villages in the NANA region. McNabb suggests that reindeer antler sales have assisted the village in reaching self-sufficiency. His analysis of the demographic data indicates that the reported growth can be traced to the return of people, especially young women. This trend needs to be further analyzed as does the possibility that there is less seasonal and annual variation in Deering's numbers.

Candle

Located about midway between Deering and Buckland, Candle was a gold mine site from 1901 to 1959. The population was 34 in 1963; eight in 1980. In 1968, a Public Health nurse reported on a community survey form that there were 13 Natives living there. This undoubtedly reflects a seasonal variation, since the mine was inactive during the winter months.

A number of Native families have a tradition of working the mines at Candle. For example, one of the elders in Kotzebue, Fletcher Gregg, was born in Deering in 1907, moved to Noorvik in 1914, and worked at Candle from 1937 until the mines closed. He moved to Kotzebue in 1961.

The location of the mine on the **Kiwalik** River was apparently a good site for a large mining community; for instance, the water supply is reported excellent. Now a ghost town (although some gold seeking continues in summer), Candle could be considered as a staging area for future development. And some Eskimo families might welcome a return to their "mining tradition" (see Chapter VI).

Buckland

The first written record of these villagers is one of an encounter between **Shishmaref** and the "Tatui" tribe on the **Buckland** River. **Beechey** reports a hostile contact in 1826 (Ray 1975:83). The **Malemiut** were moving south during this period, bisecting an area frequented by the **Kauwerak** on the west and the **Unalit** on the south-east. By 1839, the **Malemiut** were at **Shaktoolik** on Norton Sound; later (in the 1870s and 1880s) they are reported at Koyuk. Ray indicates that at this time several **Buckland** and **Kobuk** families were drawn south by a "huge caribou migration" (1975:136-138).

A 1940 BIA report gives a glimpse of some aspects of **Buckland** 40 years ago. It was a "new village" whose residents worked in Candle and also mined their own claims. (Wages at Candle ranged from \$5 to \$8 a day.) The settlement at **Buckland** included 115 habitants, 31 sleds, 76 shotguns, 31 nets, 14 boats, and seven power boats. A few people

had gardens; one family raised vegetables, including turnips, cabbage, carrots and lettuce. The average family cash income was \$644 a year. Later reports indicate Buckland had no school for three years from 1946 to 1949, and experienced a marked drop in population between 1952 and 1965.

McNabb (1981) documents wide variations in the population counts. He attributes some changes to a probable consolidation of the northern Seward Peninsula peoples in the early decades of the 20th century with movement to Kotzebue and toward Shishmaref and Nome. He also notes measles in 1942 that may have influenced decline. Recent growth appears attributable to higher birth rates and improved counts.

Buckland is one of the more traditional villages in the region. For this reason, data comparing it with other, less traditional, villages is needed. For example, the residents may display a higher level of mobility; this would result in a greater fluctuation in the number of people recorded as living there. On the other hand, places with more access to cash also show high mobility, so that investigation of these kinds of variations is needed to improve both demographic analyses and future planning.

To conclude this section on the villages of the northern Seward Peninsula, we should note that these residents differ from others in the

area of this study also because they hunt caribou in the winter rather than the spring and fall, and combine fishing, sealing, and hunting beluga in the summer. But what is most important, they differ from one another. As McNabb states:

"There is more of an affinity between **Deering-Kotzebue-Selawik-Noorvik**; **Buckland** is less often, or less obviously, a part of the pattern. However, **Buckland** ties to **Selawik** are pronounced.

"Deering and **Buckland** appear so different, yet we often feel compelled to lump them together. It seems that in reality, and in the larger perspective, dissimilarities are as common as similarities... perhaps more so."

KOBUK - NOATAK COMMUNITIES

The prehistory of the **Kobuk** River Valley is well established as a result of extensive archaeological research started by **Giddings** in the late 1940s and continued by Anderson in more recent years. A summary of the sequences of occupation of the last 10,000 years can be found in Anderson, et. al. (1977:14-27). At Onion Portage, for example, 70 cultural layers have been identified. They reflect the movement of people throughout the area.

Two possible periods of Indian occupation are found: one between 4000 and 2200 B.C. and another about 500 A.D. The movement of Arctic peoples to the coast in response to declines in caribou can

be traced. The dependence on wood and caribou as major resources is reflected in the archaeological sequences.

The present indigenous residents of the Kobuk River Valley are most likely the decedents of Eskimos who moved back up the river from the coast about 1000 A.D. They brought with them a developed fishing technology that led to larger and more stable populations. The archaeological record indicates the basic three-pronged subsistence cycle of the Kuuvungmiit was probably established by 1400 A.D: winter caribou hunting, spring seal hunting on the coast, and summer salmon fishing on the rivers.

Shungnak

The upriver villages are clustered closely. Shungnak was originally named Kobuk and later Long Beach (Smith 1913:45); it was designated Shungnak about 1907 (Anderson 1977:47). Historically, Kobuk moved downriver from Shungnak about 1920; and Ambler from Shungnak in 1958. Earlier in this century, Shungnak was the largest village in the region. Factors contributing to this included the construction of a school there (1907 to 1909) and the introduction of a herd of reindeer (about the same time). The size of the village has fluctuated since these earlier days as a result of epidemics, migrations, and the establishment of the newer villages noted above (McNabb 1981).

The village has had a long involvement with mining in the area. When first settled (about ten miles upriver from the present location), **Shungnak** served as a supply center for nearby operations. Smith, his colleague Eakin, two camp hands, and a six-horse pack train arrived in **Shungnak** on July 22, 1910. After spending several days exploring the geology of the area, Smith wrote:

"**Shungnak**, which is near the site of **Stoney's** headquarters at Fort Cosmos, is a **small** settlement consisting of a Friends' mission, school house, store and the usual native huts. Formerly it was the headquarters of the United States commissioner and recorder for the **Noatak-Kobuk** precinct, but that office has been removed to **Kiana** . . . Several prospectors live within three to 15 miles of the town on the various creeks, but there are not more than a dozen white people in an area of several thousand miles" (Smith 1913:44).

Located on a bluff overlooking a bend in the **Kobuk** River, a part of **Shungnak** is within the floodplain. However, newer portions are on higher ground. The village generator, once on the edge of town, is now surrounded by new homes that have been placed at the higher location, leading to a desire to have the generator moved.

Kobuk

The smallest of the NANA villages, **Kobuk** is located at the original site of **Shungnak**. It was founded in 1899. The move downstream in the 1920s is attributed to erosion of the riverbanks; the present

village of Kobuk remains on a flood--prone **bend** of the **river**. The community is **158** air' miles east of **Kotzebue**.

Kobuk has had the least amount of fluctuation in size. **In 1970**, 56 people **lived** here; **in 1980**, **62**. **In 1976**, seven **full-time** jobs were identified in the village; three related to the school. **Work** at the nearby mine and summer fire fighting provided seasonal cash income.

This village appears to have had the fewest public facilities for the longest period of time. **As** recently as **1976**, there had been no new housing and no community electrical system, water supply, sewer, or town dump. A satellite earth station was installed in 1976, however (**AEIDC Village Profiles 1976**).

Ambl er

As noted above, Ambl er was founded in 1958 when residents from upriver -- **Shungnak** and **Kobuk** -- permanently settled at the confluence of the Ambl er and **Kobuk** Rivers. The **village** sits in on a bluff above the river and thus not as vulnerable to flood damage as some of the others.

Ambl er grew rapidly after its establishment. **McNabb** attributes this "more to immigration than anything else" (1981:22). **More** recently, the growth has **stabilizeal**, which may be "resulting from birth control measures and family p'larming education" (**McNabb 1981:22**).

Because of its recent settlement, many public facilities are relatively new. For example, the school was constructed by the state, not the BIA, and handles grades kindergarten through high school. The community hall and health clinic, along with supporting services like a water and sewer system, have also been built recently.

Ambler residents have a greater relative dependence on land mammals than on fish. For this reason, the village is quite different from Kobuk and Shungnak, which share many subsistence features. Thus, even though the three villages are physically closer together, it can be seen that they are distinct entities that should not be lumped just because of geographic proximity.

Kiana

The three downriver villages -- Kiana, **Noorvik** and **Selawik** -- have dissimilar histories. Smith observed the following when he visited early this century:

"Kiana is a small settlement at the junction of Squirrel River and the Kobuk. It started practically with the discovery of gold in the vicinity of the fall of 1909, although a native village had been located there previously" (Smith 1913:44).

The site was seasonally occupied by **Inupiat** for many years. When Smith was there in August of 1910, Kiana boasted a restaurant as well as a store; two more stores and the recorder's office were reportedly established the following winter.

As a **result** of the mining **activities**, workers came from many different countries -- Poland, Russia, Germany, Greece, Sweden -- and they "all spoke with strong accents" (Anderson 1975:32). According to Anderson, some Japanese operated the restaurant in the 1930s. In the mid-1960s, two of the early migrants **still lived** in Kiana -- an individual who came from Russia in 1911 **and** one who came from Poland **in** 1926.

The connections of the downriver communities to each other, especially Kiana and Noorvik, to Kotzebue seem to be frequent and strong. McNabb (1981) further notes that Kiana has ties to Pt. Hope, indicating that there are kinship relations going back at least 50 to 60 years. He **also** states that Kiana has ties **to** the Koyukuk area.

Noorvik

Noorvik was settled in 1914 **out of** religious motivation and under the religious leadership (Wells 1974; Oman 1975; Noorvik School 1977-78). Prior to the establishment of the permanent community, the site was known as Oksik and served as a hunting and fishing location for villagers from Deering (AEIDC 1976).

A church and school were established soon after settlement, and a hospital constructed in the 1920s. The school burned down in 1936

and was moved to the hospital building. A post office was established in the same year -- 1936. In the earlier days, much of the construction was with local materials; the Deering settlers brought with them a sawmill that was **still** operating off and on in the 1950s.

More recently, village facilities have been modernized. NANA-sponsored homes were built in the early 1970s, The Public Health Service installed water and sewer systems and the state constructed a regional high school. Like the other villages, communication facilities are available by satellite (**Noorvik School 1977-1978**).

Although always one of the larger settlements in the region, **Noorvik's** population has fluctuated over the years. A significant drop in the 1920s (from nearly 300 to around 200) is attributed to "a return to Deering by a number of the Deering immigrants, epidemics of flu and smallpox, and a concentration of the **Noorvik** reindeer herds (and herding families) farther to the south" (**McNabb 1981:23**).

In more recent years, a steady growth has occurred and in 1980, **Noorvik** was the largest place outside of Kotzebue in the region.

Selawik

As with most of the other places, the first non-Native known to visit **Selawik** was a member of Lt. **Stoney's** party in 1884-1885.

But for awhile **after** these early explorations, the area experienced **little** outside contact. The gold seekers of the late 1890s had poor luck and it was not until about 1908 that non-Natives came to establish a permanent settlement (Anderson and Anderson 1977:23).

Between 1908 and 1910, the church and school were built and reindeer herding was introduced. The **Andersons** believe these **to** be "major cultural changes" that led the villagers to "become more and more permanently settled . . ." This is further attributed to their wish **to** "take advantage of the presence of the school and the church" (1977:23-24).

At the same time, **it should** be noted **that**:

"The village site was selected by some influential **Siilavingmiut** on the basis of its proximity to good winter and summer fishing net sites, the presence of alder for firewood, and its proximity to **Kotzebue**, the supply center" (Anderson and Anderson 1977:42).

The fact that some families remained upriver near good trapping areas and that the village site was **nearly** deserted in the summers indicates that traditional patterns endured.

Now **Selawik** has a Public Health clinic, school, AVEC electrical generator, firehouse, and other public facilities and services typical **of** the region. Most recently, a location about eight miles north of the village has been used for an agricultural demonstration. About three

acres are being farmed and discussion is underway to expand, perhaps into fur farming and reindeer herding (Anchorage Daily News, November 26, 1982:b-6).

Noatak

The history of this village is similar to others:

“During the early 1900s the Friends decided to increase their activities in northern Alaska and they began to establish new missions. In 1908 they started a federally supported mission school at a site some seventy or eighty miles up the Noatak from its mouth. The scarcity of caribou, the disrupted economic pattern and the desire of the **Noatak** peoples for schooling and Christianity drew them up to the site and resulted in the founding of Noatak village” (Hall 1975:27).

Prior to the creation of the permanent village, the location had been a fishing and hunting camp. It was listed in Petroff's 1880 census as **Noatagamute** -- "Noatak River People" (AEIDC 1976). Uhl and Uhl note that both **Napaaktukmiit** (people of the trees) from the forested downriver areas, and **Nuatakmiit** from upriver make up Noatak families. Also some **Colville** drainage people were probably included at Noatak and some **Nuatakmiit** settled at Anaktuvuk Pass (Uhl and Uhl 1979:2).

Like most other communities, **Noatak's** population has fluctuated. Rapid growth, from both high birth rates and steady migration,

occurred between 1910 and 1940. Between 1940 and 1950, a drop was seen, partly from the tuberculosis epidemic. Then in the 1960s, people began moving to Kotzebue (McNabb 1981:20). According to the Uhs, this period "seems to have been a time of testing for the villagers involved" (1979:4). The attractions of the larger town included more social activities and more year-round jobs, as well as conveniences like newer houses, running water, and television.

Although the statistics suggest that the net loss continued in the decade of the 1970s (see Table 3) with outmigration reducing the population more than natural increases replaced villagers, it now appears the population is close to steady. The faultiness of the census data has already been discussed and absence from the village is a likely event; the small loss (6.8%) may well not reflect a true reduction. Uhl and Uhl observed a return to village of migrants from Kotzebue and report a population count in 1978 about the same as the 1980 census. They suggest "the trend now is for slow growth and improvement of living conditions" (Uhl and Uhl 1979:5).

One aspect of Noatak that is different from some other villages is the absence of a small core of permanent white residents. As the Uhs observe:

"School teachers and sporadic government construction or study group personnel have been the only non-Eskimo people living in Noatak, unlike most other northwest Eskimo villages which have a number of long-time resident non-Eskimo people" (Uhl and Uhl 1979:2).

However, this does not mean the village is without contact with the white world. Even in the 1960s, it was noted that:

"Summer and winter there is a constant flow of strangers through the village. Arriving mostly by air, these include Public Health Service doctors, postal inspectors, BIA personnel, Fish and Wildlife Service personnel, and occasional tourists" (Hall 1975:31).

In the past decade, Noatak has enjoyed the same improvements provided other parts of the NANA region. New housing, water and sewer projects, and expanded communications all came in the 1970s. And, like many modern technologies, they break down. In the spring of 1981, the water system developed a leak and the villagers had to bring buckets up from the river until people from outside the village could get there to fix the tank. Similarly, the million dollar dike put in to protect the riverbank had already begun to erode from runoff from the village that spring.

CHUKCHI SEA COASTAL COMMUNITY

Kivalina

Spencer reports the Kivalina villagers are Inland Eskimo who pushed to the sea, taking with them a basic caribou hunting life

(Spencer 1959: 18). Burch (1980) adds that some of the Shishmaref people who went to Jabbertown near Pt. Hope in the 1880s-1890s resettled at Kivalina. The people today seem to have both an inland and an ocean-oriented balance which is unique in the area.

Kivalina was the subject of a study in 1959-1961 in connection with the Cape Thompson Project Chariot (Saario and Kessel 1966; Foote and Williamson 1966). Other references include Green (1959) -- a native of Kivalina who was living in the Kotzebue Senior Citizens Center in 1981.

The village is located on a eight-mile-long barrier beach between the ocean and a large lagoon. The lagoon, fed by the Kivalina and Wulik Rivers, is eleven miles long. At present, the village site is at the end where the mouth of the Wulik River empties; in earlier times it was at the north end of the spit (AEIDC 1976). Because there are channels at both ends of the barrier beach, the village actually is on an island. when there is no ice (Saario and Kessel 1966:971).

The spit is flat, consisting of sand and gravel held in place by beach grass, and underlain by permafrost. At a well site drilled by the BIA, the sand and gravel went down about 18 feet before frozen clay was encountered. The spit also is not very high; at the airport site north of town it is 11 feet above sea level (AEIDC 1976).

The village receives severe storms off the **Chukchi** Sea. At these times, the entire coastline is subject to flooding and erosion. In 1970, the U.S. Corps of Engineers reported that 20% to 30% of the village was flooded during a storm surge.

Most of the public facilities are of recent construction. For **example**, the school burned down in mid-winter of 1975; a new one was built in 1976. Both elementary and high school is offered. The water system was also put in during the 1970s; it brings water in summer from the **Wulik** River since **the wells**, noted above, did not produce potable water. The airport was built in 1960 and scheduled for upgrading in the 1980s (AEIDC 1976).

McNabb (1982) believes that the provision of such facilities has contributed to the growth of **Kivalina**. He writes:

"As is the case for many of the villages, **people** had lived at or near **Kivalina** for **longer** or shorter seasonal periods for many years, but the village did not become 'permanent' until after a school and basic facilities were developed. The population is **fairly** stable from the 1920s through the 1940s After 1950 the population has increased steadily. Better **health** facilities and the construction of housing and other developments . . . are responsible for much of this growth, since they tended to reduce mortality and slow **outmigration**" (McNabb 1982: 23-24).

However, the residents of **Kivalina** have been considering the **possibility** of relocation. In May 1981, when the question was **posed**: "What do you think might happen in the future?" the response consistently included relocation. For **example**:

"We are not going to be living here. We'll probably relocate" (City administrator).

"We are really going to try to move in a year or two. We're starting a lot of letters now" (City council member).

When **the** villagers were asked why they wanted to relocate, the most frequent answer was land. They felt there was no place to expand the village on the present narrow peninsula.

"The kids are going **to** have **to** build up in the air if we don't move."

"There's no more room here. We're running into the airstrip and cemetery. We need new houses and a place to put them" (City mayor).

Erosion figured prominently in the discussions. The women especially were concerned about the fall storms and the safety of their homes from floods from the sea.

"Our **land** is going down. High water" (Kivalina housewife).

Also, permanent water and sewer systems that operate year-round cannot be installed in **Kivalina**. Indeed, the residents know that, in order to have those services "to make **life** easier," they **will** have to relocate elsewhere. Presently, there is a 500,000 gallon water tank in the middle of the village that primarily serves the school. The water can

be purchased through a meter, but its taste is unpalatable because of chlorine. For drinking water, people still prefer the river, and in the winter, river ice.

Another reason the people supported relocation was **jobs**.

“Jobs are always needed where people can stay home. That’s one thing. If they relocate there will be lots of jobs for the people.”

This statement by the mayor is especially insightful. The men do want to stay home, yet jobs are needed. **Kivalina** villagers have seen the effects of relocation; for example, the relocation of Pt. Hope and the several movements of Pt. Lay. Jobs, new houses, and new facilities have been associated with all of them. Additionally, some of the **Kivalina** residents worked on these projects. In May 1981, many of the young adults from **Kivalina** were in Pt. Lay, hired by the Pt. Hope Village Corporation to help build the new houses. Thus, relocation is logically associated with jobs.

The council has worked long and hard on the relocation project. Three possible sites have been considered, and the best one is judged to be on the **Wulik** River. A bridge across the lagoon has been requested, and a survey planned. Some implications of relocation for OCS issues are suggested in the last chapter of this report under future trends.

KOTZEBUE - A REGIONAL TOWN

"The most important place is **Kotzebue**, on the long promontory that separates **Hotham Inlet** from **Kotzebue Sound**. This place is the seaport for the entire district, and is normally the home of a missionary and family, three or four white traders, a few boatmen and mechanics, and a number of native families. After the break-up of the ice in the spring, however, missionaries, schoolteachers, prospectors, and traders, together with a great number of natives from all the neighboring rivers, congregate for trading and fishing" (Smith 1913: 42-43).

Kotzebue today is in many ways the same center that it was in 1913. The hub of a wide variety of activities, it is the political center, the transportation center; it has a hospital, and is the distribution point for a wide variety of services and goods. Like all the villages but **Pt. Hope**, the location of this regional town was not a permanent settlement until the **euroamericans** arrived, although the archaeological record reveals that there were occupied sites on the spit for around 600 years (**Giddings 1952a: VanStone 1955:130-131**). **Burch (1982)**, referring to the historic site just south of modern **Kotzebue**, maintains that "five or six local families involving as many as 200 people may have had their winter houses" there.

In late summer 1897, Robert and Carrie **Samms**, and Anna **Hunnicutt** arrived in **Kotzebue**; they were missionaries from the California Society of Friends. Along with their mission, they opened a school

for those local residents who remained in the area for the winter (Simon 1980:45). The next year, the missionaries had redwood shipped for a house. In 1902, the federal government forwarded supplies for construction of a school, and in 1909, the Friends sent lumber for a hospital (Smith 1966:109).

Gold seekers arrived about the same time as the missionaries. Prospectors heading for the Kobuk and Noatak drainages passed through Kotzebue, often pausing in the town to build boats or sleds. According to one report, there were over 1,000 people in the area after the ice went out of Kotzebue Sound in July 1898, with about 800 wintering over on the Kobuk River later that year (Smith 1966:111).

As a result, Kotzebue -- long a center of Eskimo trading -- became the location for western commerce. Among the people whose names can still be found in the area were the early traders Hall, Lockhart, Magids, Berryman, and Ferguson.

The net result of all these different factors was the establishment of Kotzebue as the regional town for the Chukchi Sea (Alaska Geographic 1981:70-71).

In 1901, the Friends mission received 100 reindeer that were loaned to the church to establish a local herd. Two Lapp herders came along to train local Eskimo apprentices. By 1905, one Lapp living in Kotzebue owned 363 animals (Simon 1980:55). In 1911, the church's herd was divided and more apprentices hired to manage it. Eventually, private herds were established and in 1920, the Eskimo-owned Kotzebue Sound Reindeer Company was established. Herding did not persist, however, and in 1936 the firm went out of business (Smith 1966:114).

Contact between the outside world and Kotzebue followed a pattern similar to that found in other regions of Alaska. In 1899, the early missionaries requested the establishment of a post office. William Kjellman, a Laplander from Wisconsin, was given the contract that included Kotzebue, Golovin, Eaton and St. Michael. He made the 1,240 mile round trip using a reindeer team (Simon 1980:55). In 1911, the route was expanded to include Unalakleet, and dog teams were substituted for reindeer. The record time for the 350 mile Kotzebue-Nome run by dog was five days (Simon 1980:76).

In 1924, radio service was established by the Alaska Communication System, which made possible contact with the South 48. In 1927, the first airplane arrived in Kotzebue, piloted by Joe Crosson. A

Local trader, **Archie Ferguson**, established a local air service in 1931 (Smith 1966:115). John Cross established a rival line, serving the route from Kotzebue to Barrow. Bert **Beltz** is credited with being the first Eskimo to fly; Tom Richards, **Sr.**, is the first to obtain a commercial pilots license (Alaska Geographic 1981 :176).

Kotzebue **maintained** a slow but steady growth from the time of its founding until the 1940s. More than anything else, this can probably be attributed to the establishment of government facilities and services (**McNabb** 1981). The government hospital, originally placed in Noorvik in 1916, was relocated at **Kotzebue** in 1938. The FAA, then the Civil Aeronautics Administration, chose the town for its regional center in 1942; the communication towers were built in 1944 (Smith 1966:119).

Construction of the modern USPHS hospital began in 1958; it was dedicated in 1961. The BIA school was expanded in the **mid-1960s**. During the 1950s and 1960s, **DEW-line** construction and operation was undertaken; **Kotzebue** was a communication site for the Aircraft Control and Warning System. The town also served as a White Alice Station in later years (Smith 1966; Simon 1980).

Because a report giving details of modern Kotzebue's physical facilities and socioeconomic conditions has already been prepared for OCS SESP (Technical Memorandum #53:381-515), attention here is given to its role as the regional town.

In some ways, regional towns are like villages that have outgrown certain constraints; kinship appears to be less intensely felt and the complex layers of the population -- Native and non-Native -- complicate interpersonal relations. In other ways, however, regional towns are unique. Most important are the relationships they have with their outlying communities. Sometimes these relations are stable and supportive; sometimes they are fragile, flawed and fretful.

For example, the connections between Kotzebue and Noatak have deep historic roots that continue in the present. But Kotzebue and Deering ties are less strong. Deering people are just as likely to go to Nome for goods and services as they are to Kotzebue. The ties from Kotzebue to Pt. Hope, long-established and affirmed by kin, today are stronger and more often reinforced than the recent and less frequent connections between Pt. Hope and its political regional town of Barrow.

The relative autonomy of the villages versus the degree of dependence they have on the regional town is important to assess. Those

villages which are most conservative, most resistant to taking direction from the regional town, most "ornery" in the sense of maintaining a high degree of autonomy, are the ones which will probably be least directly affected by events and developments in the regional towns.

For instance, in some relationships, Kotzebue figures importantly as the center for trade fairs, conventions; and economically as the center for distributing goods. However, in other spheres, such as kinship connections, spring carnivals, snowmobile contests, and church visiting, the **intervillage** connections, especially on the Kobuk, may be stronger, bypassing Kotzebue. Although economic connections clearly radiate out from Kotzebue, not all important connections do.

These differences are sometimes reflected in certain tensions between the villages and the regional towns. Leaders based in the towns have a delicate responsibility to "their villages," as we shall note later in the chapter on political organization. Villages can be quite willful and unpredictable.

Further, village residents can resent outside institutions, including those they are affiliated with, like the regional corporations.

Villagers particularly dislike **it** when they feel they are being dictated to by outside groups. Resentment can take different forms. Reference to a "big brother" complex appears as early as 1975 and was voiced several times during the period of research for this contract. Sometimes the non-profit corporations are viewed as behaving like the **old** agencies whose functions they took over and supposedly replaced. **In** these instances, their work may not be welcomed. One hypothesis that should be checked is whether the relations are poorest in villages where the connections with the regional town are historically **weak**. Has the arrival of the new profit and non-profit activities weakened these bonds even further?

MILITARY SITES

Of the 13 military-related radar bases in Alaska, one is located in this study **area**: the Air Force base at Kotzebue. Like other sites, it is a physically self-sufficient small enclave of **Western**, modern life. Constructed up to 30 years ago, the sites have **an** uncertain future; four of the 13 sites were modernized in the early 1970s, but all are candidates for retirement with the introduction of newer technologies.

There is a small amount of literature available on the impact of the military sites on **local life** (Hughes 1960; Chance 1966;

VanStone 1962) but no long-term systematic examination of these unique social institutions could be found in the general literature. This is unfortunate because, as noted in an earlier manuscript (Davis 1978:76-77), these enclaves may be the closest analogy available to proposed oil and gas exploration and production camps.

If these military sites are decommissioned, the question of what will happen to the lands and buildings becomes important. The coastal sites might be of particular value for staging oil and gas exploration efforts, in view of their aircraft landing facilities and the like. The Kotzebue location could be of use to the regional town. As one leader noted:

"I'm sure if the facilities were made available there would be a bid on them. There's a road . . . Kotzebue is bursting at the seams for places to build."

Just exactly who might bid on the sites is unclear. In general, the Kotzebue facilities are probably too old to attract much interest; as another leader noted:

"It's cheaper to build new facilities than to try to operate the old ones I think the land would probably be more important than the facilities themselves."

Of course, as federal landholdings, there is a tortuous path to making the land available for uses other than those for which the sites are presently designated.

Summary

This chapter has been primarily descriptive of the study area's history, demography and communities. **It is** from this base that the analysis forming the rest of the report is made.

CHAPTER III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Introduction

This chapter addresses a major theme of this report, and a vital dimension of contemporary Eskimo life: people to people relationships. The topics are organized in sections, including kinship and family, age groups and child raising practices, village organizations, and **intervillage** connections. These topics concern primarily Eskimo relationships to Eskimos, and the continuity of traditional values and expectations. A final section adds yet another topic: Native and non-Native relationships. The discussion starts with the smallest unit, the family, and expands the analysis outward to include the village, the regions, and finally, the recently-arrived "others" who now comprise a growing proportion of the population. Continuity of kinship ties, persistence of certain values, incorporation of new organizations and relationships, and networks of **people** along the coast are discussed.

Kinship and Family

Family and kin relationships, despite some peripheral changes, have **viability** and continuing importance. Surely **family connections** and kin structures are not as extensive as in previous years.

But, they remain central and are important for our understanding, especially because some individuals maintain the long-standing concepts and values of the "right" relationships and "correct" extension of kin throughout the community and beyond. Others, more influenced by recent events, do not.

The complexity of the network of traditional alliances between individuals is illustrated in a series of articles edited by **Guemple on alliances in Eskimo society** (1972). The following summary highlights the kinds of interpersonal relationships characteristic of traditional society.

An Eskimo **child**, like all children, had a **special** kind of **relationship** with parents; **but** also, sometimes, with co-parents. Since adoption was frequent, a child could have both adoptive parents and adoptive siblings to add to his biological parents and siblings. Further, because divorce was common, even more relatives might be added with step-parents and step-siblings. What's more, a **child** had a special relationship with an assigned sponsor, and the sponsor's family; a tie to the person he or she was named after (the name-sake); and yet another tie to those who **simply** shared the same name. In the old days, one might also be betrothed as a child and grow up with still another set of relationships with the betrothed's family.

As an adult, many of these ties continued but kinship "capital" expanded. In addition to a spouse and family, there could be, over a lifetime, several spouses and several sets of children including some adopted in and some adopted out. Special relationships to different sets of partners were also traditional, including trade partners, joking partners, and dance partners. Through the betrothal of children, a parent extended connections to new families; by having children adopted out, other families could be added to the social kin repertoire. If children were adopted in, still additional families could be made part of the social network.

In addition, a man's relationship included loyalties to a men's house and, in many cases, to trading partners. Undoubtedly, some of these relationships at times overlapped, but the prescribed behavior toward other persons conformed to the relationship that was appropriate in a given social setting. Finally, though most relationships were defined as positive, negative ones also existed through feuds within the village and sometimes wars between them.

As recently as the 1960s Burch (1975) found 33 different kinship roles interconnected in 27 different ways in the traditional society of the Northwest. The extent of the continuity, or discontinuity, of these many human relationships has not been analyzed here, but even if they have lessened considerably in number, we may assume that

interpersonal alliances are still relatively complex. Certainly, they are important. Further, there are now many new ways that people are related to each **other**: through the church, school, jobs, **councils, commissions**, boards and corporations.

FAMILY

The key feature of **Inupiat** social organization is **family** -- as defined **locally** and usually including a number of co-operating **households**. **Burch** describes the traditional family:

"Some were **small**, geographically isolated conjugal families involving perhaps six people. Others were extremely large, bilaterally extended local families which sometimes involved as many as a hundred or more people, but which ordinarily were in the 20 to 30 member range" (**Burch 1982**).

This social structure persists; it is different from **the** domestic family (persons living in a single household) and from the organization found in other indigenous North American groups (most often the clan, moiety, lineage, or **phratry**).

During field research, the importance of family was highlighted again and again. For example, questions such as "Why did you quit working on the Pipeline?" had kinship-based responses:

"My wife had a job here in the village and she needed help at home."

"The communication was too bad. I couldn't **call** my family."

In traditional times, a couple had an average of two living children. However, by 1964-65, most couples had six living children (Burch 1975:124). The fact that many children survived, and often in robust health, led to unusually large families in the 1950s and 1960s. This was also the time when men were absent for long periods working as wage laborers, thus the mothers were left with the increasing responsibility of numerous children.

While the implications of the occurrence of these larger families have yet to be analyzed, a number of hypotheses can be generated. One result may be that there are now more individuals to involve families in the greater number and variety of available activities. For instance, two children could now stay home, two leave for school, two take jobs in town to help finance any additional household expenses. Another hypothesis is that those children raised in the households of their traditional grandparents are now the more successful individuals in the emerging **Inupiat** social and economic world.

To begin an inquiry into this topic, we might simply pose the question of what it was like to grow up in a family of 12 in the 1950s and 1960s, remembering that the parents were raised in families of only two or three surviving children and with fathers who were more frequently present and engaged in activities that were seen as productive. The social problems of some young men may be related to the

fact that they were in large families, surrounded with successful sisters, but by **less** accomplished brothers and uncles. **If** their -fathers were successful, they were judged **so** because they were gone to earn money to raise the family. Exploring these **possibilities** **might** help **to** shed light on some of the difficulties these individuals face nowadays.

Namesakes

The traditional pattern of naming a child after a deceased sibling continues. Two examples occurred in one family. A daughter died and the next daughter born was given her name. Later, a son died, and the next son born was given his name. Naming after someone recently deceased but several generations **apart** is another continuing pattern. For example, a baby born in Noatak in the winter of 1981 was named after her great grandmother (mother's mother's mother) who had died the previous **fall**.

Other examples of naming between generations were found in the **kin-**ship charts drawn for **three-** and four-generation families. There were **15** examples of a child named after a relative one generation above, and all but two were boys. **In** nine of the 13 cases, a son was named after the father, though he need not be the first son to

be a "junior. " Two boys were named after their mother's brothers, one after a father's brother. The two girls were named after aunts, in one case the father's sister and in the other, a mother's sister. There were also three generation namesakes: for example, a mother's mother, a mother's father, a father's father, father's father's brother, and a mother's father's sister. Finally, there were two examples of four generation namesakes: a mother's father's mother and a mother's mother's mother.

Consideration should be given to the meaning assigned in modern day to these practices, and the variations that may exist between communities. For example, the pattern of "juniors" is clearly indicated in the village census of **Noorvik** taken by the school in 1974; 26 Juniors were listed, nearly one to every family. There may also be a pattern of naming the third or fourth son "Junior."

Overall, there seems to be a greater tendency to name boys after male relatives than girls after female relatives. Also there tends to be more naming of boys after persons in the parent's generation, and girls after women in the grandparent and great grandparent generation. These trends, although not extensively documented for every village, appeared often enough to suggest the persistence and continuing importance of **Inupiat** kinship organization.

Persons named after people living in other communities also continues to have meaning. A person in Kivalina sent a special greeting to her namesake in Pt. Hope. Having the same name as someone, even if one is not Native, may give a special bond between people (McNabb personal communication). A revival of traditional naming practices (Inupiat names with associated meanings) may be anticipated as one response to the growing emphasis on ethnicity, a phenomenon which has occurred elsewhere under similar circumstances.

Adoption

Traditionally, adoption was an important mechanism for extending alliances beyond the immediate kinship group, a practice well documented and analyzed (Spencer 1959:87-92; VanStone 1962:82; Chance 1966:19; Smith 1966; Burch 1975; Guemple 1972). Adoption continues to be an important Inupiat family pattern.

In an analysis of ten two-generation families (i.e., parents and children), it was found they included a total of 55 natural children with 20 adoptions. Sixteen children were adopted into these families, and four were adopted out. In all, these ten couples were raising 67 children.

In an analysis of the 14 most complete kinship charts of three or more generations, a total of 26 persons were identified as being adopted: 16 boys and ten girls. The origins of five of the boys were noted: three were adopted by **their** father's mother, one by his father's brother and one by his mother's mother. For the ten girls, the origins of five are known: three girls went to their mother's mother, one to her mother's brother and one to her father's mother's sister.

This limited data suggests that boys tend more often to be adopted to the father's side of the family (four out of five **in** this sample) and girls to the mother's side of the family (four out of five in this sample). Further, children tend to be adopted up, skipping the parent's generation (eight of ten in this sample). **Also** in the most frequent pattern, the grandparents adopt **their eldest** children's children.

The importance of the grandmother in raising of children appears frequently in the literature (Spencer **1959:252**; VanStone 1962) and in folk **tales** (Hall **1975:43**). Today there may be some competition among sets of grandparents for their grandchildren, since grandchildren are valued and often seen as highly desirable to have in a household.

Related to this, an intriguing pattern was noted in the field research. A number of the key leaders of today were not raised by their parents, but by their grandparents, especially their grandmothers. For example, a village mayor, a lands director, a key person on the school board, several leaders on the Spirit Committee, the former president of the Maniilaq Board, and a legislator. Also, several key persons were adopted into different villages where they became important leaders. For example, the whaling commissioner in Pt. Hope was originally from Noatak, adopted to Pt. Hope. Also the chairman of the Maniilaq Board was adopted -- to Kivalina from Noatak. These adoptions, and associated special relationships with grandparents, may have ingredients contributing to success in the modern world.

Age Groups and Child Raising

Every society draws distinctions on the basis of age. In seeking to understand contemporary Inupiat life, a discussion of some of the distinctions made by the people themselves is helpful.

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

In an analysis of research on Eskimo childhood, Lantis (1980) notes that infancy and childhood are nurturant, unpressured, and non-traumatic experiences. Closeness to others, extending into

adolescence, is encouraged. Children become self-reliant, independent and self-controlled (Lantis 1980:9). All of the studies reviewed suggested that growing up had "good continuity and consistency" except when children were thrust into non-Eskimo learning **situations** (most often public schools).

Adolescence, however, seems to be quite different. Parker, in his field work in Kotzebue in 1959, found gangs of teenagers and local discussion of "What is happening to the Eskimo youth?" (1962:160). He observed that the **older** people complained about the younger people, that children wouldn't talk with their parents, and that children did pretty much what they wanted to do (Parker 1962:174, 192). Then, as now, the annual school dropout rate was between 15 to 20%. Complaints about the lack of responsibility of the young were also reported for Kotzebue over 15 years ago by Smith (1966:77).

Twenty-five years ago, VanStone noted a lack of respect for parents in Pt. Hope (1962:99). He also commented on the lack of communication between parents and their older children (1962:88) and the difficulty unmarried youths of 17 to 25 created for the village. They were the least well adjusted age group (1962:87). Even at that time concern was expressed that the next generation was not learning the traditional lore.

The situation did not seem to have changed in the early 1980s. Frequently during the field research time, the "problem" of the young people was raised. For example, a leader in his forties talked about the "complete" breakdown of respect of the young for their parents, and the problem of lack of responsibility of the young people. During the conversation, his own children were climbing all over the living room, taunting younger siblings, and continually interrupting. His occasional mild reprimands had no effect and the children's behavior continued. This man seems to be raising his children according to the model of good, independent Eskimo children, while bemoaning the results that this model may have in the modern world.

Other examples of this apparent contradiction happened elsewhere. On one occasion, a parent gave in to a teenager's incessant demand for money; and in another episode a grandfather, who had missed much of the raising of his own children, clearly indulged his grandchildren. He explained that he thoroughly enjoyed being home now, with his grandchildren.

Certainly this is not a new problem in the history of human relations, nor is it unique to Alaska's Northwest. What is significant is that it persists as a prevalent theme; in 1981 there continued to

be much wringing of hands over the "youth problem". "The kids run Kotzebue. The children simply are not disciplined," observed a non-Native professional.

An element of fatalism, accepting as inevitable the difficult period of adolescence, is reflected by a mother of six teenagers:

"The teenagers are getting different . . . but an old man predicted the younger people are going to be higher than us . . . going to be bossy. He was right. But when Jesus comes . . ."

Child raising practices have several recurring themes. One is training children to avoid fighting and to keep out of conflict (Lantis 1980:2). Withdrawing is a common response to conflict and emotional pain. According to Coles, this is "defense behavior that in the adult is referred to as 'going away' . . ." (Lantis 1980:9).

Another characteristic of Eskimo child raising is allowing children considerable freedom. This happens mainly by encouraging acts of independence and skill at various tasks. For boys, these sometimes involve subsistence skills. A good-sized fish caught from shore is appreciated and wins praise for the young fisherman. Girls are expected to assume the care of other young children and housekeeping chores such as the family laundry. As girls grow older, they are encouraged to take jobs and contribute to the family economy. The

socialization of children in general emphasizes the importance of an economic contribution to family well-being (Burch 1975:137-8).

After reading Lantis's 1980 article, I reviewed my field notes and noted the frequency of my side references to the behavior of children. For example, they were running through the hotel noisily in February 1981. Among my other comments are:

"I was surprised the parents did nothing about the children running around the dance floor The kids are incredibly noisy, but they stay consistently happy. There were no quarrels on any of the evenings."

A third theme is a concern for others. McNabb reports both emotional and physical support are apparent, as is intense affection and tolerance toward babies and young children. Children seek the approval of older siblings and adults, and learn at an early age that this approval is best won by taking in account the well-being of others. Lantis notes that one hypothesis is that the large amount of physical body contact experienced by infants leads Eskimos to be "especially responsive to the behavior and moods of other individuals" (1980:10). This development of a strong sense of others may counter the push for individual decision-making (Lantis 1980:11).

With respect to attitudes toward childbearing, itself, after a drop in births in the late 1960s and early 1970s, there appears to

be a renewed interest in having children. Women are having their first child when fairly young -- perhaps between 16 and 20. It isn't expected that these young women marry and settle down right away. They may work, continue with school or both, either at the village level or outside. The girls' mothers often help care for any children and these children will frequently live with their grandparents for various reasons such as convenience, preference, or perhaps a shortage of housing. The grandmothers, after raising their own children, now have a new generation of children to raise. As noted, adoption by grandparents remains fairly common and a house without young children is rare. Many older women express delight at the arrangements and their affection and patience is obvious.

There tends to be a partiality and favoritism for male children. The birth of a boy is a great cause for celebration. In discussions with pregnant women, McNabb found this preference was often expressed. Having many sons (or grandsons) may increase a family's status. In a family with many daughters, the birth of sons to the two eldest daughters was such a source of celebration that the two boys were immediately adopted by the grandparents.

There may be a **causal** relationship between the economy and child training. Barry, Child, and Bacon (1959), in a study of 104 societies, found that societies with a low accumulation of food tend to place

pressures on **the** children to be self-reliant, independent, and **venture-**some. In contrast, societies with a higher accumulation of food **supply** (through herding and agriculture) tend to have expectations, and **asso-****ciated child** raising practices, that encourage obedience **and** compliant behavior. This suggests Eskimo children living in a hunting and fishing, small-scale, **low** accumulation society would be, traditionally, raised to be venturesome, independent adults.

The stability of family relationships and the persistence of child raising practices is **well** documented; further, socialization processes are among the most resilient aspects of culture. This leads to the conclusion that conflicts about the appropriate models of child **rais-****ing** will continue. There is little agreement as to just how the "new" **adult** Eskimo **should** act, nor how the **children** should be raised under the present circumstances. The very personality characteristics which lead to being successful in a hunting society are ones that may lead to difficulty in the industrial society. The person who thrives on independence and risks as a hunter on the ice is not likely to be happy in a hierarchical situation requiring obedience to western bosses on a strict time/task format.

Many of the researchers who have studied child raising in the past 30 years (**Briggs** 1970, **Honigman**, 1973, **Chance** 1966, **Burch** 1975, **Lantis** 1980) agree that the traditional format for managing children

included allowing them to do or not do what they pleased, so long as their behavior did not endanger anyone. It is not surprising, then, when youth today do as they please, because these child raising practices and their associated values appear to be still prevalent. This includes attending school, wage employment, and similar activities. Being an independent Eskimo youth may permit dropping in and out of school and work, along with one's peers, and without prior discussion with parents or teachers.

OLD AGE

What were the traditional expectations and roles of the elders? First, they received respect and devotion. This attitude has been noted by several observers over several generations (Birket-Smith 1936; Spencer 1954; Burch 1975). But, although given respect, the elderly were not necessarily perceived as exceptionally wise nor highly valued as carriers of tradition. "Old people do not occupy positions of authority," observed VanStone (1962:94); nor did Eskimo people in general have much interest in the past (1962:95).

The elderly themselves sought to contribute as much as possible and hoped in return to be taken care of. For example, as they were less able to contribute to heavy physical activities (hunting and fishing), they could make or repair items in the household. According

to Birket-Smith, however, after they could no longer actively contribute to a household, they were grand to have around but "expensive" (1936:137-139). In days long past, there were very rare occasions of extreme starvation when elders had to be abandoned temporarily while the younger people sought food, but the intent was always to return. Old people were not left behind to die intentionally (Burch 1975:148-150).

In recent years, the contributions that the elderly traditionally made have lost some of their importance. For example, the availability of store-bought goods has reduced the need to make things; a knowledge of taboos is no longer necessary, so the elders' value as providers of magical services has decreased.

Burch, however, notes that the elderly use their pensions to give cash to younger people, who in turn bring food in exchange (Burch 1975:138-139, 157). With this cash, children or grandchildren can purchase the necessary equipment to pursue subsistence activities; they then can return the investment to the elders in the form of food. This kind of reciprocal concern for the elderly apparently was widespread. Hall (1975:36) notes the care the people of Noatak gave Edna Hunnicutt and Paul Monroe, bringing them meat, fish, going to the store or post office for them, taking them to church and visiting.

The pattern and expectation that the young will continue to look after their elderly kin still can be found. As a 71 year old man said:

"The young people bring us meat because when they were little kids I feed them too much" (so now they return).

But the desire not to be a burden also persists. When asked who the residents were of the Senior Citizens Center, one answer was:

"They are old people who do not want to burden the young."

One part of "being a burden" that the elderly, themselves, may feel is declining strength, both physical and mental. In early 1981, a leader commented that he wasn't feeling up to par; he felt he was "loosing his grip," that he could talk more fluently and from a greater position of strength when he was younger. He was only in his fifties, young by modern standards, but perhaps old by Eskimo tradition. Forty years earlier, during the council meeting in **Noatak** (December 27, 1941), the retiring mayor "mentioned that as one gets old his mind gets weak" (BIA Council records, Foote's collection, Box 3).

Women's and Men's Roles

Just as age is a universal basis for distinctions between individuals, sex is also a discriminator. Because there is recent information available on the roles of Inupiat men and women (e.g., Kleinfeld, et al. 1981), this analysis gives most of its attention to some patterns not cited in the literature.

There are differences of opinion over how much men's and women's behaviors have changed over the years. Kruse (1981) observes that since the 1950s researchers have been expecting a decline in men's participation in subsistence activities and in women's involvement in the traditional way of life. Kruse's research, itself, however, while finding a decline in some activities, reveals that by and large traditional behaviors are continuing. He also noted that there are regional differences in subsistence activities, although more data is needed to explore why these variations occur.

One thing that appears to be happening is greater flexibility in the activities now allowed to women. McNabb offers an example of the range of acceptable roles women in a village may have:

"A comparison of two village women, twenty-three year old cousins, provides an interesting illustration. Cousin 1 had a child, married at seventeen, and presently lives with her parents. She has never been employed and did not finish high school. She is actively involved in subsistence fishing and gathering and does some hunting with her husband in the fall. She has the skills necessary for all these activities.

"Cousin 2 has never married, is currently supporting three children, and lives with her parents. She is an extension student at the University of Alaska. She was the city clerk for two years, on the Board of Directors of the regional non-profit corporation for a year, and has been City Administrator for two years. Her participation in subsistence activities is minimal, limited to occasional outings to pick berries, and some summer fishing with her mother. She has no real expertise in either cutting, drying or smoking fish.

"Cousin 1 is very much a 'traditional' village woman, with those accompanying skills and values. Cousin 2, however, **would** appear highly acculturated, well educated and motivated in her career. Both women are active in local politics, serve on the village council, and are regarded by the community as hard working women and good mothers. Both the women and the divergent roles they have chosen are accepted by the villagers."

This circumstance is recognized by non-Natives as well. Several mentioned the success they perceived in modern Eskimo women. A typical example was recorded in **Kotzebue**:

"They successfully manage a good job, they are good daughters, good providers, good mothers and provide for their husbands and sometimes their parents. Yet they can socialize on the weekend and be back to work promptly on Monday."

Burch (1975:88-91) reports that in traditional times a sharp division existed between men and women's roles. Women engaged in domestic activities: skin sewing; getting and storing berries, greens, and roots; taking care of the meat from big game kills and hunting small game, as well as hooking for fish.

With the increase in the number of children in the 1950s and 1960s, women had to pay more and more attention to child-raising. The nature of their domestic activities also changed, as they adopted such western habits as three meals a day (as opposed to one main meal in traditional times) and modern conveniences that required

attention (washing machines and freezers) (Burch 1975:90). At the same time, the opportunities for newer roles became available with the expansion of state and federal offices and the tourist industry (Smith 1966: 36-37).

In the North Slope Borough, employment patterns and their associated roles have recently undergone change. According to Kleinfeld, et.

al:

"Since the 1960s, Inupiat women have surged into the work force and have increasingly entered skilled work. Inupiat women are concentrated in white-collar work, and their rate of labor force participation, approximates national norms.

Inupiat men, in contrast, have developed a culturally different pattern of economic activity. North Slope Inupiat men, much more than men nationally, are concentrated in intermittent blue-collar work (Kleinfeld, et. al. 1981:29).

It is important to keep in mind the differences between the North Slope and the NANA regions, particularly the existence of the North Slope Borough and its taxing powers that created much of the local employment. Comparative data is needed for the NANA area to see if similar changes in women's and men's roles have developed.

Also needed is additional data on the relationship of the kinship system to the role behaviors. Consider, for example, Inupiat women who return home after marriage and divorce from white husbands

(Burch 1975:29-30; Smith 1966: 107). One such person lived alone outside when first divorced. But after returning to her Eskimo community, she was able to share her child-raising responsibilities with her mother (who came to live with her), a brother (who also lived with her), two other brothers, and an adopted sister (all of whom lived nearby). Her children had a grandmother, three uncles, three aunts, and 12 first cousins in the Inupiat community. In this case, the extended kinship system supported the woman's professional role on a full-time, high status job.

From the available evidence, women appear to be successful in managing their complex and changing roles. They continue to enter the work force in higher status positions, and in positions of leadership. They are continuing their education longer, and further than men. And as McNabb reports:

"They are also reaffirming their commitment to the issue of subsistence. I foresee these trends continuing, perhaps with subsistence resources diminishing in quantity but not importance" (Personal communication).

As noted earlier, men do not seem to be displaying as much job success. There is an apparent anomaly here, however. Although the indices of stress (mortality, accident rate, suicide, alcoholism) are higher for men -- particularly those in the 18 to 35 year old age group -- their participation in both traditional subsistence

and wage-paying **jobs** apparently has **not** declined (Kruse 1981). This suggests that **we** should look elsewhere than to economic reasons for explanations. Leaders of the NANA region believe there **has** been "a greater change **in** the roles of men" and that the resulting problems are caused by "a lack of traditional values training that would enable them to cope with the changes" (NANA personal communication 1982).

One factor, not yet systematically investigated, is the absence of the father from the family, and the effect this absence may have on children. In traditional times, the parent of the same sex as the **child** was primarily responsible as an **adult role** model. According to Burch:

"For a long time, a son would simply follow his father and watch. Gradually he would be permitted to try easier **things** for himself. Eventually he **would** do everything himself, **while** still under the watchful eye of the father" (1975: 133-134).

Other investigators have confirmed the importance of the father and the example he set for sons (Lantis 1980); Hughes, for instance, indicates that the boy sees the direct connection between his father's work and his own well-being. Of course, boys did not go on every hunting trip, so there were some times when the father was away from the area. Although the father was absent (but not often for long periods), boys still had contact with them and other male relatives. Incidentally, traditionally the men and boys usually slept in the men's house.

In more recent times, fathers have been absent not just for traditional subsistence activities but also for wage employment. Kruse (1981) suggests that one reason men continue to work as unskilled laborers, despite new job opportunities, is that this kind of work pays well but can be easily dropped when it is time to go hunting or fishing. But doing both could mean that village fathers are absent not only when working at cash paying jobs, but also after they come back home to engage in subsistence activities.

Added to this (until recent times) has been the physical removal of teenage children for the" school months. Possibly what has been happening is a lack of visible male role models, combined with less contact between fathers and sons. Adults may have experienced marked disruption in their life patterns, with the effects being felt more by sons than by daughters. Girls growing up in households with absent fathers still had the model of their mothers running the household. This model for young women included the absent father, the present mother, and the continuing introduction of offspring (Burch 1975:75-101; Kleinfeld, et. al. 1981:15-16).

At certain times in the recent past there may have been additional complications. For example, in the 1950s and early 1960s, some parents were absent from the villages for long periods because of tuberculosis. The confinement of fathers in hospitals certainly

would have exacerbated the problem. Further, any difficulties would have been compounded by the fact that more children were surviving; thus, the fathers had more sons with whom to share their affection and more that would be influenced by their absence.

Some evidence for the viability of this idea can be found by comparing families with absent fathers with families where the father was more continuously present, for example, as a school employee, the janitor. It is interesting that in several villages the sons of these individuals now hold important positions in the village. Much more, of course, needs to be known (such as whether or not these sons are less active in traditional activities than their fathers and grandfathers) before the hypothesis of the interaction of an absent father and male role models is tested. In addition to providing a clue to the reasons for some of the social stress being seen in the mid-generation of men, this idea would explain why older men are now declaring that they want to stay home and enjoy their grandchildren. It is, therefore, an intriguing possibility.

Village Organizations

In this section, major attention is given to local organizations that have grown from the villagers' own wishes to join together in groups. Those organizations that have their roots primarily in

external institutions, such as the school, store, and council, are discussed elsewhere. This distinction is simply one of convenience rather than analytical importance; dividing the topics this way makes them easier to handle.

In traditional times, the men's house served as kind of voluntary association. More recently, participation in National Guard activities may have filled the gap that was felt when the older men's groups disbanded. Now, the search and rescue units may serve similar functions and be replacing the National Guard's status and functions.

There can be no doubt that the contemporary local search and rescue groups bring together men from wide segments of the community, as the men's house did in earlier days (Lantis 1947:105-106). The new village groups now are coordinated with the state troopers, local police department, Fish and Wildlife Service, and Civil Air Patrol wing. This brings together both many people and much equipment. A pragmatic goal is served, of course, since these elements need to be assembled in a short time if rescue operations are to be efficient.

Sometimes, however, the social interaction may be as important as an urgent need for rescue. On one occasion during the field work for this report, four men were spotted walking about 11 miles out of town. The

trail was bad and a bear had been reported earlier in the general vicinity. Rather than letting the men take the risk, and endure the discomfort of walking into town, they were rescued by helicopter.

For women, village life has at various times included such voluntary associations at the PTA, 4-H, and the Mothers' Club. For a while, in some villages, Mothers' Clubs were not very active. In 1981, some nostalgia was expressed for them:

"It used to be fun. No kids to bother you when you sew. Hardly anyone visits now. We used to sit and visit and sew" (Kivalina).

"We used to in the wintertime. Not so much now. It's dying down, slowly" (Noatak).

In 1981, it appeared as if bingo and television might be taking the place of this association; however, with the introduction of Inupiat Ilitqusiatic (the Spirit Movement), the Mothers' Clubs are being encouraged again and in 1982 there was reported to be a Fathers' Club in every village (McNabb 1982).

THE CHURCHES

Churches in small communities tend to be powerful social and political forces, as well as meeting the spiritual needs of the people. In the region of this study, there are several major denominations and

numerous minor ones. While the earliest contacts between **euroamericans** and the **Inupiat** were with whalers and traders, **it** was the introduction of the church that brought the first noticeable alterations in the social structure (Spencer 1959:378-382). The major early denominations included the Presbyterians at Barrow (1890), the Anglicans at Pt. Hope (1890), and the Congregationalist Church at Wales (1888). This effectively left the Kotzebue area and the associated river drainages open for other missions.

Representatives from the California Society of Friends arrived in 1897. Their influence in establishing the villages and the regional town of Kotzebue has already been suggested in the previous chapter. Although other denominations have come to the region in more recent years, the Friends' church remains the first-ranking one (Smith 1966:85). It is located today in all of the NANA communities except **Kobuk**. In 1976 it was the only church in four places: **Buckland**, Deering, Noatak and Noorvik. A few Baptists were present in five villages: **Ambler**, **Kiana**, **Kobuk**, **Selawik** and **Shungnak**; the Baptists were the one denomination in **Kobuk**. Seventh Day Adventist churches were located in three villages: **Ambler**, **Selawik** and **Shungnak**. Finally, the Episcopal Church is the predominant one in **Kivalina**. Other groups represented to various degrees in different locations include the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (Mormon), the **Bahai**, and the Bible Missionary Church, but these groups do not have large followings.

McNabb suggests that, in some instances, he found that they were able to attract members only during the summer months when there were Bible school activities available.

With respect to the town of Kotzebue, the Friends and Episcopalians are the largest groups. As Smith notes about the churches:

'[Each . . . represents a 'home' church, based on village of origin. The Friends is the-mission for Kotzebue and the adjoining hinterland villages along the Kobuk, Noatak and Selawik Rivers; the Episcopal Church derives its membership dominantly from Point Hoppers now resident in Kotzebue; the Catholic Church serves migrants from the Diomedes and elsewhere" (Smith 1966:84-85).

The other denominations, such as those mentioned above, are found in smaller numbers.

In addition to the literature review for this study, ten church services were attended during the relatively short field time. The Friends Church was attended in Noorvik, Noatak and Kotzebue. The services lasted from one and a half to three and a half hours, and were impressive not only because of their ritual but also for the attentiveness of the members. Most services included a regular sequence of opening prayers, songs, and readings from the Bible. The readings were primarily in English and the songs in English or Inupiat. With the exception of one Episcopal Service (attended in Pt. Hope), the services included testimonials often lasting a long

time. On these occasions, participants were sometimes quite emotional, weeping and displaying intense feelings. The testimonials seemed spontaneous and there was no attempt to cut off their expression, regardless of how lengthy they were. This is a long-established pattern noted by others; Smith, for example, in referring to the churches in Kotzebue, reported:

"Testimonials in English and Inupiat constitute a major portion of each service" (Smith 1966:85).

No systematic analysis to explain why this particular behavior is so widespread was found, although McNabb (1981) speculates that the church may provide a public forum for the expression of various feelings, including the acknowledgment of wrongs against relatives and friends.

Religion often interacts with secular activities, reflecting the traditional mix of natural and supernatural elements (Lantis 1947: 67-70). For example, at Barrow in early 1981, during a three-day meeting of whaling captains and their wives (from six villages), there were Eskimo dances, potlucks, a Mothers' Club-sponsored dinner for the wives, church services, and "singspirations." A spiritual theme appeared numerous times during the formal meetings dealing with whale hunting regulations. For example, a whaling commissioner from Kivalina said:

"We must abide by the law -- the Bible -- regarding regulations. We are now facing it. It is getting harder every year. We will succeed someday."

Another occasion **when** prayer and singing religious songs was **com-**
bined with secular activities occurred during the trade fair in
Kotzebue in **July** of **1981**. The night before the fair opened there
was a prayer meeting and songfest, and the fair itself opened with
prayers.

An example of the importance of the church in a village was witnessed
in **Noatak** on May 10, **1981**. A special service **in** honor of Mother's
Day **was** held for three and a half hours that evening. Paper flowers
in red and **yellow** were given to all the mothers as they arrived, and a
special sequence of singing groups was called forward (for example, all
those whose mothers were not living, all those whose mothers were living,
the oldest and the youngest mother). During the service and the **testi-**
monials following, there was active passing around of the babies. It
was a highly **social** time. Though few young people attended the morning
service, in the evening many came and sat in the middle section of the
church.

The continuing social importance of the church is reflected in the
linkage between the yearly **cycle** of religious ceremonies, church meet-
ings, and **intervillage** visiting. Traditionally, messenger feasts were
held in mid-winter. Competitions, special dress, and food were part
of the ceremonies. At first, they were held in the **karigi**, or men's
house. Then some of the same activities, including foot races, kayak

races, wrestling, high kick, story telling, and singing and dancing moved to a church center (Smith 1966:29). Later, many of these activities shifted to the school.

Now, a rich cycle of ceremonial occasions occurs in many communities throughout the region. Part of the affluence of the modern day is going to as many of these occasions as possible, and thoroughly enjoying the special social and kinship time they provide.

Thanksgiving and Christmas mark feast times in the villages, and visiting between communities accompanies these occasions. In addition, school visits and basketball games provide times for visiting. During the spring, dog races and snowmobile races are held between Kiana, Noorvik, Selawik and sometimes Kotzebue. Next, in April, is one of the biggest events of the year: the Friends Quarterly Meeting. It is held in different villages on a circulating basis, and combined with and enhanced by the NANA Shareholders Annual Meeting. This is a time for sharing, for gift exchanges between partners, and for both spiritual and social renewal.

Easter at Kivalina is a special time. The Friends and Episcopal Churches join to feast and have services together. Partners and cousins from Pt. Hope, "at Easter they always come," as do guests from Noatak, Pt. Hope, Kotzebue, Selawik and Barrow.

The combined Fourth of July and trade fair at **Kotzebue** is a **continuation of** traditional trade and social exchanges. Drawing people from **the** regions north and south, **it** is the largest **interregional** event of the **year**. In 1981, it included a parade of the villages, with special **places** provided on the program for Arctic Slope and Bering Straits village performances. There was competition in Eskimo wrestling, kayak races, seal hooking, archery, harpoon throwing, high kick, blanket toss and Eskimo dancing **along** with other modern races. Feasts were **held** on the first and fourth nights.

Shortly **after** this summer event, another Friends Quarterly **Meeting** is held in **Kotzebue**. In addition to these structured times, delegations of church members take trips to other villages. At the evening service, these visitors read messages of greeting from their home congregations, sing solos, perform in groups and lead the testimonials.

A hint of the extent of this kind of **intervillage** exchange is suggested by the following:

- In November 1980, a church group from **Kiana** visited **Noorvik** and led the evening service.
- In February 1981, in **Kotzebue**, a group of visitors from **Noatak** brought messages from their church, and in their testimonials told of a trip taken to **Buckland**. A **Kotzebue** group was planning to go to **Kivalina** by snowmobile.
- A **Noatak** singing group raised funds to go to **Wainwright**.

Further evidence of the social importance of the church is found in the prominence the choral groups play. These groups are highly developed and have region-wide reputations. People record various singing events and send the tapes back and forth. The groups are then compared and McNabb reports that they are informally ranked. He also notes that individual singers receive recognition for their skills and that a good voice or singing style can lead to community recognition. An intriguing hypothesis is that this may be a continuation of the sung messages of the Messenger Feast (SESP personal communication 1982:4).

Another example of the interconnection between the church and other sociocultural elements was reflected in a prayer by the Inupiat Superintendent of the Friends Church when, just after the February 1981 Elders' Conference, he prayed for the elders and the responsibility that had been given to them that week. In addition to being a spiritual leader, the Superintendent is on the NANA Board of Directors.

The church buildings in each of the villages visited are locally built and beautifully maintained; ten percent tithing in cash or goods is expected of good church members. New churches are being built, using local funds. For example, Kivalina has a new Friends Church, in addition to the older Episcopal Church. Buckland built a new church in 1976. Pt. Hope dedicated their new church in June 1981.

Because of the spiritual and social importance of the churches in this relatively small population, it is reasonable to expect that leadership positions in the sacred and secular realms would overlap. In communities where the Friends Church is central, lay Native leadership has been long established. There are also positions in the churches that may not have formal designation as leadership roles but that are vested with importance. Illustrations include the elders who informally translate scripture, Mother's Club members who sew banners and plan church activities, the person who rings the bell for services (reported by McNabb to always be a man), and the men who pass out hymnals.

Just as there is overlap in leadership positions, so it seems possible that there may be political ramifications. It appears that local school board members, NANA board members and CZM board members are mostly members of the Friends Church. It was established during the field trips that there are some strong Episcopal Church members who never attend shareholders' meetings. Thus, although nothing specific can be documented concerning the political implications of the dominance of the Friends Church in the NANA region, it seems reasonable to suggest that there is an important relationship between the two. The sequence alone of the Quarterly Meeting followed immediately by the Annual Shareholders' Meeting, in the same village, makes it difficult to sift out the political from the social and spiritual.

In conclusion, the status of the church and its leaders is important not just in the spiritual life of the Inupiat, but also in other activities. Leaders in the church tend, like elsewhere, to also be leaders in the village and on key committees. The economic dimensions of the church also are important in village life; residents continue to maintain and support the church with local funds and labor. Unlike the community halls that are built with external funds, and subsequently sometimes destroyed and closed, the church keeps its sense of sacredness and is fully integrated into community life. Next to kinship, the church relationship seems to be the strongest.

In summary, the spirituality and church relationship is one of the most pervading and significant dimensions of the contemporary Inupiat culture. Its strength and the degree that the church has become an integrated part of the modern culture is highlighter! when compared to the more secular perspective of many non-Natives who seem to come north not only without kinship, but also without religious affiliations. And these are two major markers of Inupiat life: family and church.

INUPIAT ILITQUSIAT

The NANA Eskimo Spirit Movement, Inupiat Iilitqusiak -- literally, "collective spirit of Eskimos" -- is a recent effort started by

regional leaders to engage villagers in recapturing traditional values. **Its** roots may have been in the first NANA region Elders' Conference held in 1976. **One** of the founders described **it**:

"We are reaching back to **our** elders. **The** river and coast people, men and women together."

In 1981 the annual conference placed a new emphasis on the role the elderly might play in current efforts to revitalize Eskimo culture.

As one Native observer stated:

"This year was different. Before, it was documentation of culture, lifestyle. This year, the leaders were requesting some guidance . . . , what we can use now to try to go back to? They were asking the **elders** to provide some guidance . . . how to bring the two cultures together."

One of the conference leaders commented later on the message from the leaders to the elders:

"**If you** will **tell** us what **to** do, **we** will do it. But we need you to tell us what needs to be done. (We urged) the elders to **share** their solutions **to** the problems."

By the **end** of the **1970s**, many of the conflicts that arose from the **land** settlement portions of ANSCA appeared to the public to be resolved for the NANA region. However, the implications of these solutions may not have yet reached the village level. As activities like the Regional Strategy Program got underway, attention turned to what was happening to people locally.

An example of the sort of things that were bothering the leaders was offered in these comments:

"The help we thought we were instituting for our people became a burden. They can't make payments. And now the leaders feel badly about what has happened."

In the fall of 1980, some of the ideas that grew into **Inupiat Iliit-qusiat** were included in the keynote address to the AFN convention in Anchorage. At that time, Willie Hensley spoke of the renewal of a people's spirit as a solution to threats to the integrity of lands and resources (NUNA November 1981).

In the following months, a group of NANA leaders -- acting as private citizens rather than institutional officers -- met to identify what they thought was lacking and what **social** and cultural elements might be emphasized to fill the gaps. No program or agenda was put together and there was no talk about what people might "do"; a provisional committee, however, was formed to get the word out.

In the late spring and summer of 1981, the initial message had been issued (NUNA May 1981). It was mainly an historic review of culture change in the region couched in **Inupiat** terms and looking at the degradation of village social life and the despondency and apathy that was seen as the result. Spirit -- a personal quality transcending political, social, psychological, and material constraints -- was

put forward as a common denominator that, if strengthened, **would** overcome the **ills**.

Representatives of various groups began **to** describe publicly what they thought their organizations could do to support a renewal of spirit. Lists of various Eskimo values were compiled and, in the **fall** of 1981, members of the **initial** and provisional committees went to the **villages** and invited **local** residents **to** pick up on the idea and deal with it as they wished (NUNA June 1981; Fall 1981).

Part of this involved inviting the villages to form elders' groups **to** help with **Ilitqusiatic** activities. Earlier in 1981, the Spirit Movement had been a topic of discussion at the Elders' Conference, as part of the revitalization efforts. Some concern was expressed that the elders were being asked to do something too **difficult**, that it might be unrealistic to expect them to provide any new solutions.

"It's good. It's up to us. But for some, they are saying . . . 'that's too much'."

Some elders, it was reported, **left** puzzled -- "what was it all about?" This concern seemed to focus on three things: whether or not the elders understood what was being asked of them, whether they could manage this new responsibility, and whether there were any meaningful ways in which they could, in fact, **help** the leaders. This concern was expressed not **only** privately, but **also** through prayer in the church.

By 1982, some of the early leaders had **pulled** back and left the Spirit Movement in local hands. This withdrawal was **in** keeping with what they had said at the beginning: that once the elders and the villagers were involved, the local **people** would have to define how **Inupiat Ilitqusiatic** would operate at their level. As a result, several different forms have emerged.

In one community, the elders' council combines its meetings with those of other organizations, and political and social issues (including womens' problems) are discussed. In another village, an effort is being made to integrate the elders' council into **the** local government, including both the city council and the IRA Council. In yet another location, the elders are taking a renewed interest in education and have entered classrooms and prepared media and curricular materials **to** strengthen Spirit in the schools.

There are, however, continuing manifestations at the regional level. A non-profit NANA museum, located in Kotzebue, has assumed some of the functions originally undertaken by the organizing and provisional committees. (It should be noted in this connection that the early provisional Spirit Committee was composed of four persons from each of three **Kotzebue** organizations: NANA, **Maniilaq**, and the **school** district.) Among other things, the museum will hold some funds in trust to pay for a few of the organizers who are devoting full-time efforts to various **Ilitqusiatic** activities.

In 1982, a conference and retreat center was under construction on Melvin Channel, near Kotzebue. It consists of five cabins and a meeting hall, with conveniences such as electricity. It was built with funds from the state. In early 1983, the Spirit Movement was featured on a half-hour television documentary produced by an Anchorage station; the conference center was featured prominently in this program.

Some of the ideas expressed at the time **Inupiat Ilitqusiatic** was formulated include cultural continuity, individual and ethnic pride, personal dignity, and a **balanced** adjustment of old and new ways. Estrangement was noted not only between older and younger generations but between the regional leaders and the villages. Many felt the NANA Corporation, by virtue of the **fiscal** and political demands made of its leaders, had grown away from the concerns of the villagers. Thus, the movement may well have helped to bridge gaps between institutions as well as between individuals.

It is, of course, too early to assess the long-term consequences of **Inupiat Ilitqusiatic** on the social milieu of Northwest Alaska. Like many characteristics of the region, it is highly variable between villages and means different things to different individuals. McNabb states that the movement is one that "portends a

significant social effect" and that local initiatives "reflect innovation and conviction" with a resulting reduction in local apathy (personal communication 1982).

Diversity, including the re-emergence of former patterns after periods of dormancy, may be a hallmark of Eskimo culture. As Spencer says:

" . . . as the data are considered, it is clear that the prehistoric Eskimo cultures are infinitely more diverse than is true of those in the ethnographic present. In other words, it seems indicated that modern Eskimo cultures are . . . to be explained . . . in terms of original diversity worked upon by essentially uniform environmental conditions (Spencer 1959:447-448).

It can hardly be surprising then that the Spirit Movement appears to be taking on unique aspects, depending on the local village conditions. In the future, it may well be that it will endure in some places and be forgotten in others. In a similar way, it may turn out to be of great importance in some villages and of little consequence in others; it may foster change or it may resist alterations in existing arrangements.

Intervillage Ties

"The groups of people . . . moved, as has been seen, over large sections of territory" (Spencer 1959:166).

Extensive physical mobility continues among the **Inupiat** of the study area and leads to a consideration of the ties that result. The evidence suggests that people tend to visit where their relatives live, and to marry where they visit. As a consequence, some communities appear more closely **linked** together than others.

Here are some examples of the kinds of kinship connections found during the **field** research:

- A leader of the Friends Church in **Kivalina** was born on Cape **Essenberg**, lived in **Deering** and **Kotzebue**, married a Noorvik woman and has relatives **all** the way to Barrow. His wife's relatives include residents on Barter Island.
- Another **Kivalina** man's father was from Pt. Hope and his mother from Noatak. He, himself, was raised at Pt. Lay, and his parents went as far as the Canadian border trapping for awhile. Then he came to **Kivalina** in **1939** and married a **Kivalina** woman.

To investigate the interrelationships more closely, villagers were asked about their visiting patterns. In **Kivalina**, **13** adults were asked where they like to visit. Pt. Hope was mentioned the most frequently (eight times), although several people said they rarely go there. Six individuals mentioned **Noatak**, and the frequency of their trips there is greater than to Pt. Hope, suggesting closer ties between Noatak and **Kivalina**.

Two persons born in Pt. Lay are interested in going back there, after 40 years' absence. The new housing and recent resettlement have made them curious. One person said he'd like to go to Barrow. He has never been there and three of his cousins now live there. A recent resident (having lived in **Kivalina** only ten years) said he was homesick for Deering, but added he would go to Pt. Hope before he would go to Noatak. The elderly priest mentioned **Nome**, **Kotzebue** and Pt. Hope, places he used to visit on a regular route of church services. Finally, only two mentioned going to **Kotzebue**, suggesting that the **Kivalina** people do not frequent the town as much as other, closer villages.

A possible reason why visits to **Kotzebue** are not so frequent could be the difficulty of finding accommodations with relatives. Managing the imposition of village relatives if you live in town was noted over 15 years ago (Smith 1966:71). It is one of the risks and costs of moving to town, yet keeping village contacts. There are continued pressures to share; you may work and make money in one world, but you live and share in another.

While speaking of **Kotzebue**, it is interesting to note that transportation ties from **Shishmaref** to **Kotzebue** have been documented in recent years, and that -- in discussions with residents of Nome --

the ties between **Shishmaref** and **Kotzebue** "are strong, almost as strong as ties to **Nome**" (SESP personal communication, 1982; see also OCS TR #54 for additional discussion).

Among the villages east and south of **Kotzebue**, **McNabb** reports there are ties between **Kiana** and the **Koyukuk** area, especially **Huslia**. Although there are some kinship ties from **Selawik** to **Pt. Hope** and **Barrow**, the stronger connections are to **Noorvik**. **Seward Peninsula** residents tend to visit south, not just to **Kotzebue**. The **Buckland** villagers meet with **Koyuk** people, mainly at **Granite Hot Springs** (this site is in the hills between the villages). **McNabb** observes that the route to **Koyuk** follows along the **Kiwalik** River, an old travel route to the mountains. He suggests that mining operations could have brought the people together in more recent times, and that, therefore, the ties between the **Buckland**, **Deering**, **Koyuk** and other **Kauwerak** people are probably a mix of old and new interactions.

For a few communities, data is available on marriage patterns. **Anderson (1977)** reports that in **Noorvik**, 63.2% of the marriages were endogamous -- that is, **Noorvik** residents marrying **Noorvik** residents. In **Selawik**, 50% were endogamous but in **Kiana**, the smallest of the three villages, only 18% were married to other residents raised in **Kiana**.

Many of the marriages in **Selawik** were with sea-oriented coastal villages such as **Kotzebue**, **Pt. Hope** and **Kivalina**. Such ties may be

a kind of strategy for diversifying food sources by extending kinship to the coast. Anderson (1977) also found that many of the **Kiana** spouses came from diverse villages, more so than is the case for either **Selawik** or **Noorvik**. **McNabb** confirms this, noting that there are some Pt. Hope people married to **Kiana** people and living in **Kiana**. However, 38% of the **Kiana** spouses are from **Noorvik**.

There are, of course, examples of marriages farther away. The pattern of people from Northwest Alaska moving eastward along the north coast, documented for the late 19th and early 20th century (**Burch** 1975; **McNabb** 1981), may well be continuing today. For example, five recent marriages of NANA women to Arctic Slope men living in Barrow were identified in this short research period. Only one NANA man married to an Arctic Slope woman was noted.

A former **Kivalina** mayor moved to Barrow where his wife is employed. A group of **Kivalina** young people were working at Pt. Lay the spring of 1981, and one large family was considering moving there. If the NSB continues to expand its job opportunities and work is more easily available there, then a certain amount of migration might be expected. However, the reverse could also occur, as it has in the past, and relatives living to the north and east might find it expedient to return to the study area to reaffiliate with relatives there.

Examples of marriages to people from other areas of Alaska were also noted. In some cases, the individuals met at **Mt. Edgecumbe**. With the closing of this school, the incidence of marriage outside the region might drop; the trend would be worth watching. In the **Kotzebue area**, at least three couples were identified as marriages of Eskimo men to Indian women. The parents of several of the modern Native leaders often included a white father and an **Inupiat** mother, or a white grandfather whose wife helped raise their children's children. There are also recent instances of young white men marrying local **Inupiat** women. (At least two non-Native men on the 1981 **Kotzebue city council** had **Inupiat** spouses.)

Changes in the marriage patterns could have important consequences for other parts of the social and cultural makeup of the region. For instance, Smith observed for **Kotzebue**:

"The households of mixed marriages . . . form . . . the only important catalyst providing an understanding of the differing ways of life; their **social** focus tends more toward the Eskimo family ties than toward the white family" (Smith 1966:89).

In addition to the early pattern noted above of white entrepreneurs marrying **Inupiat** women, there were marriages between government employees and local women. During the height of the **DEW-line** days, some called this the "Air Force route" out of town (Smith 1966:101). However, it is important to note that some of these marriages were, and still are, seen by local residents as "long-term, good relations"

(Tiepelman, personal communication 1982). In addition to the pattern of Native women marrying non-Native men and moving away, was the one of moving south and then marrying. This was fostered by BIA relocation schemes in the 1950s and 1960s, and by the practice of sending youth Outside to secondary schools (Smith 1966:101).

Although adequate data are not readily available, these patterns now appear to be changing as more non-Native men move north and marry Inupiat women in the women's home communities. Changes in these patterns are having several effects. First, more of the women may be staying, or returning home. Second, their husbands -- who often arrive with few, if any, kinship ties -- obtain a wealth of kin. In combination with education, salaried positions and leadership, marrying into large families may enhance the potential power of the non-Native men. Conversely, Native men may be handicapped by not having so powerful a combination of traits. Local residents may find that these non-Native spouses will become the intermediaries with the development representatives. (For discussion of a new non-Inupiat social class developing in Barrow, consult Worl, Worl and Lonner 1981).

One pattern which is likely to continue to influence kinship, marriage -- and politics -- is that of migration. From 1960 to 1965, about 70 families moved from villages to Kotzebue, primarily from Noatak, Pt. Hope and Noorvik. At that time, about 60% of the total population was derived from non-Kotzebue families (Smith 1966:64). Deering and

Candle also fed the move to Kotzebue, although the latter has been more of a transient village.

These migrations are part of a long-standing pattern. Kotzebue-Sisualik was an important leg in the journey for people making this round. So, when resource or work patterns changed such as when mining operations slowed in Candle, it was logical for them to settle in Kotzebue. Many current Deering families were in this sort of circuit for longer or shorter periods; they might have lived in Deering for many years, then Candle for five or so years, then back to Deering and on to Kotzebue. In Selawik, between 1975 and 1977, seven families moved out of the community (a total of 33 people); of these, six families went to Kotzebue (Anderson 1977:25).

Additional evidence related to intervillage and other types of migration is found in the present-day location of children. Their wide distribution across the state is impressive. For example, a Noorvik couple had two girls located in Anchorage, two girls in Fairbanks, four in Noorvik and one surviving boy about whom they say, "Keep him home." Another Noorvik family has ten children; one is Outside, one in Kotzebue, one in Nome, one in Nenana, and six are at home. One elderly couple from Selawik had 11 children: two of them live in Kotzebue, four in Kiana and four in Noorvik. A man interviewed in Pt. I-lope had children located in four different Native regions: Arctic Slope, NANA, Bering Strait and Cook Inlet.

Intergroup Relations

There are numerous sets of relationships which can be considered within the context of changing human perceptions of the North. Here we will **look** at two sets: Native/non-Native and Native/Native. This includes each group's perceptions of the other. **Interethnic** relationships in contemporary Alaska tend to be reported in the context of non-Native perceptions of Natives; that is, what whites say about non-whites (see **McNabb** 1981 for an analysis of stereotyping). Other than occasional ethnographic observations (e.g., Smith 1966:89-94; VanStone 1962:137-138), no systematic data exists on how indigenous Alaskans view euroamericans. Similarly, little information has been gathered on how the different layers of Native Alaskans (villages, towns, regions) view one another.

During the field work for this study, it was generally found that whites perceive their relationships with Eskimo elders to be good, and with the youth, less good or downright bad. The elders do seem to have a comfortable interest in non-Natives -- one feels that they have been watching miners and missionaries, school teachers, doctors and dentists, VISTA workers and lawyers, anthropologists, wildlife biologists, and engineers come and go for years -- and somehow still find these visitors intriguing. Perhaps the older generation has a continuing confidence in who they are that gives them an assuredness which the younger individuals are struggling to develop.

The Inupiat in the NANA region are clearly in the majority. Even allowing for the unreliability of the census figures (as discussed in Chapter II), this conclusion can be drawn. In 1970, a little over 12% of the residents were non-Native; in 1975, the percentage reached about 18 and one-half, and in 1980, it dropped back to nearly 15%. The non-Native groups were almost all classified by the census as white (29 out of 629 non-Native individuals whom the 1980 data reported were non-white). In terms of intergroup relations, however, it would be interesting to track this data across the years; the growth or decline of non-white non-Inupiat might provide clues to village and town dynamics, particularly with respect to changes in the Black and Asian populations.

The fluctuation in proportions during the 1970s could have resulted from a number of causes, McNabb notes that there may have been a greater natural increase among Natives that more than compensated for the growth in numbers of non-Natives. The return of Inupiat youth, with or without families, has been noted in the North Slope Borough (Kruse, et. al. 1981) as those in the 20 to 30 year age range returned once jobs were available. A similar trend may be occurring in the NANA region, although fewer jobs are available than in North Slope Borough.

On the other hand, changes in enumeration might account for the mid-1970s increase -- it could be that some who identified themselves as non-Native in 1970 reported their Native ethnicity in later years. Certainly being one-quarter Native in 1980 meant something different.

than being one-quarter Native did in 1970. The extent to which the fluctuations reflect true growth, the effects of ANCSA, or inaccuracies in reporting await better data.

Instances of prejudice, racism and discrimination can be found in Northwest Alaska as they can anywhere in the world. The feelings people have about individuals not perceived as belonging to their group vary from person to person, village to village, and group to group. Overall, however, the Native/non-Native relations do not appear to be good. McNabb not only finds them "very poor" but:

"likely to remain so, . . . for very predictable reasons relating to language differences and basic ethnicity issues."

He describes what he finds to be the basic dilemma faced by modern

Inupiat:

"Looking particularly at the more hardened and paternalistic stereotypes, we see that . . . there is no way to win. If you adopt Western culture, you are not an Eskimo. If you fail to adopt Western culture, you are a backward savage . . . Nothing you do is really 'correct' and adaptive."

Regretably, a dispassionate analysis of the existence of prejudice and discrimination is not possible in the present atmosphere of Alaska. The lack of good information and the deep-seated hope that they do not exist tends to blind many. Elsewhere, the principal investigator has reflected on the tendency of white Alaskans to deny the existence of prejudice and discrimination and its more virulent form, racism (Davis 1979). McNabb has encountered the same denial in his experience.

To provide a **guage of** the sorts of perceptions that the author encountered during the field portions of this study, the following quotes from non-Natives are provided:

"The **older** Native people are easier to get **along** with. They **value** school and our efforts.

"Natives who look the least Native are the most racist.

"If they **didn't** have subsistence foods (like whale), 99.9% of what they eat would be junk food.

"They are all related to each **other**. That's their trouble -- incest,"

No doubt equally disparaging statements by Natives about non-Natives could **be** elicited. A decade and a half ago, Smith reported comments by Kotzebue Inupiat about white people that were anything but flattering (Smith 1966:89-94). There **is** no reason not **to** think that similar **com-ments** are being made these days.

Without the **availability** of valid information and considering the present feelings, it is probably best not to try to make any generalizations beyond those already proposed. For example, the author experienced some suspicion on the part of several non-Native professionals during the **field** research for this project, and speculated that the lack of supportive kin might account for the apparent loneliness and occasional hostility. Others, however, have reported that non-Native professionals have strong fictive **family** ties that protect them from social isolation (SESP 1982:5). Thus, in the absence of additional data, it does not seem possible to draw firm conclusions.

One aspect of intergroup relations, however, that does bear discussion has to do with the perseverance of culture. For over 100 years, observers have been predicting the rapid disappearance of indigenous cultures in Alaska. To be sure, some cultural patterns have been altered, but to date, no whole culture has disappeared. This belief, however, was still found in Northwest Alaska. A non-Native, a physician, commented:

"I guarantee that within 15 years there will be no full-blooded Eskimo or culture or subsistence. Everything will be wiped out."

If this report accomplishes nothing else, let it be the refuting of this idea. **Inupiat** ways and **Inupiat** people are alive and thriving in the North. They will persevere indefinitely; and planning for the future must use this as a cornerstone. As one Eskimo leader phrased it:

" . . . some **people** presuppose (that) certain types of behavior or adaptations (will) reach a point (when) one can say they are no longer an Eskimo or cultural trait; Eskimo is a more dynamic condition than most people are willing to give it credit (for being). Will not a 21st century Eskimo be the result of these cultural dynamics?" (personal communication 1982).

The area where human relationships seem to be changing most rapidly is in the perceived differences among the Natives. The stratification that is occurring among their own ranks is perhaps more disconcerting because they are **Inupiat** who still value the egalitarian ethic. Somehow, it seems more wrong for social and economic distance to develop among themselves. The distance between Natives and non-Natives may be far

greater overall, but for some villagers that maybe more acceptable. Wide distances between Natives and non-Natives are expected, historically a part of the way life is, and thus more tolerated, though not right. But the growing disparity between groups in the regional town, accentuated by their separation from the villages, feels un-Eskimo, and it is bothersome.

These kinds of tensions have existed for a number of years. Smith commented on them during the summer of 1965 (1966:63). In 1981, the observation by an Inupiat resident was that Kotzebue, the "king of the villages," has "too many white men now" and "the Native people change."

"Nowadays some of our friends not so close to each other like we used to be" (village mayor).

"I don't like to be there (in Kotzebue) without a reason" (Kivalina man).

What seemed to bother the village people most was not the increase in white faces and services, but a growing estrangement they feel from some of their own people. It is possible that some of these feelings are not really new. Smith noted the problem of factionalism among the Eskimo (1966:80). Considering the range of differences represented by the villages, between the villages, within Kotzebue, and between regional towns and the villages, it is surprising that factionalism is not more public.

Increased stratification between peoples may be one of the painful consequences of modernization processes, especially for a people who may still value the ideal of the egalitarian ethic.

This chapter has considered a range of human relationships from kinship and family to church and village; from village and region to Native and non-Native. These are difficult relationships to understand or measure, but they may form a basic core of concern for the local people and be critical in shaping response to future events.

CHAPTER IV. SERVICES AND FACILITIES

"I'm glad of all these changes at home, because it has made **life** easier **to** live" (M. Jackson 1976:29).

Schools, hospitals, clinics, new housing, charter flights, snowmobiles, telephones, CBS and television represent hunks of modernity introduced to the North to ease the presumed pain of living in the Arctic. And many elders agree with the college student above -- life is easier now.

This chapter does not address the physical or technological characteristics of the services and facilities. Rather, attention is directed to the relationships with social and economic organization. The main point is that each of these pieces of modernity is now, or is becoming, a part of the new, emerging Native culture of Northwest Alaska. Although no measure of the degree of integration is attempted, this generalization is suggested: The longer the service, the greater the dependence. The greater the dependence, the more severe the sense of deprivation if interrupted or discontinued. The desire to keep, maintain and improve the existing levels in the standard of living may greatly influence the amenability of individuals, families, villages and regions to participate in future development projects.

Schools

Compared to many areas of village Alaska, schools were established relatively early in the study area, most being in place in the early part of

the 20th century. Sheldon Jackson travelled north in 1890 as part of his responsibilities as the federal agent in charge of education; under his arrangements, "contract" schools were to be set up at the various church mission stations. These were government schools established for secular education but staffed and paid for partly by the mission where they were located (Simon 1980:42).

Since the early days when they were first established, several shifts of administration have occurred: first from the church to the Bureau of Education, and next to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, then to the state-operated schools, and finally in 1976, to local Rural Education Attendance Areas (REAA).

Because the schools today are in a period of great flux -- in philosophy, facilities, administration -- and because they are major economic institutions in the villages, what is happening within the context of "education" will have considerable ramifications for the future Native culture.

ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

The school, especially in the villages, is usually the major physical facility and often the major employer. The economic impact of the construction and maintenance of the facilities and the fundings and allocation of school positions may be more significant in terms of local

contemporary culture than the education that may be accomplished. In a sense, the school is to the economic organization of a village what the church is to its social organization.

The economic significance of the school system was clearly indicated in a 1978 NANA survey which reported 43.8% of the families interviewed had one or more members working for the school district. In Kotzebue, the rate was 24.4% (McNabb 1981:48). In 1981 in the **Noatak** school, there were 14 employees and 91 students, an average of six and one-half students per employee (not all full-time). **Noorvik** had a higher ratio: 180 students and 43 employees -- a ratio of four to one. Thus, it is not just the increase in number of persons involved in the schools nor the pure dollar amounts. The increased ratio of villagers now legitimately in the school environment as **adults** may have important effects on the village culture.

For many years, a rare (and often prestigious) job available in a village was the school janitor. Now the maintenance positions continue to be the highest paid of non-professional staff, and there are more of them: a maintenance foreman and two assistants, for example. In addition, there are now teacher aides, bilingual teachers, cooks, recreation directors and office clerks. So the schools are providing not only more in terms of jobs, but also more in terms of contact between the predominantly non-Native teachers and parents and other relatives of the children they are trying to teach. In 1980-81, 26 of the 43 employees in the **Noorvik** school were Native -- sixty percent of the total staff.

INTERACTION WITH SOCIAL STRUCTURE

As with other dimensions of village life, employment in the schools may be influenced by kinship, by inheritance and by local politics. For instance, persons who have worked at the school for many years under previous systems are likely to have descendants who now are employed there. Certain families tend to have more school employment than others; it has become a part of family "tradition." In employing more persons from one family, the school may unwittingly contribute to greater stratification of village society, adding to intravillage tensions.

Two major village-wide school events were observed by the principal investigator in May 1981. Both demonstrate the role of the school in the community.

In Noatak, the annual carnival was held on May 9, 1981. The school was alive with balloons, prizes, children, parents and grandparents. Activities included raffling a hand-made quilt, selling food and playing numerous games -- ring toss, water games and the most popular attraction, a wheel of fortune. The proceeds were to be used in planning and ordering the prizes for the next spring carnival. This was an example of an internal village event that took place in the school and was both economic (i.e., raised money) and social.

The second event was more academic, but it, too, had implications beyond the school. On the last day of school, May 15, 1981, a formal presentation of awards was made by the principal of the Kivalina school. Standing behind a table flanked by the American and Alaskan flags, she proceeded to give certificates for many accomplishments, distributed among many students and witnessed by interested parents and grandparents. The awards included attendance, spelling, writing, scholarship, newspaper staff, greatest improvement and numerous sports: ski team, girls basketball, boys basketball, wrestling and volleyball.

As examples of the kinship implications, the student with the most awards was an adopted girl, and one of the two little boys with perfect attendance was being raised by his grandmother, whose husband had worked at maintenance of the school for many years. One dollar a day for each day he attended was awarded to this child by his aunt, who was working at the time at Pt. Lay --yet another example of kinship, economics and the school .

The area of education is not without conflict, however, particularly at that point of social and cultural interaction having to do with values. For example, in discussing actions of the school district, the Mauneluk Report editor felt constrained to write:

"There are two sides to every story. We offer this one in an attempt to balance the scales. Frankly, I expect to take some flak from my own friends and associates over this article. I will be accused of blatant opportunism. However, when you're walking on thin ice, you might as well dance" (May 1980:13).

Given the contrasts in child-raising practices between hunting/fishing societies and Western, industrial societies (**outlined** in the previous chapter), the potential for conflict is increased. The following example is based on a discussion with three **school** employees, combined with some limited observation and analysis of school settings. The **possibility of** conflict was highlighted in an elementary classroom which includes a strict, Western-educated, non-Native teacher, intent on her job of teaching basics; and a teacher aide, an Eskimo mother, who objects to the kind of discipline imposed on the youngsters. Both teachers have a **warm** devotion to the children and a commitment to learning, but different definitions of "bad" behavior and different tolerance levels for "disruptive" behavior. The setting is made more complex when the adults **also** have different ideas about what ought to be taught, and when the Native employee has a relative on the school board.

The existence of conflict over what the schools should be doing does not mean the schools are ineffective nor that they are unconcerned about these differences of opinion. **After** the REAA was established, the **NWASD** (Northwest Arctic School District) sought to strengthen its **Bilingual/Cross-cultural** Program. In 1978, it was decentralized **to** give more control to the villages. Some **Inupiat** materials were **developed and** used in the lower grades in 1979. In 1980, a requirement for **Inupiat** language and heritage was introduced.

Like most elements of change, the reception of these efforts has varied. As the school district's own evaluation in 1980 observed:

"At each site, Cross-cultural Education is approached differently, in some cases with tremendous response and in others with abysmal disregard" (NWASD 1980:7).

Nevertheless, the district has moved ahead because of the perceived urgency. In the eyes of the school administration:

"It is the next five years that the School District must act to help salvage some of the traditional life style and language of this region" (NWASD 1981:2).

A change of administration, with the appointment of a new superintendent in the summer of 1981, was expected to reduce some of the conflicts. And despite the buffeting to the school system, learning and wholesome fun does occur. For example, the language arts program at the Kotzebue high school won an award at the state level in 1981.

PERSONNEL TURNOVER

A situation that has been typical of most of the schools in rural Alaska for many years is regularly changing personnel. The turnover has occurred regardless of who was operating the system: the 61A, the State Operated Schools, and now the REAAs. The study area is not an exception. McNabb reported:

"At the close of the last school year (1981) fully half of the entire administrative staff of NWASD quit. This is much the same as every year, and shows that there is no reason to think that stability of educators will increase soon . . ."

Of course, the turnover rate varies from year to year and a comparative study most likely would reveal that some villages have greater stability in personnel than others.

The cyclical change in non-Native teachers may now **be** a regular part of village culture. The flow of teachers through villages may have served to accustom residents to the differences found in outsiders, and prepared them to encounter an even greater range when they leave the community for employment or education elsewhere. Those **villages** that continue to be open and friendly to outsiders are **likely** to be more amenable to participation in developments that bring in yet more outsiders, permanently or temporarily. One thing visitors, teachers and temporary construction personnel bring **to** a village is social variety.

The turnover **in** jobs is not limited to non-Native school employees. Local residents have a high rate as well, although the reasons are quite different. Non-Native teachers often see their stay at a **village** school as temporary (Kleinfeld 1972; 1979); for Natives, it is a job near home. The high turnover rate for local employees, therefore, may reflect a pattern of flexibility in taking jobs, arranging it so more than one person can **hold** the same position. This flexibility may also **allow** for illness, going to fish camp, taking a trip to town, or even an informal arrangement for sharing work.

If employment turnover continues to be high, is tolerated and even anticipated, then we may suggest that it is an integral part of the Northern culture and, as such, should **be** built into future plans. For many **Inupiat**, there seems **to be little** interest in year-round full-time employment, as defined by Western standards] flexible

work schedules are by far preferred (see Klein **feld** 1981 for a discussion of the North Slope policy). Another consideration is the possibility that if an individual stays in a job too long, there may be pressure from kin to quit; you may be seen as hogging the job and its rewards. Sharing, including employment, may be a **social** duty; a good **Inupiat** may be expected to quit work for a while. Another way to look at it is that job flexibility may be a special way of maintaining an **Inupiat** identity in the modern world. Leaving work may not be a failure on the job at all, but success as an Eskimo.

EDUCATIONAL CONTENT

The above discussion places the school as a social institution in the context of the village's social structure. With this as a background, a consideration of the content of education can now be undertaken. As already pointed out, the school district, seeking to respond to criticism, has established an **Inupiaq** Materials Development Center. An appropriation of \$1,969,808 was made for fiscal 1982 to go for this work. This program will accelerate development of bilingual **-bicultural** materials for the region. District administrators hope to accomplish in five years what had been slated to take 25; that is, a complete **bilingual-bicultural** (K-12) curriculum and materials to go with it.

The program planned to hire a staff of 21: 12 part-time teachers and 18 local translators and heritage consultants. It will tie into the ITV network to get its products out to the villages.

A vocational-technical high school has been built in Kotzebue and was prepared to begin with a minimal program in 1981. Of special interest to the OCS program, McNabb reports that the school is adopting the Seward Skills Center curriculum and approach almost exactly. The administration hopes to be able to inject an oil-technology or resources-oriented curriculum on short notice, if it is called for. They believe they could develop an employable group in four years, which is the anticipated lead time once developments are announced.

This curriculum would tie in with internship/apprentice programs both NWASD and NANA are investigating. Selected teams of NANA students would receive on-the-job training at a mine or other sites operated by firms moving into the area. The operations would be matched on factors such as environment and skills so that the interns would receive training equivalent to that demanded by the local work setting.

Post-secondary education has been a source of contention

for a number of years, and will likely continue to be so. This is in part because previous conflicts have created a history, or tradition, of conflict which is difficult to modify. For example, the competition between the Nome and Kotzebue regions for community colleges may be a reflection of deep, well-established **interregional** differences. In the modern times they may be centered around new issues.

All of these actions, however, are centered at the regional level through the area-wide school district. For a complete picture, one has to look at the villages as well. In the late 1970s, several surveys were taken as part of the regional strategy planning, under the auspices of NANA, **Mauneluk**, and the Governor's Office through the Alaska Public Forum. In every instance, the villages expressed a desire for the schools to "get back to the basics." There is a continuing tension between this local preference and the wish to "return to Native culture" advocated at the regional level .

At the same time, other developments within the school and regional social systems may be having more impact on the continuity of the local culture than the formal bilingual and **bicultural** programs. There may be an overall slowing of **acculturative** rates in less visible ways. For example, the localization of school control, the loss of boarding school

options, the building of **small** village high schools, and **the** expansion of **budget** for education may be more important influences.

Just when there is a political push for cultural revitalization, the kids are staying home more, experiencing less of the outside world, playing more competitive sports within their own region, and presumably eating more Native foods more of the time. At the same time, their parents and the other villagers are having to learn new skills in innovating appropriate **social** controls for the youngsters' energy. Now they are physically present in the village **all** winter rather than away at boarding school.

One might expect, then, a strengthening of kinship ties. A solidification of families, however, seems not to be happening, but, rather, the solidification of peer groups. Peer groups which used to form in boarding schools with members of other ethnic groups, now are more exclusively composed of village relatives and friends. A new Native youth culture may be emerging from this phenomenon, and it **will** be different than that which developed in the generation before. For instance, the youth who play together today may make good work teams later, on development projects in their own areas. But because they may have less experience working with outsiders, they may need more peer group support on the **job**.

THE INUPIAQ LANGUAGE

Throughout human history languages have disappeared. Until recently such losses went unrecorded. The difference now is that languages are valued for their own sake. Their passage is publicized and we share a feeling of permanent loss when they go. In this context, programs that slow the process of loss of our northern languages can be considered successful. They record the languages and enhance the dignity of those who still speak the tongues and those who learn them anew.

The use of **Inupiaq** is less widespread in the NANA region than in some other parts of Northern Alaska. This situation is distressing to some NANA leaders who see speaking **Inupiaq** as a key to the revitalization of the Eskimo lifeways. Thus the language is part of **Inupiat Iilitqusiat**, and its instruction in the schools is seen as important.

The school district has put **Inupiat** instruction forward as "the duty of a responsible educational system." This duty is based on the premise:

"...that though a traditional way of life is dying, the language embodies the culture and can carry it into a new time" (NWASD 1980:5).

In terms of increasing the actual number of **Inupiat** speakers, however, the results appear mixed. No accurate figures on

the actual number of speakers could be found. The author's impressions, and narrative reports from the schools, suggest that while some elders and a few middle-aged residents are fluent in Inupiaq, few if any youth are bilingual.

Even on the North Slope where the children are surrounded with the language more intensely than in the NANA region, recent tests indicate the younger children are not speaking it. Nor do they seem to be learning Inupiaq in school any more successfully in this region.

Several attempts to encourage the children to speak Inupiaq were witnessed. In one case, a mother conversed (in Inupiaq) consistently with her three-year-old daughter, but the child would respond only in English. Her older four siblings do not speak Inupiaq. In Kivalina, a woman leader in the community cuddled her 2-month-old adopted baby and said, "I really try to talk to her in Eskimo. It's already too late for the older three kids" (ages 10, 7 and 3).

One set of Inupiaq-speaking parents who had 11 children, most of them in the village school, were asked the question: "What do you think about teaching the kids the Eskimo language?"

"I don't think so. Maybe a few will do it," answered the father.

"I don't think so," the mother answered more firmly. Whenever the discussion of language came up, there always seemed to be this kind of ambivalence. In the villages, the program had not "caught on" with much enthusiasm-- despite the heavy rhetoric at the regional level.

One unintended outcome of the vigorous emphasis on the language is that it may increase feelings of inadequacy among those who do not speak it, yet these may be the individuals in the greatest need of a positive sense of the goodness of being Inupiat. The effort toward revitalization of the language might have more immediate results if more youth spoke it, or if it were easier to learn.

In the future, efforts will likely continue to revive the language through sophisticated technological means, such as videotape recording. Even so, whatever the value of the revival, it is unlikely that future industrial development projects will need to conduct their work in Inupiaq.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS

To conclude this discussion of the school as a social institution central to village life is a consideration of the students' involvement in education. The first aspect

of this deals with the physical presence of pupils in the schools. The usual measures of this are the retention rate (students who persevere) and the drop-out rate (those who leave).

Regrettably, like the census figures, the retention and drop out rates are full of inaccuracies. There are problems with varying definitions (how long a student is absent before being considered a drop-out), with corrections for seasonal fluctuations (more pupils go to school when the weather is bad than when it is good), and with consistency of data gathering (few of the available figures can be used to establish trends because they are not comparable).

Furthermore, the issue of school drop-outs has recently become an emotional one because many view leaving school as a negative action that should be corrected. For example, during the 1981 state legislative session, the Senate REAA Budget Oversight Committee sought information on programs to reduce drop-outs. After some exploration, they concluded it would cost at least \$200,000 and take a couple of years to get valid data. Nevertheless, they judged the problem of school retentions as "serious."

Concern about the drop-out rate is not new. Over twenty years ago the annual drop-out rate in Kotzebue was reported

to be between 15 to 20% during the years 1947-57 (Ray, Ryan and Parker 1962). Ten of the 30 students enrolled in the Friends High School in 1958 dropped out (Ray, Ryan and Parker 1962:162).

Some recent data, prepared for the Oversight Committee mentioned above, found the drop-out rate between 19% and 24%-- this represented a three-year tracking of 9th and 10th graders in all schools in the NWA SD. Figures for elementary schools appear to be unavailable for any years.

Good information is needed on how local residents themselves view the matter of attending school. As established in earlier chapters of this study, the cultural pattern of physical and social mobility is a long-established part of the Eskimo lifestyle. Traditionally this flexibility was a very successful way of managing one's affairs, and there is much evidence for its success as an adaptive pattern. The act of leaving school (and work) may be wholly compatible with this long-standing tradition. Non-Inupiat who are concerned about continuous attendance at school find the pattern frustrating, but it may not cause nearly as much concern in the villages as it does in the bureaucracy.

The second aspect of the students' involvement in education has to do with their intellectual engagement instead of

their physical presence. Here **it** appears --and again **there** are no good data--we have bright youth who are lacking Opportunity. Overall the educational attainment **levels** are rising across the population, and the group of high **school** and college graduates is growing faster than **the** market. **McNabb**, who has worked with college students from the NANA area, reports:

"I can testify to the **calibre** of many of these young graduates; we are seeing an increase in this group of skilled, but bored and restless people. The work force has obviously not been able to absorb them yet."

SUMMARY

In conclusion, there appears to be a slowing of some **acculturative** forces, combined with a greater emphasis in the schools on **Inupiat lifeways**. Peer groups, especially among high school age and youth, are growing in importance. Physical and social mobility, combined with an attitude encouraging this tradition of flexible adaptation, **lead** to what appears to be "dropping in and out" of school and work. **In** planning for the future of education and its interrelationship with employment efforts, these factors need to be given consideration and weight.

Health and Health Services

Health-related services appear to take a close second to

education in terms of jobs and programs. More research, statistics, and reports are available as reference for them. For example, a sense of the historical development of health services will be found in Parran (1954), Fortune (1975) and Milan (1979). An article about traditional practices in the NANA region is available (Lucier, VanStone, and Keats 1957). The diet studies accomplished by Heller (1964 and 1966) are especially valuable for the analysis of food habits and nutritional characteristics during the period 1956-1961. Three of the villages in the region of this study; Pt. Hope, Noatak and Shungnak, are included in Heller & Scott's report (1967)".

Stress indicators of various sorts have been analyzed and reported by a series of scholars, for example:

Chance & Foster (1962); Brody (1977); Klausner, Foulks & Moore (1979); Krauss & Buffler (1979); Bloom (1973); Parker (1962); Freeman, Foulks & Freeman (1978); Hippler (1974); Foulks (1972); and Leighton & Hughes (1955).

The most recent analysis may be found in McNabb's CZM report where the following major points are made:

- There exist complex problems with recording information and the resulting data.
- Traditional treatment for ailments using traditional medicines is available through tribal doctors.
- Accident rates in the NANA region are higher than in any other region in the state.

- 78% of all accidental deaths involve **alcohol** abuse.
- Suicide rates are especially pronounced among men in the 20 to **29** age group.
- The **Kotzebue PHS** hospital has had a decrease in **daily patient load**.
- There tends to be a ready, positive response to health-related topics.

Much of the following analysis is based on further detail provided by **McNabb** for this project. Here he identifies the range and kinds of data problems, some of the discernible trends, **village** variations, programs and future **plans**.

DATA PROBLEMS

A major problem in evaluating **health** conditions is the reliability of records. While it is known the records are faulty, it is not certain in which particulars they may be amiss, nor whether they are faulty in the same way for **all** villages. For example, examination of the records indicates that **Kotzebue** looks worse, per capita, than Deering. But **Kotzebue** probably has too many multiple records, so the data should be adjusted downwards. Should the data then be corrected in the same way for Deering? "We can't be sure," observes **McNabb**.

A second difficulty involves evaluating help-seeking behavior,

and relating this behavior to the accessibility of services. For example, are Kotzebue people more likely to seek treatment, or earlier treatment, than villagers? How might this be related to the location of the hospital in Kotzebue? If Kotzebue residents do go to the hospital more often because it is there, then their records will be higher than villagers' but not necessarily because of underlying health conditions that are actually worse in the town.

BASIC TRENDS

The basic health trends revolve around decreases in acute infectious conditions and increases in chronic conditions and social pathologies. People are living longer, but all this means is that the average age of old people is higher; there are not more of them. There are not more individuals overall surviving to reach an older age; mortality rates have changed very little over the last decade. "This is an important point," asserts McNabb; ".we can conclude that the health of the elders is secure, but this shouldn't mislead us, given the other factors. We have this notion that finally these people can expect longer lives; but all the facts show is that the average age of old people is higher. "

Accidents and injuries remain the leading cause of both hospitalization and death in the region, and this trend has

been constant for more than a decade. It shows no sign of changing much, and is neither accelerating nor slowing down measurably.

Other diagnostic categories show considerable variation, however. Complications related to birth are down. Deliveries are the second ranking cause of hospitalization; the change between 1975 and 1976 was +40.5%, but it went down by 8.5% between 1976 and 1977. The other category that shows a large drop is infected skin and abrasions, the 9th ranked cause of hospitalization. It increased by 150% between 1975 and 1976, but decreased by 36% between 1976 and 1977. The categories of influenza and pneumonia (ranked third) and epilepsy/convulsive disorders (ranked tenth) showed slight drops through the three years.

All other categories showed marked increases in rates of change, using the 1975-1977 data which are ranked by causes and rates of change (Mauneluk Comprehensive Health Plan 1979). Alcohol misuse decreased by 43.1% between 1975 and 1976, but rose 51.7% between 1976 and 1977; this category is ranked fourth. Mental disorders, ranked fifth, dropped by 15.8% between 1975 and 1976, but was up by 34.4% by 1977. Abortions, ranked sixth, decreased 15.4% between 1975 and 1976 but was up by 118.2% by 1977. Chronic otitis media, ranked seventh, dropped by 85.1% between 1975 and 1976 but was up by 200%

by 1977. (This was the prevalent chronic infectious problem in the late 60s, just as TB was earlier.) **I**schemic heart disease, ranked eighth, was down by 57.1% between 1975 and 1976, but increased by 433.3% between 1976 and 1977.

In summary, there were reported marked increases in alcohol use, mental disorders, abortions, **o**titis media and heart disease between 1976 and 1977. It would be interesting to address the question of what major events were occurring in the Region at that time which might partly explain these increases. For example, 1976 was the year of village corporation mergers with the NANA regional corporation, the year the school district was organized, the year of the introduction of television in many villages, and the crash of the caribou herd with subsequent enforced regulation.

VILLAGE VARIATIONS

McNabb, using data reported by the Alaska Native Health Service (ANHS) and Mauneluk for the years 1975-1978, found the following general information about the villages:

- Kiana appears high in reported mental health, infectious diseases, venereal disease, ill-defined illnesses, and accidents.
- In contrast, Deering appears low on those measures, as do the upper Kobuk villages.
- Buckland was high in mental health problems, neurological problems, and cancer; low in

the other areas.

- **Noatak** figures indicate an increasing rate of accidents.

McNabb also looked closely at the trends in accidents, because the NANA region had more of them than any other region. The specific numbers are not given here because of the vagaries in reporting (discussed above under **Data Problems**).

He found concerning the reported incidence of accidents:

- **Kiana** almost heads the list for accidents, even edging out **Kotzebue** which is quite high. Adjusted for population, **Kiana** is higher. **Selawik** also reported the highest number of visits for accidents.
- **Deering** and **Kobuk** were low in comparison, and close to them were **Shungnak** and **Buckland**.
- The adjusted accident rate for **Noatak** was approaching **Kotzebue's**. **Noatak** had the greatest rate of increase in the number of accidents; this village was having more proportionally over the years.

In addition to reporting differences, and actual differences in health problems in the villages, the training, the kinship, the acceptance, and **role** of the **local** health aides may contribute to the apparent differences in reported illnesses. As an example, it may be that **Kiana**, as the most "modern" village by some standards, actually does have more health problems. However, **Kiana** also has an outstanding health aide. The extent of local trust in that person may be important in the rate of reported illnesses. If, on the other hand, a health aide is a member of a family involved in a long-time

village feud, then some members of other families might not seek assistance as willingly, and the reported rate would be lower.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS

As future research is undertaken, the differences between regions should be considered. Significant variations might be revealed on indices for which there is comparable data. For example, note on Table 8 the reported incidence of births and deaths in 1978 in NANA and Arctic Slope. The disparity between total population and number of deaths of Eskimo men in the NANA region appears, on inspection, to be large. An appropriate statistical test of its significance--factoring in corrections for relevant demographic characteristics--could provide additional insights into the regional differences.

TABLE 8
COMPARISON OF 1978 VITAL STATISTICS

	<u>NANA/Kobuk</u>	<u>Arctic Slope/NSB</u>
1978 Population	5300	8300
Births	157 (1.8%)	97 (1.1%)
Deaths	35 (2.1%)	23 (1.4%)
Marriages	44	34
Divorces	0	9
Deaths: Eskimo men	22	16
Eskimo women	8	9

Source: Alaska Department of Health and Social Services.
Alaska Vital Statistics. Annual Report, 1978.

Under the present budget constraints at the federal level it is clear that health and social service programs will lose some financing from this source. How much slack the state will be able, and willing, to take up remains to be determined. The 1982 Alaska legislature created a pot of money to pick up some programs that lost federal support; but such a stop-gap effort may not last long in light of the projected state revenues. One consequence may be that local governments that to date have been service-funded will have to shift to a tax base. What effects the introduction of local taxes might have is beyond the scope of this discussion (see the chapter on Economic Organization). Entitlement programs also are suffering from funding cut-backs so that the availability of cash through these sources is shrinking.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The NANA survey, conducted in the late 1970s in preparation for the Regional Strategy (Alaska Public Forum, 1979), found that villagers rated as their "biggest problems" alcoholism, drug abuse, high prices, unemployment, and crime. This pretty well catalogs the social problems perceived in the study area.

Regrettably, the list may not have changed much over time: VanStone notes that the Revenue Marine Steamer Corwin was sent to the Arctic Ocean, beginning in 1880, "particularly

to prevent the illicit sale of liquor to the Eskimos" (1962: 126). Ray (1975:179) reports that "Liquor was obtained by the barrel at Kotzebue Sound by 1867"

Elsewhere, the author has discussed the different role that alcohol consumption takes for Native Alaskans (Davis 1978: 112-121). For this study area, the most important generalizations include:

- Consumption of large amounts of alcohol (spree drinking) characterizes many villages. The occasions for these "busts" may be seasonally determined.
- Drinking is not a new pattern, having been established in some areas for nearly a century.
- The amount of alcohol consumed appears to be related to its availability; many villages have--now the choice is available under state law--opted to go dry to reduce availability.

These statements are confirmed by local residents, who indicate that "drinking tends to be sporadic and intense when it happens".

McNabb has conducted alcohol research in the area in recent years. He found important differences in local attitudes and perceptions of mental health, drinking, and family/interpersonal relations. The differences cut across several dimensions and involve polarization between older and younger generations, men and women, and between Kotzebue and the villages. **McNabb** states:

There are very distinct 'schools of thought' in the region concerning why **people** drink, how **people should** cooperate, how you should seek help or otherwise be responsible/healthy on your own. The village residents usually see drinking as a pastime recreation, without any psychodynamic factors involved. Kotzebue residents on the **other** hand, are much more apt to attach **psychological or** sociological reasoning to explain drinking problems and **mental** health. "

Injuries and accidents often are alcohol-related. **McNabb**, in his 1980 research, noted that, although the reported figures in this area are invariably low, 3/4 of the injuries inflicted by others are alcohol-related, as are 1/2 of the firearm accidents. Similarly, about 3/4 of the suicide attempts and 1/5 of **all** other types of accidents (water transport, motor vehicle, falls, burns, etc.) are alcohol-related. **McNabb's** personal data on records from four villages (**Noatak**, **Shungnak**, **Kiana** and **Noorvik**) indicate 100% of all injuries inflicted on others were alcohol-related.

During the limited period of field work, **little** was learned by the author about social problems. **It** seems possible that, after all the publicity about alcoholism, there was less visible antisocial behavior than expected.

Only limited drinking was observed in the villages. In one case, a young man returned from a long trip, drank, and then **slept** for 26 hours. In another case, a young man graduated from high school with his GED, and drank "to celebrate. "

That is exactly what a friend of his did the year before, and it may be expected, patterned behavior.

The **Maniilaq** Association has undertaken an aggressive campaign to deal with the social problems. A Northwest Regional Alcoholism Program has been established, and is being linked with the revitalization efforts of **Inupiat Ilitqusi**at. For example, an alcoholism brochure states:

Alcoholism is more than a disease of our bodies; it is a disease of our spirit. To fight this disease we must look to traditional **Inupiaq** values that have always been our strength (NUNA April 1982:3).

Assistance also is provided for villages wishing to pass a local option law to ban liquor; **Maniilaq** has a "Simple Recipe to Ban Booze."

During 1981-82, **Maniilaq** took over some state programs that dealt with the various problems, and a new human services center was opened in **Kotzebue**. Domestic violence (the Regional Women's Crisis Project) and youth programs are a part of the Association's efforts.

Housing

"Everything is changing: New housing." (Pt. Hope woman).

This association of "everything" and "housing" was encountered

often enough to suggest. that the current rate and source of change is perceived by many to be related to the new housing. And, housing is one of the more visible of the new facilities. The invisible effects on human relationships may be, ultimately, the more profound, especially when combined with other subtle modifications to concepts of how things ought to be.

During three different summers between 1975 and 1980 a total of 195 new housing units were built by the NANA Housing Authority:

1975:	117 houses	in 4 villages
1979:	43 houses	in 3 villages
1980:	35 houses	in 2 villages

The summer of 1981 was the most active year in housing construction: a total of 168 units - 87 new units and 81 replacements for the ASHA ("Bartlett") houses built in the early 1970s. In addition, 43 units in low rent apartment buildings were built in Kotzebue in 1982. In all, 476 new housing units were built during a, 7 year period counting the two apartment buildings constructed by Kikiktaguruk Inupiat Corporation (The Kotzebue village corporation) which added 70 living units in Kotzebue.

The twenty 1980 houses in **Noatak** cost about \$98,000 each; monthly payments by residents are about \$35 to \$57 a month. In Pt. Hope 13 new houses were built in 1980; there the costs were about \$175,000 for a three-bedroom home; and payments, \$50 a month. Heads of households with good incomes were not eligible for these homes, and continue to live in their older, sometimes two-story homes, which they built and insulated themselves.

Some of the problems encountered include having no spare parts to replace broken items when they occur. But with each construction year these kinds of problems are being better anticipated. For example, the NSB now has a maintenance person responsible in each village to assist the owners in fixing problems. The NANA area does not have this service yet.

Many costs are associated with the new housing. Three drums of stove oil @ \$114 (\$342) heat a Pt. Hope home for one month is an example of just one of them. In Noatak, monthly electric bills averaged \$100 for one family. In **Kiana** water and sewer bills are \$45 a month. Comfortable facilities are expensive. If comparative household expense data are obtained, at a later date, other differences should be considered, such as the option **Noatak** has for wood fuel which **Kivalina** does not have. Also these bills will "feel" much higher in a village with few local jobs, than in one where

wage employment **is** high.

Probably the elegance of these new homes is greater than originally expected; surely the maintenance costs are higher than anticipated. And not **only** are **there** direct effects in dollar costs; there are social ramifications which need to be addressed. The rearrangement of persons in homes, plans for second homes for children, the modified visual views, the arrangement of the houses in rows, the change of neighbors, are **all** social dimensions which have yet to be considered.

A still smaller unit of analysis might include the changed family living arrangements among the **Inupiat**. As noted earlier, in the **old** days, the men and boys lived and worked in the **kashim**, or men's house, and the women and girls lived in separate homes. Now with the established villages, and new housing arrangements, men and boys when they are home in the village are physically in the same structure as the women and girls. The rearrangement of the internal structure with separate bedrooms, bathroom, a kitchen and living room, may require that other social modifications be made within the family unit.

An opportunity to check some of these ideas exists in the following villages --some of which received both new houses

and replacement of old ASHA housing during the summer of 1981:

	<u>Total 1981</u>
Ambl er	25
Buckland	22
Kobuk	10
Noorvik	22
Selawik	36
Shungnak	18
Kivalina	11
Kiana	24

Some correlation should be made of the new costs, energy assistance applications, and injuries following construction. Summers of local construction and high wages may be followed by disastrous fall seasons. If there is a relationship between construction, cash, alcohol, and accidents, then these are the villages to watch during the year 1982-83.

It is not just which villages received housing, in what year, and in which sequence that may be important to understand, but also which villages, and which families, did not receive housing, or had to wait the longest (see Table 9). Here, we are trying to understand the range of events that may have disrupted the **Inupiat** concept of equal **itarian** ethic. There are also political implications that need to be considered. For example, it appears the Episcopalian and Baptist villages waited longer for new housing than the strong Friends communities of Noorvik and **Noatak**. The two villages on the Seward Peninsula waited the longest, and received the fewest homes. Finally, an analysis of who received what housing in which

TABLE 9

HOUSING UNITS BUILT IN THE NANA REGION 1975-82

Village	1975	1979	1980	1981 New Units	1981 ASHA Replace- ment	Total	Per Cent of Total
Deering				4		4	1.3
Buckland				10	12	22	7.2
Noorvik	20	10			18	48	15.7
Selawik		18		10	26	54	17.6
Kiana		15		10	14	39	12.7
Kobuk				10		10	3.3
Shungnak	18			18		36	11.8
Ambl er				25		25	8.2
Noatak	22		20			42	13.7
Kivalina			15		11	26	8.5
Total	60	43	35	87	81	306	100%
Kotzebue	57			43 units (1982)		100	
Total	117					406	

Source: Compiled by author based on letter to Steve McNabb from Mauneluk Association, March 11, 1981
Revised September, 1983.

year may reveal the role of requests, large families, income differences, and other factors.

Especially perceived as unfair by local residents is the fact that the poor qualify for HUD houses, but those working regularly on the Pipeline or other union jobs do not. Therefore, some of the well established families continue to live in old houses they built themselves, while their unemployed, and poorer relatives, receive new housing--and the numerous associated costs. Further disruption to the sense of how things ought to be may occur when someone important has a good local salary, receives a house, yet pays only the minimum monthly payment for it.

The kinds of inequities perceived in housing can be magnified by school employment practices. Further, when varying sums are received from different programs because some families know more about what is available, then the original inequities may be made even greater. In light of the many changes, and their magnitude in the last few years, uncertainty, confusion and growing economic differences between families has resulted. When compounded between villages, these elements may become the source of some of the tensions, strains and social problems now occurring.

Modern facilities make life physically more comfortable; but

it is the social pains they unwittingly create that **must be** understood, and if possible modified, **to** minimize some of the resulting dissonance. Stratification may be inevitably a part of modernization, but the rate **of** the division and the social distances locally perceived **as** tolerable should be an integral part of planning.

1980 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

The preliminary figures from the 1980 population and housing census reports indicate an unusual, and apparently uneven, increase in housing units between 1970 and 1980, reflected in Table 10. **What** is especially interesting is the per cent change of housing in relation to the per cent change of population.

Two observations are offered here, based on the table which is both incomplete and probably questionable in details. (No data on Kobuk and **Noatak**, for example.) Different counting mechanisms might partly explain the disparity of the figures. Regardless, the following general observations may be made:

- e An overall increase **in** the Kobuk census area **of** nearly 500 units represents a **50.1%** increase in the decade. The per cent change in population was about 9%.
- The reported increase in housing units was unevenly distributed in the villages, from a

TABLE 10
HOUSING UNITS

Location	1970	1980	% Change in Housing	% Change in Population
Kobuk Census Area	990	1486	+50.1	+ 9.0
Kotzebue	420	690	+64.3	+21.1
Deering Buckland	24	35 45	+87.5	+70.2
Selawik	89	86	- 3.4	-15.9
Noorvik	76	136	+78.9	+ 6.5
Kiana	72	107	+48.6	+24.1
Ambl er Shungnak	31	75 54	+74.2	+22.4
Noatak				
Kivalina	33	37	+12.1	+28.2
Pt. Hope	69	137	+98.6	+20.2
Wainwright	55	107	+94.5	+28.6

Source: 1980 Census of Population and Housing. U. S. Department
of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Advance reports.

decrease of 3.4% in Selawik to an increase of 87.5% in Buckland.

- Kivalina was at the low end of housing units, with an increase of four over the decade, or 12.1%. Kivalina had a reported 28.2% increase in population. In housing units, Kivalina was apparently less crowded in 1970 than in 1980. Other villages experienced a marked increase in units from a 48.6% increase in Kiana to a 98.6% increase in Pt. Hope (in the NSB).
- Further, Noorvik had a reported 78.9% increase in housing units, an increase of 60 units between 1970 and 1980. Their reported population increase was 6.5%.
- Pt. Hope had the largest increase in housing units in the decade, from 69 units to 137, an increase of 68 units, a 98.6% change. The increase in population there was 20.2%.
- If living expenses were a social indicator, and not housing units, then we might assume that Noorvik, Pt. Hope, Wainwright, and Barrow might be experiencing the greatest overall increased costs, because now, presumably, they are living in more houses per capita.

It is one thing to have such housing affluence on the North Slope where there are jobs to help pay the costs, but quite another in the NANA area where the relative level of poverty felt is likely to be accentuated by erratic and unpredictable job availability. The costs of maintaining, heating and lighting new houses may ultimately put more pressure on NANA to provide jobs.

By providing comfortable housing in the villages, the Housing Authority may be working unintentionally counter to NANA's

stated preferences for subsistence and the Old Way of **Life**. Rather than staying home and being content living a subsistence way of life, villagers may demand increased opportunities for jobs. To be responsive to village needs, NANA may be pushed further toward active participation in development.

Transportation

The importance for the residents of moving around has already been established. The patterns of physical mobility stretched all across the region in traditional times (Burch 1975). The awareness of the flow of people in and out of communities is further documented in the descriptions found in Anna Augrook's 1927 school diary. In considerable detail, she notes the coming and going of people to Deering from Candle, Kotzebue, Pt. Hope, "mining camp," Kugrook, Keewalik, Nome and Shishmaref. For each location, the names of the travelers are noted.

Differences in the relations between the villages are also reflected in the diary. No names appear in Anna's one reference to **Buckland**. In March 1927 she noted: "Three Buckland men arrived." The general absence of entries relating to **Buckland** suggests little friendly contact, business, or visiting occurred between the two communities, further

documenting their **traditional** social distance.

Though perhaps heightened in volume and distances, the mobility of today's people continues these traditional traveling patterns. As a reflection of this, consider how the charter **flying** business is thriving. There are 8 charter services **in Kotzebue**, with two concentrating almost exclusively **on** village traffic in the NANA region.

The following illustrates what can happen these days. When the author was traveling in **May 1981**, a child first met in Noatak appeared **in Kivalina** the next week and called **my** name. Later she was seen in **Kotzebue** where her adoptive mother was attending a training session. A woman met in **Kivalina** on one day was encountered at the **hotel** entrance" in **Kotzebue** three days later. A woman met first in her home village of Noatak was seen again a week later--in the Pt. Hope store. Finally, a Pt. Hope baby seen being cared for by his grandfather, a whaling captain, in **Kivalina** was spotted **in** his mother's arms in Barrow, only five days later.

The first **child** (from Noatak) had simply stopped to visit friends in **Kivalina** en route to **Kotzebue**. The **Kivalina** and Noatak women were attending two separate meetings in **Kotzebue**. I never did find out why the Noatak woman was in Pt. Hope, but the Pt. Hope baby was the son of the NSB assembly presi-

dent and an adopted daughter of the **Kivalina** whaling captain. The trio was on their way home via Barrow and Pt. Lay on a NSB charter.

These are but a few examples of current travels. Additional information, such as the times of year of the heaviest traffic, would shed more light how travel serves as an integral part of Native life. And more data on current transportation patterns would assist in the over-all understanding of village culture, village-town relationships, ceremonial and visiting occasions, and comparative affluence.

To illustrate, it appears that people are not only traveling more, but are doing so for a wider range of reasons. Mobility may increase not only as a function of greater access to transportation and cash, but also as a result of stresses associated with local feuds, population concentration, and obligations for generosity and reciprocity. Also tensions can develop in small northern communities from isolation, boredom, interpersonal friction and drinking-- a host of social reasons for travel. It may be extremely important to get out of town for awhile to let things cool down.

Evidence for this has been noted elsewhere. **Savishinsky** wrote about the interrelationships between stress and

mobility in the Colville Lake area in Canada. He found that when "high mobility is a basic feature of a society's ecology, then movement will also be utilized by the people as a way to relieve social sources of stress" (1971:615).

One of the more interesting results of the NANA 1978 survey was the importance given to issues involving mobility and travel. For example, every community identified search and rescue, trail markers, shelter, and airport and runway improvements as high priority community goals (Alaska Public Forum 1979:9).

The availability of transportation clearly has economic consequences. McNabb cites the following with respect to the importance of charter air services for individuals living in Kotzebue:

"Given demands on time and already high costs, it can be cost effective to charter a plane to fly out to spot the caribou, or a single moose, or bear, in order to streamline your hunt. Increasing demands on time and allocation of resources may even make it more cost effective to continue air travel for more minor visits such as a funeral. If you can hold the trip to a weekend, your job is not threatened. You perhaps can't afford it, but it is the best choice if you have any desire to maintain those informal links."

Jobs which allow and fund village travel are popular, especially among the young, and may be important ways of continu-

ing and enhancing village connections.

Some thought should be given to the effects of interruptions in the transportation system. For instance, when there is less cash available, or charter availability is interrupted by priorities other than transporting village people, those who enjoy travel, and have become accustomed to traveling a great deal, will likely experience a sense of deprivation. A long-term disruption, such as might accompany rapid industrial development, should be given special consideration. If the charter services were pressed into service for OCS or on-shore mining, for example, air travel to the villages might be significantly reduced.

For the sake of possible later comparison and analysis, the number and kinds of transportation vehicles reported in 1978 are included here (Table 11). There can be no doubt that modern transportation modes are dominant. As is well known, there are few dog teams left. They have been gone for quite some time (see Hall 1971). However, some families are keeping dogs "in case something happens," as one man explained. He figured he needed 16 seal and about 1300 fish for a team of 14. Another man noted that "without dogs we have a lot more trout left over." And these trout might be exchanged to help support the costs of the snowmachine, a trend earlier reported by the Uhlis (1978).

TABLE 11

NUMBER AND TYPE OF VEHICLES FOUND IN VILLAGES

Location	Car/truck	1978			Plane	Estimate Populati
		Sno-go	Cycle	Boat		
Deering	2	9	4	7	0	100
Buckland	0	12	2	11	0	172
Selawik	0	22	1	24	1	521
Noorvik	2	24	5	26	1	527
Kiana	5	19	4	18	2	314
Ambl er	0	16	7	14	1	217
Shungnak	2	7	0	6	0	182
Kobuk	2	5	2	5	1	60
Noatak	0	18	2	18	0	261
Kivalina	0	12	1	13	0	208

Source: NANA Regional Strategy Report, Part II, 1979
 Publ. by Alaska Public Forum, Office of the Governor,
 Mauneluk Association, NANA Corporation

Communication*

Much discussion but little research hovers over the wonders of modern communication systems. The question addressed here is how these technological devices have been incorporated into the local Native culture. **McNabb**, who has watched the changes in the NANA region since 1975, makes the following report on communications in that area,

TELEPHONES

"The NANA region has seen a massive increase in the complexity and scale of communications in the last decade. In 1975, the trend began its major upward swing when the RCA earth stations were being installed at the most rapid pace. In 1975 **only Kotzebue** had more than one single telephone, but after 1975 the installation of private lines started in the villages. Plans were finalized by 1976 and private lines were installed."

There was discontent in **Kotzebue** over the management of the local telephone system. Under the leadership of several influential Natives, the KOTZ Telephone Cooperative was formed and assumed management of the system. RCA assisted the regional leaders in their efforts to improve the **Kotzebue** telephones (**Schaeffer**, Personal communication 1982).

The communication provided by telephones has important relevance to possible future developments. The need for contact with family may be especially keen for those absent from

* The material quoted in this section was prepared specifically for this study under a subcontract with S. **McNabb**.

a village. The following points should be considered in this connection:

- Workers from those villages with dependable telephones may be more willing to leave home for extended periods. Communication with family may be critical for staying on the job. Regular verbal contact with family may become increasingly important as a criterion for willingness to leave home.
- Those villages with the longest period of telephone service will be the ones experiencing the greatest deprivation if, and when, that service is interrupted.
- Telephones, like snowmobiles, are new efficient means for maintaining, and perhaps enhancing, kinship relationships. They now provide a network of communication far beyond that available ten years ago. One ramification may be kin contact over greater distances for a wide range of reciprocal exchanges, including subsistence food, cash, housing arrangements, and babysitting.

CITIZEN BAND RADIOS

Inexpensive two-way radios did not catch on widely until the mid 1970s. Village search and rescue teams received units and were trained in their use, which may have made their occurrence more widespread. According to McNabb, beluga hunters began using CBS in 1977 and by 1979 units could be found in private hands in all the villages, McNabb observes:

"Everyone has a code name (unit 12, 44, for example). Many families have both a base station and a remote; the remote can be taken out fishing and hunting, and messages can be sent back

and forth from home to camp. Although people always knew much about other people's business in the villages, now anyone 'can listen in over the common channels to every message that is being sent. Information about fishing, game movements, visitors on the way to town, berry patches, weather or ice conditions, etc., fill the airwaves. People are definitely using this information boom for their own planning. Before you would have known that Joe X was at his camp; now you can find out that he seined 67 salmon an hour ago and that water levels at that area are dropping rapidly, or that a Fish and Game inspector is approaching the area."*

RADIO

"Radio programming is also central to village life. The music is a recreational outlet, and radios are on nearly everywhere from morning to night. Although programming has expanded much in recent years, the main interest is still in these three programs: tundra telegraph, weather, and flight log. Those have always been there, and what has expanded is diverse programming like employment information, radio shows (All Things Considered, Eskimo Stories, Prairie Home Companion, etc.)."*

In the early 1980s the diversification of programming picked up and the local populace expressed some unhappiness with the changes. **When** established programs were shortened and their time slots moved around, villagers were saying, in essence, "What happened to tundra telegraph?" This bone of contention was resolved by airing a "mini-tundra" that broadcasts part of all the messages at numerous times

*See note at beginning of this section for citation of quotations.

throughout the day.

McNabb summarizes the attitude people have toward radio programming:

"It is clear that people want recreation out of communications, but chiefly they are concerned with 'keeping in touch' at the local level. National news is OK, but tundra telegraph and the local CB connections are more important. "

TELEVISION

Television arrived in northwest Alaska in the 1970s. At first, small 3-watt transmitters were located in the villages. By 1975 all were using a traveling videotape system.

"Videotapes arrived in the mail and would be shown over the mini-transmitters that had a short range. . . only the village would receive the signal. Noorvik, for instance, couldn't transmit to Kiana. These tapes would then circulate through the region. Kivalina, therefore, might see what Kiana saw a month ago. (Few people had TVs at this point.)"

McNabb reports he knew of only five TVs in Kiana in 1975. Then in 1976 most of the villages started to receive transmissions from a satellite. The level of enthusiasm was high; McNabb observed, "The villages, where people had long complained of lack of recreational activities, adopted TV with relish. " For Kiana in June 1976 TVs were the largest single import item by weight that arrived on many

flights of the mail planes.

McNabb suggests that the idea of selecting certain shows to watch is not widespread. Rather, most TVs are turned on "from the moment transmissions begin." He did note that some individuals made special efforts to watch favorite shows. Most information is passed by word of mouth since people chat about the shows they like, the movies that are on the air, and similar topics.

Standard network TV makes up most of the programming, observes McNabb, the shows include:

M*A*S*H*, Hill Street Blues, Lou Grant, Mork and Mindy, B.J. and the Bear, Dallas, Love Boat, CHiPs, Buck Rogers, and network movies. Regional preferences are largely adventures, thrillers, sports, and live country music. Comedies, talk shows, and specials (NOVA, National Geographic, etc.) are not preferred. The head of the telecommunications system that handles programming out of Juneau reports there is a citizen advisory group that selects programming objectives, with a representative for the NANA region. "

Educational programming via satellite began in 1980. Before that, some shows--like Sesame Street and Mister Roger's Neighborhood --were available on videotape. Credit and non-credit programs, including college work, have been offered. Programs for teachers also are provided.

As part of its efforts to expand, the school district planned,

in 1981, to add instructional television to its repertoire. McNabb offered the following evaluation of those plans.

"The NWASD is preparing video broadcasts which will link all of the villages with education-related shows for, as the plan now says, four hours a day, four days a week. Other community groups will have access at other times. This has a limited two-way potential: Kotzebue-based people can transmit to the villages and receive their responses; people in the village just receive the transmission and can't respond to it. The impact of ITV will be great only if some kind of teleconferencing procedures begin; that would have a great impact on making the villages less remote for their input."

"But ITV exclusively for teaching will not likely have any more of an impact than current education. In and of themselves people are not much impressed by fancy gear; they haven't been impressed by the telescopes, videotape recorders, etc. in the schools so far, and I think they will be just as bored listening to a teacher transmitting from Kotzebue as they are now listening to a live one. The upkeep costs, down time, etc. of all this gear may also make it less effective as an educational tool to depend on. However, we shall see."

From the standpoint of the principal researcher, television made field research more difficult--with one exception. That has to do with the location of the facilities. The communications dish provides a new physical landmark for finding people--"Come see me. My house, by the satellite." At least I did not get lost that time. But generally one has the choice of talking too fast during commercials, talking loudly over the basketball games, or relenting to watch the current movie. The TV set was found to be a dominant piece of furniture, a constant source of noise, an unwanted intruder in

the research.

However, from the village standpoint, TV seemed highly popular. For example, council meetings tend to end in time for "Dallas," confirming McNabb's observation that villagers did make an effort to view certain programs. Also experienced, though, was his commentary that the operable TVs seemed to be on constantly; along with a household's light, the TV was on late into the night. TV is clearly a part of modern village life.

To date, no systematic research has been published on the effects of television on rural Alaskans. At this point we offer our own limited ethnographic observations.

The residents themselves reported that they enjoy TV. Some of the secondary consequences observed by the villagers were the demise of community movies, a decrease in visiting, and lessened activity of the Mothers' Club. One woman, who happened to have her first baby the year television was introduced in the village, missed the expected and traditional visiting. Her new baby could hardly compete with the novelty of television in 1976.

My observations suggest that television may immobilize youth for many hours in non-verbal, non-physical activity. TV

stands in sharp contrast in this respect with the physical activity demanded by hunting, fishing, and other subsistence activities. It seems possible that TV may be an especially important source of recreation for the high school graduates or drop-outs who may no longer have access to the school gym, or for that matter, much else in the village.

Among the more intriguing--but as yet unanswered--questions is the role of television in modernization processes. One hypothesis is that the very people who are expected to benefit most from Inupiat Ilitqusiatic (that is, the youth) may be partly immobilized by the non-Inupiat world of TV. Traditional activities may face competition from these kinds of modern intrusions. On the other hand, McNabb reports that Spirit Movement meetings in villages were very well attended by youth as well as by other residents. A renaissance in community associations, such as the Mothers' Club, under Ilitqusiatic encouragement also suggests interpersonal contacts may be reviving, regardless of TV.

A recent issue of Inuit Studies (1982) has as its main theme communications among the Canadian Inuit. The conclusions of the contributors reflect an uncertainty of the consequences for Eskimo life of the introduction of mass media. On one side, Graburn sees television as destructive:

"Next to schooling, TV is the most powerful

instrument of assimilation working on some contemporary Canadian **Inuit**. It is a seductive and relatively effortless form of cultural and linguistic **ethnocide**" (Graburn 1982:14).

Graburn notes that **Krauss**, writing about Alaskan languages, describes television as "a cultural nerve gas--insidious, painless, and fatal" (Krauss 1980:82).

On the other side, **Valaskakis**--arguing in favor of local control of broadcast media--asserts that:

"...the potential of interactive technology remains **important** for the North. As **Inuit** share **information**--experiences, problems, responses--they may reinforce local cohesion and initiative. The community-level use of interactive networks may allow **Inuit** a realistic opportunity to adopt current social institutions to respond to the problems in **communities**" (Valaskakis 1982:27).

Until similar information is gathered in the villages of Alaska, the implications of modern communications for **Inupiat** culture must remain speculative.

Summary

In this chapter we have considered a range of sources of modifications in the **Inupiat** way of life: the schools and their growing economic importance; the health services and their trends; housing and its costs; transportation and the

benefits of travel; and the diversity of communications systems.

Although most of these services and technological additions probably were desired, and perceived as positive contributions to modern **Inupiat** way of life, they may in fact counter some of the key values of the people. **If** the egalitarian ethic is **still** viable, and the inequities emerging between people cause conflict, then perhaps these many services, facilities, and things of modern life are related to some of the **social** problems. **As** noted in Chapter **III**, modernization tends to stratify people in new ways making the disparity of fortune greater. These processes may be especially difficult for hunting and gathering societies which value sharing, minimize social distances, and believe things should be more **equal**.

Perhaps if the ethic changes, or tolerance for inequities grows, people **will** reach a new integration of ideas **and** things, more closely reflecting the realities of modern life which somehow seems **to** result in an increasingly wider distance of access to the perceived good things of life.

v. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

In the political sphere, as in the economic one, the traditional Northwest Alaskan Eskimos were ranked, and some individuals had much more power than others These "chiefs," variously referred to in Eskimo by the terms umialik or atanig (or their derivatives) were men with power, the ones who led where others had to follow (Burch 1975:223).

Thus, some political ranking occurred, traditionally, based on personal characteristics such as physical fitness and skill, wealth and kinship numbers. Power now is distributed through a complex system of elected and appointed positions. For example, at the village level there are IRA Councils and City Councils, and the regional town has another set: an IRA Council and a City Council. There are also a regional school board, a profit corporation, a non-profit corporation, plus state elected representatives; and the seemingly endless advisory boards required under federal and state laws.

To make sense of this organizational tangle, we seek again a baseline understanding-- of history, kinship and politics, leadership and land claims, councils, and changing federal-state-local relationships.

Recent Political History

Since 1961 a series of major events have occurred.

1961 Protest against federal enforcement of game management laws; during this duck-in in Barrow, a member of the state legislature was arrested; within 2 days, 138 other Inupiat presented themselves to authorities with ducks shot out of season. Eventually, all charges were dropped.

This event was symbolic of a series of related concerns surrounding federal actions of the late 1950s and early 1960s. In the northwest these included Project Chariot-- the proposed underwater excavation of a harbor at Cape Thompson using an atomic detonation (McBeath and Morehouse 1980).

1962 Second meeting, in Kotzebue, of Inupiat Paitot--the first Alaskan Eskimo regional association; founding of the Tundra Times under the leadership of Howard Rock of Pt. Hope.

1963- Establishment of Native associations in other parts of
1964 the state; in Fairbanks (1963), and in Anchorage (1964) under the leadership of Nick Gray from Nome.

1966 Both the Northwest Alaska Native Association (NANA) and the Arctic Slope Native Associations were organized; state-wide the Alaska Federation of Natives was established, led by Emil Notti.

1967 Kikiktugruk Development Corporation organized under federal Office of Equal Opportunity (OEO) community action program.

1971 Passage of Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). This accomplishment was given impetus and direction by the AFN lands committee led by Willie Hensley (see Arnold 1976).

1976 Merger of 10 village corporations with the NANA regional corporation. Establishment of Northwest Arctic School District. Merger of Kotzebue Area Health Corporation with Mauneluk Association (formed in 1972). This period also was the height of the pipeline activity in the North Slope area.

The first Elder's Conference--which perhaps provided a kind of balance, a subtle constraint, on other changes taking place: the introduction of television to most villages, the acceleration of new housing, and the construction of schools.

1977- In this interim, there were three international Inuit
1983

Conferences --the ICC (Inuit Circumpolar Conference) was admitted to the United Nations as a Non-Governmental Organization in 1983. During this period, NANA began a formal revitalization of Inupiat culture through the formation of its Spirit Committee-- Inupiat Ilitqusiat.

While these events of the 1970s and 1980s went on at a visible and public level, other important, culturally-influenced changes were occurring. The next section returns to social organization with an emphasis on possible political implications. Like all small-scale societies, these forces tend to be closely meshed together.

Kinship and Politics

"Votes follow kinship" (Burch 1975:228). Thus, up to a point, many kin provide a special kind of power. On the other hand, the pressures, demands, and expectations of non-kin may make it difficult for well-kin-endowed individuals to manage modern political positions. In other words, while there is strength in the number of relatives (kin capital), the resulting power can work against a person if non-kin are suspicious of its possible misuse.

This situation leads to a couple of anomalies. In some cases, it may be easier for a non-Native to rally a broader range of Native support for an office, than a Native with few kin, or

alternatively, too many. In some cases, it may be more difficult to trust a Native who is not a relative than to trust a non-Native who has no relatives.

The end result is that the balance of voting power that stems from the relative size of a family should be considered when discussing the allocation of political power. It is important to look, both within villages and between villages when analyzing this relation between kinship and politics. An example can be seen with respect to ANCSA shares. At present, a certain number of shares may be held within a family; as a result a certain balance of power now exists. In 1991, shares can be sold to anyone, not just Natives. What happens to the shares between now and then--for instance, their inheritance-- may modify existing balances of power, and thus effect such basic political questions as whether the shares should be sold in 1991. The kinds of implications that should be explored well before a deadline like this include such questions as whether, because of kinship, the distribution of a few shares among many will be more important than a concentration of many shares among a few. If it is desired to keep the shares within Native control, the size of families may have important political implications.

BOUNDARIES

Political alignments, especially kin-based ones, tend not to adhere to the boundaries imposed by western political institutions.

As noted in earlier chapters, there has been a flow of people, marriages, and goods far beyond contemporary regional boundaries: Deering to **Shishmaref** and Nome, **Buckland** to Koyuk, **Kiana** to **Huslia**, Noatak to Barrow. In some cases there seem not to be such friendly relationships, perhaps where traditional hostilities might yet continue. For example, it is not likely that **Deering** and **Buckland** would work comfortably as one unit; generations of conflict over reindeer would have to be overcome. political alignment of Pt. Hope to points north and east may be difficult partly because of historically-based conflict. **Burch** reports "intense mutual hostility during the traditional period between **Utokok** and Pt. Hope" (1981:127); and he further notes that the decline of Pt. Hope population prior to 1855 was "due exclusively to fighting between Point Hope and neighboring peoples" (**Burch** 1981:42).

Certainly now Pt. Hope ties south are warm and frequent, bridging from the Arctic Slope Regional area to NANA. Also note that in 1981 the North Slope Borough Assembly President was a man from Pt. Hope with a wife from **Kivalina**, in NANA.

A whaling commissioner and ASRC board director from Pt. Hope was "originally from **Noatak**, indicating regional **overlap there also.**

The point **of** this analysis is that Western political organization imposes certain boundaries: Borough limits, Petroleum Reserves, Coastal **Zones**, National Parks and wildlife Refuges, Wild and Scenic **Rivers and** Regional Corporation Lands. For the **Inupiat**, power has been more related **to** kinship, and thus the changing social boundaries may be more important than **fixed** surveys **of** the land. A discussion of modern politics needs to take this difference into account.

Conflict and **Conflict** Resolution

Contrary to the widely accepted belief about a peaceful aboriginal life, warfare among the Eskimos in Northwest Alaska in traditional times was extensive, frequent, and lively. **Burch** (1974) presents a convincing case for its occurrence, and provides an analysis **of** occasions, timing, and logistics. Although avoiding conflict was appropriate within a kinship group and society (village), competition between groups, however defined, was also appropriate, and expected. Competition inevitably led to periods of conflict.

Spencer noted that the **Inupiat** ways of resolving unpleasant

situations included doing nothing, withdrawing, or staying out of the situation completely (1959:160). Avoidance is an effective technique still used, and it may be misperceived as the absence of conflict. Many issues engendering conflict exist, but a non-response rather than a direct confrontation" may be an **Inupiat** tradition. **When** trouble develops, then leaving the meeting, or the community, is an effective mechanism for conflict resolution (Spencer 1959:100).

Indeed, some of the extensive mobility of persons and families between communities may be explained as an **Inupiat** response to conflict. In the old days, it was easier to resolve conflict in this manner. Now, with established village sites, it becomes more difficult. New methods of resolving conflict and staying in town may need to be innovated.

One traditional format for conflict resolution was decision by consensus. Its continuation was demonstrated at the February 1981 AEWG meeting in Barrow. Resolutions were passed only if there was unanimous agreement, and one resolution over which there was disagreement was tabled after the conflict had been aired for many hours. It is likely that the continuing felt need for consensus will become increasingly difficult to meet as the issues become more complex, and more numerous.

Conflict need not be resolved. Part of this conflict **non-**

resolution is related to family alignments, which are deep and extensive. For example, in one village a particular conflict has persisted for about a decade. The source of **conflict** was deeper than the issue and **older** than the topic, but the differences were focused on whether or not the village should vote to "go state" by organizing a city council to parallel the IRA council which had been active since 1939.

To summarize, the way conflicts are resolved is closely linked to the allocation of political power and to kinship. Kinship coalitions in modern day may **play** as important a part in the politics of villages as issue-specific coalitions **do** in western legislative capitals.

The traditional methods of **conflict** resolution need to be understood by **non-Inupiat**, since they **will** shape the relationships between the groups. The role that such mechanisms as avoidance or non-response "needs to be emphasized for future consideration such as the development of natural resources" (Tiepelman, personal communication 1982).

Today with the NANA region's emphasis on avoiding conflict, a basic traditional tenet of culture has been extended to a larger **unit**: the whole geographic area (which was never before united). At the same time, competition between communities

continues. And the potential for conflict between individuals and groups; villages and regions; Inupiat and others remains and should not be overlooked in any analysis of the political scene.

Leadership

Several characteristics emerge from an analysis of the backgrounds of contemporary leaders in NANA. Tentative findings indicate they all share two or more of the following:

- a) raised by grandmothers;
- b) unusual educational experience;
- c) military or other non-Alaskan experience; or
- d) a non-Native parent or grandparent.

One example of a president of a village council is a man who was born outside, but was raised in the village by his grandmother. He married into a large family, has had National Guard experience, served on the Maniilaq Board and manages the local village electrical cooperative.

An example of a village woman leader is one who was raised by her mother's parents, went Outside for religious training, has served on the IRA and city council, and in 1981 was on the Maniilaq Board and chairman of the local school board.

The balancing of many hats by one leader is not unusual. For example, the president of Maniilaq in November 1980 held seven different positions at the local, state and national levels. Two Kotzebue leaders volunteered they were dropping their local positions in favor of maintaining state and national ones.

The concentration of power can also occur in a village, as in the case of a man who was for many years, simultaneously, maintenance foreman for the school, National Guardsman, an election judge, fee agent, and president of the council.

LEADERSHIP AND THE NATIONAL GUARD

Over the last 35 years the National Guard, preceded by the Territorial Guard, has played an important role in leadership training. Every male leader interviewed was asked if he had been in the National Guard, and every one had--some for as long as 24 years. For example, the mayor of Kivalina had been in since 1961; the mayor of Pt. Hope for a total of 22 years.

The president of NANA was a Battalion Commander, and others on the Board have held similar high positions. One man noted:

"At times it was hard to differentiate between NANA and the Guard because most of the people were in both."

Many of the Guard's commanding officers served as mayors in their villages.

The status and prestige of the Guard has declined in recent years. Undoubtedly, several reasons have contributed to this decline. For instance, the Armory in many villages is no longer the center of social activity. Now that there are other sources of income, the money from serving in the Guard has probably lost some of its economic significance. Even so, it is not easy to find individuals who acknowledge the decline. When I finally met someone who had actually quit, after only 14 years, he said he did so because there was too much alcohol during the two week spring training in Anchorage. "All that fighting. No good." Some younger men also confirmed that the Guard has lost some of its former status.

However, the seasonal aspect of the Guard program, from October through April, allows it to continue to be a supplementary source of income during winter months, especially in the villages (less so in Kotzebue). Even if the Guard continues to lose its status, perhaps other institutions can learn from what did work in training leadership for so long a time. The president of NANA points out:

"The military is one of the few institutions in Western Civilization that actually teaches leadership skills and provides the opportunities quickly for young people to get experience in dealing with

people. "

Future training programs for industry might **do well** to look closely at what worked so well for the National Guard during the **height** of its success. Some of the processes and organizational ways might be generalized effectively **to** encourage leadership in new northern developments.

WOMEN AND POLITICS

In small-scale, non-industrialized societies the economic role of women often tends to **be** significant, while politics are left almost exclusively to the men. From what evidence is available, a similar situation may have existed in traditional Eskimo days. Ray (1975:80) notes, for example, that Beechey reported that his contacts often **sought** the advice of old women when "in doubt about a bargain. " **Burch also** refers to the economic **role** of the wife in former days (1975:88).

A similar pattern seems **to be** continuing in the Arctic Slope region where many women hold important jobs but seem to be considerably less active in the political arena. There the regional corporation board had one women member from 1977 through 1979, but by 1980, the board was 100% men again. In contrast, the NANA board has been steadily' accruing more women since the election of Christina **Westlake** from **Kiana** in

1976. By 1979, six women were sitting on the 23-member board. In 1981 five of the seven board members elected were women; two of them retained their former positions and three new women members were added. In 1983, six positions on the board were held by women.

This may be partly an indication of a changing perception of NANA from a political entity to an economic organization-- in which case, women in NANA are continuing their traditional economic responsibilities in new formats. Furthermore, in 1981 nine of twelve **Mauneluk** board members were women, including the chairperson.

There are other indications of women in important elected positions. An analysis of the EMS Handbook (1980) reveals there was at least one woman on the city council in seven villages: Deering, **Buckland**, **Selawik**, **Kiana**, **Noatak**, **Kivalina** and **Pt. Hope**. Two women sat on the councils in **Noorvik** and **Shungnak** and three served on the **Kobuk** and **Kotzebue** city councils.

The difference in level of political involvement between the Arctic Slope and NANA area may be partly explained by the continuing importance of the whaling complex, and the annual reaffirmation of women's traditional roles in whaling communities. A suggestion of that possibility was indicated

during the first organizational meeting of wives of whaling captains which was held on February 13, 1981 in Barrow.

Fifty-three women (and four babies) attended; Yupik and Inupiat speeches were given and translated. Several themes appeared, including the importance of spiritual matters. Reference was often made to the necessity of giving their men support. -The idea that men controlled the program and could cancel the women's participation that afternoon was mentioned several times.

"The men might want to change the agenda. . but if not, then we might be on the program this afternoon. "

Also, as the women gave speeches about the importance of whaling to their villages, emphasizing nutrition, they seemed also to be making statements of clarification of their roles as women:

"Whatever they (AENC men) decide, we women have to go along."

"We need to back our captains. "

"We women have rules. We take care of the men. Warm clothes. "

"We know what they want. When they call by CB 'get me this,' we respond; we get it."

If the whaling complex continues to be as strong as is apparent in 1981, then we might expect the women in whaling

villages to maintain their traditional roles--which are more economic than political. Whereas in the NANA area, which has neither the constraints nor the benefits of the whaling complex, women are likely to play important parts both politically and economically. Perhaps they do not feel the same kinds of constraints as do whaling captains' wives.

BALANCING POWER

In the old days, the *umialiks* (wealthy and powerful men) needed the support of the shamans (other powerful individuals) in the society. Today the paths to power, and to sources of wealth, have diversified. Religious leadership now is centered in Christian denominations instead of indigenous beliefs. Yet a continuation of the traditional cooperation between holders of the two powerful positions may provide a balancing of power like that of former times.

Individuals in the NANA region who are active in church organizations may fill positions that provide a balance to other people who are in political roles. Such a balance may also be strengthened as traditional kin-relationships change (Burch 1975:288-289). Another way of looking at the perseverance of a traditional form, or structure, of balance of power (*umialik/shaman*) is to see it as a modification of the culture to cope with modern pressures.

VILLAGE LEADERSHIP PATTERNS: AN ILLUSTRATION

McNabb cites another example of how traditional ways are continuing in new activities: in **this** case, the search and rescue activities. He notes that search and rescue operations are internal, local affairs, and that they are formalized in a new way that makes them different from other (less formalized) search operations-. Search and rescue units have a set membership, designated leaders, financed equipment, formal routines, and regular training exercises.

Political leaders tend to be the **local** search and rescue bosses. Membership in the units is a point of honor, skill, esteem; a genuine ratification of community-recognized ability. Other villagers **do** assist, however, joining together almost spontaneously to prepare food and ferry goods or messages back and forth **to** the search location.

McNabb also reports that less formalized searches, not involving the rescue units, usually involve suspected drownings. In these cases, **nearly all** able bodied men and boys **will** get together and drag the waterways with **fishlines/hooks**. Cooperation back at the home base consists of consolation for the relatives of the missing persons, preparation of food and the **like**. If it becomes a **long** term action, **or** if it is far from **home**, a complete base camp with portable cooking **equip-**

ment, tents, and generators may be set up. **Women** will remain in the camp tending to the men, cooking. The activities might go on all summer, and pick up again the following spring if the bodies are not recovered. The leadership tends to center on the male relatives of the missing persons, especially brothers and cousins. The choice between leaders seems to be predicated on easily recognized outdoor skills.

SUMMARY

In the NANA region political leadership can take many forms: city ~~or~~/and IRA council membership, school board advisory panel, **Maniilaq** activities, NANA Board of Directors, **Coastal** Zone Board, Spirit Committee membership, church involvement, search and rescue leadership, the National Guard. Obviously some positions carry more "clout" than others, and more than one position can be occupied at the same time by the same individual. The leadership positions are held by both men and women.

As in many societies, leadership comes from some fixed attributes like sex, age, generation, and kinship, and from changeable elements like skill, practice, and experience. The factors also interact with fortuitous circumstances. The relationship between the emergence of the Alaska Native

land claims issues and **the** development of Native leadership is intriguing. The timing of the land **claims** caught some talented young leaders **at** a critical point of their life cycles and propelled them into **the** national spotlight. This core of leaders has spanned more than **a** decade. **As** one example of stability, seven persons served on the NANA Board of Directors continuously from 1973 to **1979**. One individual served for six years, and nine served for four. **In** 1979, seven people (54%) of the original Board **still** served, and five (45%) of the members who joined in 1976 (when the **villages** merged with the Regional Corporation) were serving their fourth year.

'The Land Claims

A pivotal political event of the recent past was passage of the Alaska Native **Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA)** in **1971**. The following analysis assumes the reader knows about this legislation and **its** effects in Alaska (See Arnold 1976). The official enrollment figure for NANA as of December **31**, 1980 was 4,829 shareholders. The unofficial distribution of enrollees by villages is indicated in **Table 12**.

There may have been a slight return of shareholders to the NANA region between 1974 and **1981**. The NANA Newsletter in October 1974 indicated a total enrollment of 4885; 3634 (**74%**)

TABLE 12. NANA VILLAGE ENROLLMENTS*

	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of NANA</u>	<u>Townships</u>
NANA	4835		
Kotzebue	2129	44.0	7
Deering	202	4.2	5
Buckland	168	3.5	4
Selawik	497	10.3	6
Noorvik	500	10.3	6
Kiana	359	7.4	5
Ambler	163	3.4	4
Shungnak	181	3.7	4
Kobuk	68	1.4	3
Noatak	317	6.6	5
Kivalina	188	3.9	5

*Based on 1973 figures, before merger. NANA Newsletter, September 1973.

enrollees were living in the region, 572 were living elsewhere in Alaska and 670 were living outside. The combined total not living in the region at that time was 1242, about 25%. In 1981, McNabb reports that 1125, or 23% of the enrollees lived outside the region. This suggests a 2% return between 1974 and 1981. However, more precise figures are needed to confirm this trend. There are relatively few shareholders enrolled at large: 290 or 6%.

Land conveyance in the region as of June, 1983 was:

	Acres
Ambler	88,418.08
Kotzebue	138,610.05
Noorvik	126,474.00
Selawik	116,385.79
NANA Region:	196,927.72
Regional Total:	666,815.64

This represents a great increase over the total regional conveyance of 22,876.84 acres reported on December 30, 1980. Conveyance is complicated by the issue of land allotments. The position taken in this connection is that the allotments must be settled before final conveyance can be completed.

The setting for conflict over these allotments should make even a moose shudder and a caribou quake. In all, about 9000 applications have been filed; the State of Alaska has lodged

protests on about 6000 of them. About 2000 were in the NANA region; about 250 in the Arctic Slope. Some of the problems that have been encountered included surveying, shifting locations--and, inevitably, kinship.

Uhl and Uhl (1979:3) note a rise in interest in building second homes along the Noatak. Cabins for vacation and for hunting and fishing camps were being planned. This may be one result of increased affluence, but it **also** may reflect a direct interest in land allotments. Who has access to what part of the river will likely become in the future a critical issue among the Natives, as well as between Natives and non-Natives. The bonds between Noatak and Kotzebue may be strong, stronger than between other villages, but when it comes to a claiming, staking, receiving formal papers, and building on a specific piece of land, friendship and, more importantly, kinship will enter in. Since it is the kinship bonds people feel toward each other that make **Inupiat** relationships so strong and enduring, if these sentiments are eroded by new boundaries and land ownership patterns, painful modifications in human relationships may be required.

Perhaps, as was the custom in the old days, there can be periods of truce when it will be declared safe to cross other people's land (Burch 1981). Perhaps such traditional considerations can be built into new regulations.

In one discussion, the sense of owning the allotment was clearly expressed, even though no official grant had been received:

"I have 160 acres there, and whenever possible I go over there. It seems like every year the time to go there gets shorter and shorter, But we used to spend the majority of our summers there."

This is a man with an active career in Kotzebue, undoubtedly too busy to go to summer camp often. But later in his life, as activities slow and he shares in the raising of his grandchildren, then he will want to spend more time at his traditional family site. When asked about the required papers, he admitted they hadn't been issued:

"but, regardless of the land claims or anything else I consider that place mine anyway. I was born there. For generations back we've lived there."

The expression "I was born there" is a powerful indicator of the future. Regardless of success, money, regulations or access, the sense of being born somewhere is strong and deep; more so than most non-Natives can easily perceive. Certainly many of the non-Natives who come to Alaska tend to have far weaker ties to land or kin.

In some cases, though, the location of land allotments does not have heavy historical meaning. One middle-aged couple with two allotments about five miles from home was asked,

"What do you plan to do with them?" "Maybe I can sell it to some big construction company and make a lot of money."

ANCSA Corporations

One profound change under **ANCSA** was the establishment of corporations at both the village and regional levels. In this section, we examine a few of the political ramifications of the creation of these uniquely western institutions.

NANA HISTORY

An analysis of the annual shareholders reports (1973-76) gives a sense of how early some ideas appeared, and allows a kind of perspective about both change and stability in the region. For example, by 1973 the Village Land Selection Committees had been formed. A subsistence use report, claimed to be the most comprehensive in the state, had been prepared, and an exploration contract with Standard Oil Company of California had been negotiated. The Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission for Alaska was already involved in an evaluation of the land and a total of \$8,305,455 had been received by the corporation. Consultants from four different states-- California, Texas, New York and Washington, D.C.-- were involved in the organization and allocation of funds.

The Board of Directors consisted of thirteen members (all men) and there were three committees--Lands, Finance and Investing, and Minerals. Of the original board of 13, seven continued to serve in 1979 (Newlin, Booth, Custer, Schuerch, Swarm, Ferguson and Hensley). They represent 54% of the original board, and 30% of the total 1979 board.

Of special interest to this project is the fact that the NANA regional corporation was in the process of negotiating a contract with a major oil company during its first year of operation. By April 1, 1973, after six months of negotiations, a contract was signed with Socal. The 1975 Annual Report spelled out the agreement, summarized here:

\$300,000	For option to enter oil and gas leases.
\$2,750,000	For-costs of land selections.
\$2,500,000	For oil leases on selected lands.
\$5,550,000	Total .

More recently, NANA signed an agreement with VECO, Arctic Alaska Drilling Company, and two North Slope villages to construct a drilling rig. The rig, operated by Arctic Alaska Drilling for Sohio, went into service in the Beaufort Sea in the early 1980s. Prior to this, NANA had entered into a joint venture with Petrolane for the construction of a rig that was placed in use on-shore in the North Slope. At the time it went into service in mid-1977 it was the largest

drilling rig operating in the region (NANA Newsletter 1980:
v-1)

NANA also was a successful partner--along with BP and SOHIO--
in the Federal/State Beaufort Lease Sale. The winning bid
was on tract #76, a 4,300 acre parcel east of Prudhoe Bay.
Three other ANCSA Regional corporations were involved: Se-
alaska, Koniag, and Cook Inlet. This was the first time any
Native corporations had bid on oil leases.

The shareholders reports also reflect some values of NANA's
leadership. Letters from both the chairman and the president
speak of cooperation and support. For example,

"Our success to date has been possible because
we have put aside our petty differences and
worked together through NANA as one force. Our
success in the future will depend on our ability
to recognize areas of conflict and to eliminate
them before they split us into smaller groups
that can easily be defeated. Without your
active and positive support NANA cannot succeed"
(John Schaeffer, 1974).

The idea of "One Hunter" is reflected in the official logo
adopted that year. Part of its symbolism is explained on the
inside cover:

". . .The same qualities of courage, confidence,
humility, respect, integrity, and sharing with
others that have allowed our people to survive
as great hunters in a harsh climate are necessary
for NANA to be successful, We as stockholders
must develop these qualities in our corporation
in order to insure its success in the future. "

In 1973, the total number of persons serving on village corporations was 51. A total of 92 individuals were listed on Land Selection Committees. Of course, a number of people served on both, but discounting the overlap there were still a total of 101 different individuals serving in one capacity or another. This reflects a high level of involvement of people at the village level at that time.

An estimated 600 meetings were held between 1973 and 1978 concerning land issues (W. Sampson, NANA Land Director, personal communication). Many of them took place in the villages. It seems reasonable that these meetings in themselves aided NANA's efforts to unify the region, and to keep the villages posted on developments in the wider sphere.

Under the provisions of ANCSA, village corporations can merge with their regional corporation. The idea of villages merging with the NANA regional corporation first officially appeared in the December 1974 NANA newsletter. The mergers-- of all of the village corporations except for Kotzebue's-- were accomplished in 1976, as noted earlier in many ways a landmark year. The merger of the 10 village corporations was not accomplished with the full support of all involved shareholders. At least in Noatak there was some reluctance. However, considering the actual cultural differences which exist between the villages, the merger was quite a feat.

NANA has been cited publicly for excellent shareholder relationships, with no large-scale leadership turnover and no major political fights. This may be an indication of the influence of strong leaders in the region and also, perhaps, a reflection of the continuity of some other traditional **Inupiat** values --especially avoiding conflict. The shareholders who disagree may not show up at the meetings, good **Inupiat** avoidance behavior. Note that one of the most pervading values broadly publicized by the Spirit Committee is "avoiding conflict." With this image to maintain, and charismatic leadership to reinforce it, it may take great courage for an Eskimo to speak up with a different idea, a different perspective, a suggested change of direction.

NANA THEMES

Several philosophical themes appeared early in the NANA publications and have persisted relatively unchanged for as long as eight years. For example, in 1973 there was concern expressed about d-2, road access, subsistence, and oil development (Tundra Times, August 8, 1973 and NANA Newsletter 1973). The recurring themes of life style, protecting subsistence, unity, avoiding conflict, and maintaining political stability have more recently been formulated into a set of "**Inupiat**" values advocated by the Spirit Committee.

In working to resolve the d-2 land claims issues, NANA leaders sought "to prevent changes" and "to protect the culture." They have interpreted this to mean that the villagers, "If given a choice between life style and jobs, they'd choose life style." **These** themes, however, **are** showing signs of being modified. **As** noted earlier, the new housing and its attendant costs has raised the need for cash and results in new needs for work.

The changes are perhaps most clearly seen in the shift of attitudes towards mining. Throughout the 1970s, there was no question: voting at shareholders meetings was for no mining developments and no roads or railroads. By 1980, this had changed and the vote was for NANA to proceed with exploring its mining options. Even so, caution was expressed. As the 1980 OEDP Update (1980:3) said in acknowledging this vote:

This does not necessarily mean that NANA will pursue mining itself, but rather that NANA will not oppose it on BLM land.

The pressures from outside the region to modify the themes undoubtedly will increase. Using mining again as the example, the **Mulik** area-Red Dog mine has turned out to be a "world-class" deposit; that is, one of the richest concentrations of lead and zinc so far discovered. As the Draft Regional Strategy notes:

Where major mineral resources are located, the source of revenue for the corporation's

continued function must come first in priority. Where such resource locations are unavoidable, conflicts with other resources, the corporation will work with state and federal agencies and local village IRA councils to develop plans which will minimize impact" (Maniilaq 1982: IV-8).

As industrial options become more attractive and local pressures for jobs develop, the theme of "preventing change" seems to be becoming one of "maintaining local control over development" (Maniilaq 1982:III-29).

There is an additional economic element in these changes as well. In the early days of NANA, many expected that the Corporation would provide a high level of personal wealth. An indication of the disillusionment some felt is indicated by one Kotzebue leader:

"One of the bad effects. . . for a while there were big jobs with high salaries and that established high expectations."

It also seems reasonable that the early, widespread, and primarily volunteered involvement of the villagers in many ANCSA-related activities may have contributed to later disappointment and disillusionment. As the villages were merged and land selections completed, fewer people were directly involved with corporation affairs --and still not many jobs materialized.

The shifts in the themes may well mirror other changes.

Now that **the** ANCSA land selections are complete, fewer meetings are **held**. But most villages have not yet had their land conveyed. Since less communication had occurred, internal village unity appeared in 1981 temporarily threatened.

On the other hand, the unifying themes of **Inupiat Ilitqusiatic** may be filling the void by serving **to** recharge the **people** with a sense of mission and commitment. The Spirit Committee meetings in the villages, as already noted, were well attended by residents of all ages. Spirit themes may well take the place of land issues **in** the 1980s.

CORPORATE GOALS

In January 1983 the **Board** of Directors approved a set of **goals** for NANA "to guide our conduct as **well** as determine our path. . . ." According to this document, the primary goal "must be 'INUPIAT SURVIVAL.'" Six basic principles are stated, based on **Inupiat Ilitqusiatic**. These principles include individual responsibility, extended family emphasis, guidance from elders, importance of the **Inupiaq** language, land as the physical symbol of the spirit, and a belief in God and respect for his creation.

The region's **goals** are

- o To instill **Inupiat Ilitqusiatic**
- o To pursue merger with KIC

- To help individuals with **Inupiat** values to assume responsibility in NANA
- To create a Political Action Committee (PAC)
- To find **Inupiat** solutions to social problems
- To have education that develops strong **Inupiaq** identity as well as a technically capable **workforce**
- To help establish a Borough.

The Land (**nunavut-literally, Our Land**) is to be preserved. Capital (**manikput-Our Money**) is to be preserved by maintaining profitability and providing for capital growth. Finally, statewide goals are spelled out to help "encourage unity among the Indians, Eskimos and **Aleuts**" (NANA 1983:personal communication to shareholders).

NANA BUSINESSES

The 1981 Directory of Alaska Native Enterprises identifies a total of ten different businesses in nine categories (using the Standard Industrial Classification or SIC system).

Five of the ten were located in Anchorage and five in **Kotzebue**.

Anchorage businesses were:

- General Building Contractor - NANA Construction Co.
- Heavy Construction Contractors - NANA/Morrison Knudsen
- Special Trade Contractors - NANA-Bell-Herring

Transportation Services	-	Great Northern Express
Electric, Gas, and Sanitary Services	-	Arctic Utilities

In **Kotzebue**, the businesses were:

Food and Kindred Products	--	NANA Seafoods
Food and Kindred Products	-	Qungniq, Inc.
Air Transportation		Don's Seafair Flying Service
Wholesale Trade/Durable Goods	-	Jade Mountain Products
Building Materials and Garden Supplies		Tupik Building Supply'

RELATIONS OUTSIDE THE REGION

As an **ANCSA** corporation, NANA has engaged in many corporate ventures. Since this study is focusing mainly on villages within the study area, a review of NANA's external corporate activities seems not to be germane. A few general observations on relations with the Arctic **Slope**, however, provide some insights into NANA's **role** in the state and nation.

In the past, warfare between Eskimo groups was not unknown, and competition was often keen. Thus the interactions between NANA and ASRC are of interest, especially since they may affect future industrial development. One NANA observer, in

1978, characterized the situation this way:

"We get along pretty well with the Arctic Slope. But ASRC and Barrow-- they have been at war all these years."

A relatively early political relationship between the two areas occurred in the early 1960s, at the time of the **Kivalina/Cape Thompson Project Chariot** events and the Barrow **duck-in**. These led to the first Inupiat Paitot meeting in Barrow in 1962. The following year the meeting was held in Kotzebue, and next, Fairbanks. There was a time in 1966 when discussions to unite the whole area were held, but this did not come to pass.

The two regions appear to have an informal arrangement for the division of tasks at the state and national political levels. For instance, the political battle over the management of D-2 lands and the advocacy of subsistence protections has been undertaken mostly by NANA. As one ASRC individual said:

"We didn't work very closely with NANA and others concerning D-2. We knew what we wanted. We didn't get into the subsistence battle. "

In some ways, the NANA region is to the Arctic Slope what Greenland is to Canada: NANA, like Greenland, specializes in political expertise; Arctic Slope, like Canada, has the resources (both natural and fiscal). A creative reciprocity

seems to have been worked out. The NANA area provides the Northwest with Senator **Ferguson** and Representative Adams to represent them in Juneau. ASRC and NANA corporation work together with industry and construction projects **in** the Arctic **Slope** area. Also, perhaps as one **result of the Beaufort Sea** developments, there seems to be an informal division of other topics: Arctic Slope and the ocean; NANA and the land.

Since the days of **Inupiat Paitot** in the **early 1960s**, people from the NANA region have been active in statewide Native political activities. The continuing importance **of this involvement** to the NANA regional corporation is seen in their 1983 corporate goal statement that devotes a section to **inter-regional** goals. Seven objectives are listed that corporate leaders believe will encourage unity and "the economic and cultural well being of the other Regional Corporations" (NANA 1983: Personal communication to shareholders).

One thing that became increasingly obvious during the research period is that the NANA image of unity does not reflect all sides of the picture. The unity is not as tight as it appears from the outside; at the same time, considering how real the differences are within the region, its extent is impressive. The political **skills** of the charismatic and skilled leadership have been used continuously for the past twelve years to hold the region together. Also contributing to the image

of unity is the fact that the region has kept their internal conflicts to themselves and has not aired them in the public limelight.

KIKIKTAGURUK INUPIAT CORPORATION (KIC)

KIC was incorporated in July of 1973. Under ANCSA it expects to receive 164,500 acres of land and \$12,000,000. **By and large,** it has operated at a profit since its start; some losses were experienced in 1977 and 1978. In Kotzebue, KIC has constructed a major office complex and a 41 unit apartment building. A joint venture in an Anchorage office mall was sold after a few years. The corporation also supports scholarship programs for local youth, and similar programs to benefit its shareholders.

KIC is one of the largest village corporations in Alaska, With 2021 stockholders, 42% of the total NANA enrollment, the corporation is in an influential position. As of 1981, KIC had not declared a dividend, but there was a strong sense of identity among many of its shareholders. A kind of loyalty, combined with a continuing sense of separateness **vis-a-vis** NANA, existed; this feeling will likely keep both corporations on their toes.

The question of the merger of KIC with NANA continues to

arise and be debated. One argument for the merger, by a KIC stockholder, included:

"We have done nothing that great. ..but if we merged we could invest and we would have more expertise, and the world-wide connections that NANA has."

When the issue was brought to a vote in 1980, it was 5 to 4 against merger. However, good relations with NANA may have been symbolically continued by the discussion of a \$1 to \$3 million loan to the regional corporation.

The village corporation's public statement, in 1980 included:

"KIC has proven to be highly capable of standing on its own as a village corporation. KIC will continue to endure and prosper independently. " (Mauneluk Reports 4(6):5).

On the other hand, the regional corporation continues to seek merger, as reflected in the 1983 corporate goals noted earlier.

Management of Federal Lands

The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act became law in December 1980. It placed over 97 million acres in new or expanded federal parks and wildlife refuges, designated 25 wild and scenic rivers, and classified 56 million acres as wilderness. Five areas are in the immediate vicinity of the study area for this analysis: Gates of the Arctic

National Park and Preserve (to the east); Kobuk Valley National Park (in the central area); Noatak National Preserve (to the north); Cape Krusenstern National Monument (along the northwest coast); and Bering Land Bridge National Preserve (to the south and southwest). Portions of the Kobuk, Noatak, **Selawik**, and Salmon Rivers were placed in the wild and scenic river system.

The net result of these actions was to place some federal lands as buffers around NANA lands. The draft Regional Strategy Plan states that "60% of the NANA Region was thereby protected." The Plan goes on to note that this outcome was a long-term goal for the regional leaders:

"Preservation of key habitat for subsistence resources for the villages of the NANA Region was achieved over a ten-year period, through lobbying and during d-2 settlement for the creation of the existing parks, refuges, and monuments. NANA Regional Corporation dedicated staff members to work in Washington with members of Congress to create the land use pattern which would protect a maximum amount of range for the Western Arctic caribou herd, and migratory waterfowl" (**Maniilaq 1982: IV-7**).

Management plans for the federal areas are being prepared. It is estimated that it may take as long as 5 years to get all of the regulations in place. A summary of some of the interim regulations was published in NUNA in June 1981 and includes information such as: the Kobuk Valley National Park will be open to subsistence hunters in **Selawik** and Kotzebue;

the three preserves and refuges (Bering Land Bridge, Noatak and Selawik) will be open to sport and to subsistence hunting; and permits for local residents are not needed. It notes that persons not living in the residence zones must have permits, and finally indicates some lifetime permits might be issued to families.

The September 1981 special edition of the Tundra Times, a Rural Guide to the Alaska Lands Act, further addresses key issues involved in future management. It can be anticipated that these issues will become increasingly vital in the future. Politically it seems reasonable to venture that the future will require mediation between users of the land and federal regulators. Now that the legislative battle is over, the negotiations with the bureaucracies will be getting underway.

Maniilaq Association*

This non-profit corporation provides nearly all the functions of a borough except for schooling--and with no tax base. One Kotzebue city employee characterized the organization as a quasi-government operating primarily for the villages; it

*The change from Mauneluk to Maniilaq was made in the early 1980s. At a Spirit Committee meeting a school district bilingual staffer urged the correction. It was informally adopted and since 1981 efforts to make the change legally have been underway.

also provides many jobs in town in the process of providing these services to the villages. As a consequence, **Maniilaq** plays an important political part in **Kotzebue**.

Historically, **Maniilaq** has been one of the most successful of the Native non-profit corporations. By 1976, it had a budget of \$1 million. There were at least 71 employees in 1979, and according to the president, in November 1980, the Association managed about \$5.9 million from 22 different sources. At that time, about 50 persons were employed in **Kotzebue**, and about 50 in the villages.

An analysis of the range of programs and services provided by **Maniilaq** would require a separate report, although some of the economic impact is discussed in the next chapter. Because of the diversity of its activities and sources of funds, **Maniilaq** has had to maintain considerable institutional flexibility. This adaptability may be an important part of the history of development in the region.

Politically, **Maniilaq** has experienced some difficulty because it has been viewed by some villages as a Big Brother--an image occasionally shared, or confused, with NANA's. By 1982 at least four villages had withdrawn from some activities provided by **Maniilaq**, wishing instead to manage the programs themselves through their local IRA.

As a village-service organization **Maniilaq** may have reached its height in **1980**; today it certainly must anticipate changes in light of the current federal budget. **The** president **of the** association in February **1981** expected a **20** to **50%** decrease in federal **funds**. **At** that time the ratio was approximately **60%** federal funding **to** **40%** state. **Maniilaq** officials hoped for a shift to **40%** federal and **60%** state. The president was optimistic that the overall funding would continue at the present rate.

One of the services provided between **1976** and **1980** was the publication of Mauneluk Reports. **This** guide **to** community resources is an excellent record of the different programs managed through the non-profit corporation, and an important source of information **about** some of the political changes that occurred during this period. For several of these years it was the only region-wide newspaper.

Regional Strategy Meetings

Beginning in **1978**, **Maniilaq** and NANA led the way in efforts to coordinate planning for the area by sponsoring a series of **annual** regional strategy meetings. A "Draft NANA Regional Strategy" was published **in** May **1982** by **Maniilaq**, and distributed to residents during the summer. According **to** the draft document it is

"a Ten-Year Plan for overall development of Northwest Arctic Alaska. Strategic planning is broad planning that encompasses and integrates the more detailed planning for economic development, education, land use, community facilities and **sociocultural** change" (Preface).

The Regional Strategy is aimed at many readers: village council members, agencies building projects in villages, proposal writers and program planners, agencies that have received grant applications from the area, outside corporations, legislators, land agencies, other regions of Alaska interested in setting up a similar system, communities, agencies, or legislators wanting to see what is being done to improve municipal management, and all organizations "concerned with high costs of operating facilities in the Arctic." (Maniilaq 1982:Preface).

Like the Spirit Movement, the NANA Regional Strategy is a response to the pressures the leaders felt in trying to cope with changes in the study area. Some of these pressures came from the sheer number of things that had to be done: Coastal Zone Planning, Federal land management comments, corporate decisions with respect to mining, transportation, and the like. As the first year's progress report states:

The Regional Strategy will provide a mechanism to tie together programs in the region, including

Coastal Management, so that projects are formulated as an integrated set, consistent with the goals, objectives, and policies of the region (Mauneluk 1979:1).

Detailed analysis of the politics surrounding a regional strategy meeting is beyond the scope of this research. However, it appears that the issues that are raised in these sessions, involving as they do the relationships of key political figures and the changing social institutions, are critical to the future of the area. Here the issues of the school district, NANA, and Mauneluk are raised. The four major ones cited are:

- Raising the standard of living through economic development;
- Protecting the natural environment, and the subsistence based cultural heritage;
- Revitalizing the spirit and pride of the Inupiat Eskimo, and minimizing the causes of social problems;
- Developing local management capability and local control to make self-determination a reality.

As far as getting the job done, in the Draft strategy the summary states:

"The primary mechanisms for implementation include consolidation of institutional efforts, accelerated education and planning, media coordination, and development of a support network and incentive system to foster individual commitment" (Maniilaq 1982:1-1).

One of the themes voiced by the leaders in the NANA region, and highlighted during the regional strategy meetings, has been local control. (See NANA Survey and Regional Planning Reports.) However, as long as people continue to desire modern services which must be supplied by outside personnel and money, there will be tension between the sense of controlling one's destiny locally, and being subjected to management by external forces.

In the old days, life was made uncertain by the vagaries of nature; little by little those risks have been supplanted by new ones--agency-- and money-based uncertainties. Will the electrical system break down and a loss of frozen goods ensue? Will there be enough oil to make it through the winter, and enough energy assistance dollars to pay for it? Will the TV repairman arrive?

The main way that the regional strategy planning tried to involve local residents was through village plans. These plans "were prepared with the city and IRA councils from each village. " Once the Draft plan was printed, local task forces were to review the strategies for their areas. Much more work was envisioned in the communities before the local plans were expected to be final (Maniilaq 1982:VII-1).

It is too early to judge whether these efforts will be success-

ful. Like Inupiat Ilitqusiatic, village strategy planning is most likely to be successful in some places, near useless in other villages, and of some consequence in between for yet others. The villages are receiving technical assistance in preparing land use plans, in forming the task forces (called Local Coordinating Councils), and in coordinating the many boards and councils. Agencies working with the villages report an improved management capability in some villages (SESP 1982:Review comments on the draft).

Like many political things, however, opinions differ about these efforts. To this author, it seemed as if the planning was mainly by and for the planners themselves. Ever increasing numbers of persons, representing many interested agencies, attended. But village representation seemed marginal--at least to one of the "young turks" who spoke up with his concern during the 1981 meetings:

"I'm sure you all have your hearts in the right place, but it is so discouraging to see so many people from the outside coming up with so many plans. . . ."

"Then you throw a piece of paper on the wall (to explain) but there are no people from the villages here. . . ."

"Year after year we get the same thing."

"They don't care about paper, the people in the villages don't care about paper. They've been papered forever. . . ."

These statements were not unlike feelings expressed in some

of the villages, where the disparity between the level of sophisticated planning and the rhythm of village life seemed to be growing.

On the other side, as a different commentator believes:

"The disparity may not exist to such an extent as might appear. Village life is becoming increasingly intense on its own. Out-of-region travel for jobs, intensive training in industrial occupations on sophisticated machinery, and hurried paces for construction and commercial fishing jobs all make village life more and more similar to the lifestyle lived by others. Village council members have been involved for at least ten years in deadline regulations and priorities for budget setting, grant proposals, and legislative cycles. While their kids are learning computers in school, the parents are involved in complicated problems of maintaining generators, heating systems, water and sewer projects, and negotiating with agencies on projects. (SESP 1982:Review comments of the Draft Report).

McNabb, who has watched the struggle for local control in the NANA region, provided this analysis:

"Local control as a planning issue or goal has three basic components:

1. Active generation of opportunities for local involvement including more jobs, training for jobs now held by **non-Inupiat**, public review, and public participation.
2. Reduction of dependencies; for example, import substitution and diversified village economies.
3. Protection from perceived threats to local control ; for example, NANA-sponsored local

hire agreements, review of operations employed by mining companies. "

McNabb perceived that local control has been turned into a central philosophy for NANA and Maniilaq. It is like the themes characterizing NANA reports over the years and the values evolved -for the Spirit Committees. The idea of local control is one that people can generally agree on. Whether or not it exists as a political reality is open to debate.

The implementation of the concept of local control helps to explain the proliferation of boards and advisory groups. Whether these are working well is a question that cannot be answered from the available data; many of their activities appear disorganized and unfocused. The low level of public participation is puzzling. McNabb notes, however, that regardless of the realities of local control, "it will remain a pivotal issue, and a source of strength and unity in a sometimes fragmented political sphere."

Federal -State-Local Relationships

There is no greater political dilemma than the relationship of the Alaska Natives to the federal and state governments. The ties of villages to the federal government have a long history; in some instances they are a part of the way of life,

built into the local traditions. By and large, the bonds are through the BIA and the Indian Health Service, but the federal Fish and Wildlife Service, the BLM and the Park Service are also known in the Bush. Many villages have long-established councils created under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). The ones in **Kotzebue**, Noatak, and Pt. Lay were ratified in 1939; those in **Kivalina**, Pt. Hope and **Selawik** in 1940; and in **Deering** and **Shungnak** in 1945 and 1946.

The ties of villages to the state tend to be more tenuous. Partly because the contacts are more recent, there has not been the time to develop a confidence and trust which can equal or surpass that which was felt for the 61A. Also the Alaska government tends to be associated with the Fish and Game Department. This agency is looked upon with suspicion in many places--and this suspicion may tend to generalize to other state departments. The shift of loyalties from federal to state sources will not be easy for some communities.

An example of the dilemma of the relationships is found in **Noatak**. The historical depth of this village's federal involvement is illustrated in the handwritten minutes of the BIA school for November 1939:

"Mr. Roosevelt was President and **Mr. Ickes**, Secretary, next to the President. If you vote yes, it will be protect to Native at Noatak" (Don Foote collection, Box 3).

In spite of the incorporation of other villages under state statutes, Noatak has consistently refused to become a "city." Instead, they have preferred to emphasize their federal relationship through the IRA Council. Some residents are weary of the conflict, but others persist with their loyalty:

"We holler to the federal government. If we make voice enough, finally we always get it."

"The federal government would not feed them (villages incorporated under state law). If we're the only ones left, we'll (still) do fine."

These positions are not without justification. One man, who had been a member of the IRA Council for 40 years, had worked for the 51A as a school maintenance person; when the state took over the school, his pay was cut. As fee agent for over 15 years, he noted that the federal government paid \$8 per application; but that the state, for energy assistance, only paid \$4 per head. Small wonder that he remains loyal to the federal establishment--it has clearly been more benevolent to him, over a longer period of time.

As with almost any political dilemma, there are differences of opinion about the situation. In early 1981 a leader in Kotzebue expressed a personal opposition to the federal role in the region:

"We tend to run to the Feds for everything and have them drum up additional funds to supplement whatever. . .Some of them (Native and non-

Native) have the federal government figured out. They live off the federal government. The federal government is supporting the subsistence life some people choose to live... I like Reagan's idea of putting them back to work."

Relationships between Native groups in different locations vary as well. In Kotzebue, after reactivating the IRA, some of the federally-funded programs were contracted to Maniilaq, although certain ones were later brought back to the IRA. A physical presence of the Kotzebue IRA was the recreational center. Funded by EDA, and completed in 1978 for approximately \$750,000, it burned in February 1981. No insurance covered the building and its reconstruction was uncertain. No data exists as to whether a physical symbol like this adds to the political power of an entity like an IRA.

Each of the 11 village IRA organizations had a representative at the organizational meeting of the United Tribes of Alaska (UTA) in May, 1983. This 100% participation was far greater than any other region. The first elected president of UTA is Willie Goodwin of Kotzebue. The role of the IRAs and the new statewide organization UTA should be considered in any future studies concerning this area of the Northwest.

Borough Government

The possibility of establishing a Borough has been under

discussion --on and off--for a number of years. It is, of course, a politically volatile question for the creation of a Borough could add an additional layer of government (and bureaucracy) to the region, and could place this layer in competition with existing organizations both public (e.g., City Councils) and private (e.g., NANA). It is significant, however, that the 1983 NANA corporate goal statement includes:

"Assist in the formation of a borough to increase local control of decisions which effect our shareholders" (NANA 1983:5).

In May 1981 the Kotzebue city mayor expressed some ambivalence about the formation of a borough and its potential relationships with the villages. But, he added, "It's just a matter of time. . . before we become a borough. " The city council had proposed a study to consider its creation, and Derbyshire's CZM report (1981) projects a 1985 date for its expected formation.

It is highly speculative what the consequences of establishing a new borough might be. Looking at the structure of Kotzebue, its present political arrangements, and the statements of the leaders, suggests that there would be difficulties. For instance, Maniilaq now provides many of the services which would come under the umbrella of a borough government--but it is primarily service-oriented to the villages, not to

Kotzebue with its non-Native population. Furthermore, the borough would include a school district, a major economic source which has developed independently, and powerfully, since 1976. Any borough formation will require rearrangement of these organizations, their leadership, and attendant power. **Who** is going to give in--to **whom?--is** an exceedingly difficult question to answer.

In anticipation of possible borough formation in the near future, an analysis of the institutional changes in the NANA region during the last ten years might be instructive. There seem to have been mergers, splits, and more mergers, suggesting perhaps a local amenability and historical base for the kinds of changes that would come with a new borough. **Maniilaq** appears especially flexible, perhaps partly because of the fluctuating sources of its funds, and partly from the intricacies of the personalities and leaders involved in its programs. On the other **hand**, what a borough might do for the NANA region at first is to formalize the tensions that are already present and a part of the historical tradition of the area.

OCS and CZM

During the period of this contract, **OCS** was not an issue of particular interest or urgency in the study area. **OCS** action

then was concentrated on the Beaufort and the **Bering** Seas, and as one NANA leader noted, they had no local interest in the leases in other areas, only the Hope Basin. In February 1981 one leader said he was not particularly concerned because he believed the lease sale date had been unknown until just a couple months before, and 1985 was a long time away anyway. In general OCS was low priority.

On the other hand, some interest was indicated in **CZM** issues: at least more people had heard that acronym. In one village, in 1981, a newly elected representative to the **CZM** advisory board said he was not sure what **OCS** was, but "**CZM** is going to be popular pretty soon."

But even **CZM** activities did not generate a lot of interest. Few meetings were held following advisory board elections in 1979. The people elected were busy, often already laden with many responsibilities. **CZM** matters seemed of low priority even as late as May 1981. NUNA (June 1981) reported no officers attended the advisory board meeting on May 22, and there were 2 vacancies.

Concerning OCS issues in the NANA area, **McNabb** reports:

"In my judgment it would be difficult to rally support against OCS development in the region on technical, hazard-related reasoning alone. However, if the people are told 'OCS development will definitely harm subsistence,' then you will see a significant and negative reaction. "

Part of what **McNabb** indicates may well be related to the local Native population's view of accidents. It may be difficult to convince them of the seriousness of oil spills because accidents tend to be viewed as beyond human control. An oil spill as an accident might be considered comparable to a summer of bad weather, or a landslide, or any other natural "accident" that resulted in negative consequences.

Also, as reported elsewhere, there tends to be a perception of fate that may function to minimize anxiety about oil development and, if something negative does happen, enhance the likelihood of its acceptance. As a result, individuals who are opposed to industrial development in the north may have greater difficulty convincing NANA **Inupiat** than other Native groups that OCS exploration and production is dangerous.

ARCO, through the Alaska Native Foundation, funded a study of statewide attitudes towards OCS development. Although a published report is not available to the public, ARCO was willing to discuss some of the findings. According to **McNabb** they included the following, all but the last confirming what was found by the fieldwork of this research:

- Many people do not know what OCS means.
- NANA seems less concerned than other regions about

OCS development partly because lease dates are distant.

- There is a lack of understanding about time lag--how many years it takes between lease and production.
- Most worries are concrete and realistic: concern about impacts on roads, police needs, government services, infrastructure, waste disposal, and how to plan for orderly change.
- People want jobs.
- There is a tendency to see oil industry as a surrogate for government.

The idea of viewing industry as another source of services, expected to pick up where federal and state funds leave off, has some intriguing implications. Rural Alaska has learned well that outsiders, of all sorts, are generally the bringers of something: religion, education, welfare, health care, jobs. Industry may be a different specie but perceived to be a member of the same phylum.

OCS AND THE VILLAGES, 1981

Generally, few people in NANA villages had heard about OCS development. If they had, they had been on a board of some sort. For example, one former NANA board member stated:

"In ten years, maybe OCS. I don't like the idea. We can't stop it. But we just do our best to manage our land."

This reflects an important attitude: village people may not like industrial development, or may be told that they should not encourage it, but they "will do their best."

By and large, the people in the NANA region appear for OCS development if it is perceived to provide jobs. **McNabb** found the greatest source of support for the industry was from men who had worked in mining at some time during their career: "they were consistently enthusiastic--even if too old to ever work again."

A **Kotzebue** city council member in February 1981 indicated an open interest in oil development. He said, "We can't count them out." At that time the council had not taken a position yet on this topic, but the councilman noted **Nome's** disappointment and indicated he thought **Kotzebue** would work with oil companies. Further, he thought that six months of Reagan's administration would make people in **Kotzebue** even more amenable to development. He added:

"Wherever did we get the idea they (oil companies) were monsters --or angels?"

As late as May 1981, the **Kotzebue** mayor reported he had had no dealings with oil developers. However, the **Kotzebue** newspaper NUNA 2(3) in June 1981 had an article about OCS development plans. Included were the Hope Basin lease sale date,

July 1985 (since then deleted) and reports of concerns associated with the sale. Those who read the paper thus will be a little more informed. But this is an area in which the most important information is carried personally and orally, and the informal network wasn't carrying OCS information in 1981.

Just up the coast from the NANA region, however, were Inupiat who seemed much more aware, and wary, of OCS development. In Pt. Hope there was a strong position against even considering development. As one person phrased it, "We can tell them we're living by the animals." As one elder commented:

"They better not come here. Crude oil is no good. When I was a boy those little birds, when they land on an oily place, they always died right there."

It seems reasonable to expect that the informal network might carry the message of how these villagers feel to their partners and kin in Kivalina and Kotzebue.

Pt. Hope has not had any oil or gas personnel visit recently, but one whaling captain recalled that:

"Back in the fall of 1978, Chevron came out to Pt. Hope and they scared the daylights out of us. They had a big meeting. The whole village. They were proposing a drilling pad about a quarter mile from the village, to take samples. But they aren't coming back."

"This is where we grew up, and they let them know, they would not tolerate having oil and gas

development anywhere near this village. "

And, he concluded, "Nobody has approached them since."

It is important to recognize that Kotzebue is envisioned as the location to absorb most of the impact from future development: At least it is the intent of NANA that Kotzebue take the brunt of development.

As far as the villages go, the position taken by the NANA president in May 1981 was:

"Any oil development can't occur in those villages. We won't allow it to. The disruption would be so great that the people would never recover. "

This position of protecting the villages, combined with the then distant lease sale date, helps explain the general lack of interest and knowledge of OCS in the NANA region in 1981.

Summary

This chapter has addressed a range of topics as the author understood them in 1981. The themes of kinship and leadership, land claims and change, and the current issues, including a general absence of interest in OCS at the local level, are presented here to provide the baseline for understanding the unfolding of later events within the context of regional

political organizations and issues.

VI. ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Few topics have received more attention--and in some ways become more politically and emotionally laden--than that of rural economics. Throughout this paper, an effort has been made to view the available information from a distinctive anthropological perspective plus data from field experiences. So it is with economic behavior, which we seek to place within the context of the larger cultural system.

Elsewhere, the author (Davis 1978:58-93) has reviewed those aspects of economic anthropology that have major relevance to Alaskan villages. A host of detailed and valuable studies has become available in the meantime. For a summary statement, references, and maps consult Hale (1979). For analyses that include business, employment rates, other market factors, and future plans refer to the CZM reports (Darbyshire 1982). Examples of the extensive data sets that are available include Anderson et.al. (1977), Uhl and Uhl (1979), Moore (1980). For a theoretical discussion, see Lonner (1980). Additional information is available in OEDP publications, NANA regional strategy documents, Mauneluk Reports, NUNA, and OCS T.R. #53.

In spite of this wealth of information, however, little longitudinal data are available and it is hard to compare stud-

ies because of the differences between them. As a result the conclusions that can be drawn must be tentative. In small communities, economic behavior is part of a complex cultural pattern intertwined with kinship, power allocation, and other social dimensions. It includes far more than simple hunting or fishing trips. The timing of harvesting activities, the traditional (and present day) locations, the utilization of river, land and ocean resources, and the meshing of these factors with jobs, cash, and other western economic activities must all be considered in any analysis. There is an obvious need for more work on economic behavior, especially the anthropological approach to this complex human activity.

Ocean, River and Land

The basic economic activities in the study area, particularly those having to do with obtaining foodstuffs, involve relationships with the ocean, rivers, and land. How much each of these sources is used varies by community, by season, by year, and by species being harvested. Each village is located where it is because of a characteristic set of resource concentrations in relatively close proximity to the village. As McNabb has noted (1982:Personal communication) the "preponderance of the communities are on the north banks of east-west flowing rivers. This is because the north tributaries are

almost invariably fast-moving, clear waters with salmon; whereas, the south tributaries are slower and often stale, with no salmon but sometimes sheefish and pike. The north side is always better. The archaeological sites show the same pattern. "

Also, the particular activities that take place are dependent on how the local villagers view things.

"Local residents usually have their own perceptions of what is necessary based upon, among other factors, proximity of the resource, **seasonality** of the harvest, variation of the harvest from year to year, food preferences, trading value of the resource, alternatives, and so on" (SESP 1982:Personal communication and Comments on the Draft Report).

One of the adaptive patterns displayed over the years by the **Inupiat** is the ability to adjust to changes in the availability of subsistence resources. Nevertheless, there are definite preferences for different foods from different sources, and villagers are consciously aware of these balances.

Several examples illustrate the relationships. When asked about what was more important, land or sea, one 26-year-old **Kivalina** woman thought for awhile and then said, "About balanced. " She added, "A little more on the land, because of the berries, greens, duck and fish." The perception of fishing as a land-based food activity is important to note.

The fact that this individual views the land and sea as "about balanced" in their importance is central to understanding the Inupiat approach to resource uses. As one leader noted, this statement supports a holistic approach to land use that must be considered whenever discussing development, whether OCS or not (Tiepelman 1982:Personal communication) .

Some intravillage variation of food preference and hunting skills was found. In Kivalina, a family that feels more oriented to the land exchanges fish with a man known for his skills and success on the ocean. This is consistent with the reports of other investigators who note that not every man likes to hunt and so may find other ways to supplement his resource gathering (e.g., VanStone 1960).

The critical point to recognize is that emphasis cannot be given to one part of the environment or resource base; they must be considered altogether. And a cycle of subsistence uses must not be allowed to obscure the whole. As one expert has said:

"These observations have often led social scientists and others to postulate typological categories of subsistence, or clusters of villages, or subregional areas that are accorded a uniform "subsistence orientation." These topologies are familiar in terms like "sea mammal hunters," "inland caribou hunters," and the like Although assertions developed on the basis

of this logic seem to make sense, the empirical data often show a different picture. (McNabb 1983:App.4)

The ocean, river, and land must be seen as part of a unified world.

Riordan (1983) in an extensive analysis of the role of kinship and ritual as it relates to subsistence states:

"Given (the) cultural framework, it is possible but altogether inappropriate to reduce subsistence activities to mere survival techniques and their significance to the conquest of calories. Their pursuit is not simply a means to an end, but an end in itself. It is often commented in what little literature exists on the area that, even given alternatives, subsistence is still the preferred pattern. This preference is only explicable in terms of the intrinsic value of the life of the hunter (Fienup-Riordan 1983:xxix-xx).

In discussing the interrelationship between hunting and the values of Inupiat culture, Nelson states:

"The century of change that has so profoundly affected Inupiat people has not fundamentally altered the premises on which their culture and lifeway are based. The people still pursue a close relationship to their surroundings, still view themselves as hunters, trappers, and fishermen above all else, and still find ultimate meaning in a life close to land and sea. Because they have emerged from this foundation, Inupiat values emphasize subsistence living - particularly hunting - as the highest of human achievements" (Nelson 1981:112).

The **unified world of** the ocean, **river,** and **land** includes people, and any analysis of **rural** economic systems must recognize the inter-dependence of the **Inupiat** with the natural resources that surround them and of which they **are** a part.

It is the mix, and the local flexibility, of **land mammal** hunting, **riverine** fishing, and sea mammal hunting that we must try to understand if we **are later to** more accurately assess the effects of possible future modification to access or availability of those resources.

Subsistence Activities

BACKGROUND

Discussions of the traditional patterns of subsistence hunting and fishing will be found in the major sources for the study area (e.g., Anderson et. al., 1977; Burch 1972; Uhl & Uhl 1977, 1979; Eisler 1978). To set the stage for this analysis, data from Patterson (1974) were first considered. In using these numbers, it should be kept in mind that the data were collected in 1972 and provide estimates of **annual** average take over a period of years. The report gives relative, not exact, figures harvested in selected areas at a particular time.

Difficulties in calculating accurate measurements and weights are discussed briefly by Patterson, who did not personally collect the raw data (it was gathered by NANA employees in each village). In addition, the basic information was the number of animals taken; to get the harvest weight, the numbers were multiplied by an average dressed weight estimate. According to state research biologists, these estimates were in error so the final figures probably are over estimates of the harvest.

However, for the purposes of this illustration, instead of dwelling on the absolute amounts reported, emphasis is given here to the relative proportion of the harvest by community and specie. Census figures for 1970 were used as the guide for the population distribution. Table 13 shows the overall differential harvest of food resource by community.

The harvest reported may reflect more about the species population and availability at that time than about actual local preferences. Care must be taken to see the data in the context of time, location, local preferences and normal biological fluctuation. If all these dimensions could be factored in, a valuable assessment for each specie and each community with a possible ranking could result. Regardless of the shortcomings of the data, some facts are better than none; and these harvest data provide some insight concerning

TABLE 13

TOTAL ESTIMATED HARVEST c. 1972

	Total Harvest (Lbs.)	1970 Population	Lbs. per capita per year	Lbs per* day per capita
NANA/Kobuk	4,508,223	3975	1134	3.1
Kotzebue	1,081,973	1696	638	1.7
Deering	26,928	60	449	1.2
Buckland	178,228	104	1714	4.7
Selawik	744,464	450	1654	4.5
Noorvik	591,848	462	1281	3.5
Kiana	369,824	300	1233	3.4
Ambler	529,463	195	2715	7.4
Shungnak	306,171	165	1856	5.1
Kobuk	95,077	60	1585	4.3
Noatak	320,338	293	1093	3.0
Kivalina	263,911	190	1389	3.8

Data source: Patterson 1974. Subsistence Harvest in Five Native Regions. (Based on information gathered in 1972 by NANA)

*Added by the Author

relative proportion of land and water resources, and the analysis reveals the relative importance of major species in the study area at that time (1972).

Since subsistence activities are part of a larger economic system, **land**, river, and ocean uses complement whatever market aspects are found in a village. **No** single harvest is the key to village survival; instead it is a whole set of harvests that contribute to the economy of a village. Nevertheless, for analytic purposes it is helpful to look at a village by specie harvest to see these interactions. Patterson's NANA data are used again in the following illustrations.

SEA MAMMAL HARVEST

Review of Table 14 on relative village use of sea mammals indicates:

- All but the three Upper Kobuk River communities participate in sea mammal harvest, but to different degrees.
- **Buckland** with 3% of the population took 53% of the reported **beluga** whale harvest.
- **Kotzebue** with 43% of the NANA population took 49% of the bearded seal harvest.
- **Kivalina** with 5% of the population took 55% of the reported hair seal harvest.
- Walrus take was low in the NANA region.

Sea mammal hunting further north has been extensively **discuss-**

TABLE 14

SEA MAMMAL HARVEST, NANA REGION, c. 1972

	Bearded Seal	Hair Seal	Beluga Whale	Walrus	1970 Population	Percent of total Pop.
NANA/Kobuk	533	909	244	9	3975	
Kotzebue	260 (49%)	90 (10%)	50 (20%)	3 (33%)	1696	43%
Deering	20 (4%)	24 (3%)	8 (3%)		60	2%
Buckland	80 (15%)	150 (17%)	130 (53%)		104	3%
Selawik	15 (3%)	7 (1%)	8 (3%)		450	11%
Noorvik	13 (2%)	79 (9%)	17 (7%)		462	12%
Kiana	8 (2%)	49 (5%)	11 (5%)		300	8%
Ambler	0	0	0		195	.5%
Shungnak	0	0	0		165	4%
Kobuk	0	0	0		60	2%
Noatak	12 (2%)	10 (1%)	10 (4%)	3 (33%)	293	7%
Kivalina	125 (23%)	500 (55%)	10 (4%)	3 (33%)	190	5%

Data source: Patterson 1974. Subsistence Harvest in Five Native Regions. (Based on data collected by NANA in 1972)

ed in recent literature (see especially Nelson 1969 and 1981; Lowenstein 1981; and Burch 1981). There is no equivalent study for the NANA region.

However, Braund and Burnham (1983:51-55) briefly review Kivalina hunting patterns and report they found three changes since the 1960's:

- Rather than going to Pt. Hope to participate in bowhead whaling, Kivalina hunters set up their own camps, and have landed 3 whale since 1967.
- Increase in walrus population has led to increased harvest.
- More boats and more powerful outboard motors have increased mobility and efficiency, especially during the June hunt for ugruk and walrus.

To this information, we can add the following:

- In the NANA area, bowhead whale is a prestige meat, but other species provide the staple and dependable meats.

However, bowhead whaling has attracted attention and taken on political significance because of the international controversy about the possible extinction of the species. The importance of this activity is well documented. For instance, the DEIS for Norton Sound reports that the bowhead whaling is the most prestigious and culturally important activity for the St. Lawrence people today. Yet it is walrus that is the preferred meat, and the most dependable food source (Hughes 1960). Likewise, Kivalina is listed as a "whaling village" but fish and caribou are the staples.

Rather than review here **the** literature that has accumulated about Northwest Alaska-whaling (e.g., Bates 1980, Bockstoce 1977, and, Foote 1964, Lantis 1938, Mitchell & Reeves 1980, Pedersen 1971, Rainey 1947, Spencer 1971, VanStone 1958, Worl 1978, 1979), the following paragraphs report on the findings during the principal investigator's **field** discussions and observations in May 1981.

BOWHEAD WHALING, KIVALINA, 1981

In Kivalina, people were still talking about the whales that came, how they tried to get them, and the disappointment of having to stop whaling after two strikes. Four crews had been on the ice for only two or three days when they had to quit.

"Oh boy, did we see whale Sunday! So many!"

After the two strikes, the Kivalina whaling commissioner had the onerous duty of calling off the crews. Some young men from Noatak had come to Kivalina to participate in the hunt--their first time. Naturally, they were angry when the hunt was stopped. "He's no good," one said, referring to the commissioner.

Residents of Kivalina also recognized the difficulties the newly appointed commissioner was faced with:

"He didn't have no friend for awhile. "

But,

"He weathered it okay."

In this instance, the commissioner weathered the storm by invoking a well-established Eskimo adjustment pattern: he left town for awhile.

Briefly, the observations in 1981 suggest that for whaling in Kivalina there were:

- Far more whales, closer to the village than usual .
- More visitors and crew members from Noatak than usual.
- Lack of experience on the part of some hunters.
- Frustration with the quota requiring the hunt to stop.

One whaler was still hopeful about one whale that was struck and went under the ice:

"That whale might still be out there, and it might pop up through the ice yet."

BELUGA HUNTING, ELEPHANT POINT, 1981

Perhaps because of the interest in bowheads, little is reported on beluga hunting. The activities surrounding a beluga harvest, however, are excellent illustrations of the complicated, interwoven nature of Inupiat economic behavior. For instance, in May of 1981 at least one Kivalina whaling crew took 6 beluga; this was enough so that the sting of not obtaining a bowhead was soothed.

Sharing, which will be discussed in greater, detail later, was observed. The mayor, although not on the crew that took beluga, was told to:

" . . . go ahead and take whatever I want, whatever I thought I could use."

He went out on the ice and cut up about 80 pounds of fresh meat from one animal. His family ate some fresh; the rest they froze. They expected in June to dry it and store it in seal oil in barrels for the winter.

Buckland is another village with a historically high harvest of beluga, taking a reported 53% of the harvest in the early 1970s. Other participants in the hunt at that time included Kotzebue, Noorvik, Kiana, Noatak, Kivalina and Deering--in that order. The continuing importance of this sea mammal to this village was confirmed by McNabb in July 1981. He visited the village shortly after that year's hunt.

Most Buckland people go to Elephant Point in mid-June depending on the weather and ice conditions. They prefer to go while the ice is still on the ocean but gone from the point, where it retreats sooner. Apparently the decision to move from the village to the point is made, informally, by the influential and skilled hunters and their families.

McNabb reports the traditional Buckland family sites on the beach are organized on the basis of history and kinship.

Outsiders (all those not from **Buckland**) camp in a separate area across a narrow-part of the bay. It may be that villages have traditional sites there, but the data are not precise on that matter.

In recent years increasing numbers of **outsiders** have been flocking to Elephant Point to hunt **beluga**. In 1981 the outsiders outnumbered **Buckland** people about two to one. The main villages represented were Kotzebue, Noatak, Deering, Noorvik, and **Selawik**, similar to the 1970s pattern. In the eyes of the **Buckland** people, these outsiders are increasingly viewed as "pests," especially the Kotzebue and Noatak hunters who are **lumped** together from the **Buckland** standpoint.

Factors which make the hunt difficult include not just the vagaries of **beluga** and unpredictable weather conditions, but also the bad manners of the other hunters. At least traditional hunters of **Buckland** express a feeling that the codes of proper behavior for the hunt and the shore are being violated. Distribution patterns of the **beluga** taken are discussed later.

As noted, walrus does not seem to be a **highly** valued source of meat. Current lack of use may be partly the result of outbreaks of trichinosis associated with eating the meat. In 1975, there were 29 reported cases in Barrow; in 1976, four more cases.

In 1979 there were 2 cases in Pt. Hope, followed by 2 more in 1980. Kivalina had one case in 1979 (Lantis 1981). By and large, though, walrus just seems not to be all that valued (except for tusks). For instance, no one mentioned walrus in Kivalina except to note it wasn't as good as beluga: "Too tough."

Yet, Braund reports increased harvest in 1982. Whether this was by preference, or availability, is not clear.

Harvesting sea mammals is important to inland villages as well as to coastal ones. Anderson et.al. report:

The modern Kobuk Eskimos still use a variety of marine products, which they obtain from several different areas Seal oil, rendered from the animal's blubber, is by far the major product exchanged Kobuk Eskimos often speak of the hardship they feel when they run out of seal oil Thus coastal-inland exchange provides the people with food and other materials that are of great value in terms of their significance within the culture (Anderson et. al. 1977:441-444).

Similarly, the Uhls document the importance of the sea harvest for the Noatak villagers (Uhl and Uhl 1979:22).

In addition to the personal (psychological) and group (social) commitment to sea mammals, there is considerable monetary investment. One whaling captain in Pt. Hope said it cost between \$2000 and \$3000 to set up for whaling season; he had 16 on his crew, and it cost him about \$200 a day to

feed them. Observations about the expense of the investments are confirmed by McNabb (1983) who indicates:

"Expenses for hunting and fishing are too high to allow a vague and undirected roaming search for seals or any other natural product. The goal today, as in the past, is a predictable return for the investment made in time--and money."

Because of the monetary value and cultural significance, it is not surprising that the investment in equipment is saved for one's kin. One elder, aged 71, reminisced about the first whale he got in 1956 (when he was 45 years old) and his second in 1957. Two was enough, he commented, so he quit whaling in 1963 (when he was 52). But he added,

"I still have my darting gun and boat frame. I hope my son (living in Kiana) will use it."

FISH HARVEST

Patterns similar to those just described for sea mammals emerge from a consideration of information about fish. For the variety, timing, and relative importance of eight key species of fish in the Noatak area, consult Uhl and Uhl (1979:9-17). For an analysis of the Kobuk fishing complex, refer to Anderson et al (1977). Briefly, to note the importance of timing, the sequence for the arrival of some fish along the Kobuk leads Noorvik to gear up in June, Kiana in early July, and the upriver villages thereafter. But shee-

fish arrive in **Noorvik** before break-up in very early spring; just after break-up, **Kiana** can count on them. By the middle of summer, **Kobuk** will harvest some; then as the **sheefish** return downstream **Kiana** has another chance **late** in the summer, and **Noorvik** **just** before freeze-up.

Individuals have these complex schedules committed to memory; each year a person must take into account what **is** happening **in all** the neighboring villages. **Before** making a decision **on** whether to fish, information **on** a host of factors, like the wind conditions and recent temperatures, has to be weighed. Even then, **the** actual harvesting of a given kind **of** fish depends on a number of other variables, including:

- Personal capital and the **conditon** of the appropriate equipment.
- **Supplies** on hand.
- Options to go after a different fish.
- Available kin and partners.
- What else is happening in the **village** (jobs, church services, party).

For an excellent account of the range of variables affecting fish harvesting activities in **Kiana** in **1975** and **1976**, consult **McNabb (1982)**. The central point to **all** these studies is that economic behavior is variable; adjustment to fluctuations in natural cycles for one **specie** of fish includes going after others.

Interestingly, in spite of the attention given to subsistence in recent years, adequate data are hard to obtain. The Alaska Department of Fish and Game (Personal communication to McNabb 1982) does not have figures on subsistence uses in the NANA region that are available to the public.* Therefore, to establish at least a comparative baseline, we turn again to the NANA data gathered for Patterson.

A listing of the fish harvest is given in Table 15. As might be expected, a relatively high concentration of harvest was reported for riverine villages, especially along the Kobuk. In addition to the information in the table, it appears that in 1972 Selawik reported 86% of all the small whitefish, 30% of all the shortnose whitefish, and 28% of the longnose whitefish. Kivalina reported almost half the trout taken (46%) and Noorvik of the chum salmon (43%). Kotzebue reported taking about a third (31%) of the sheefish that year.

Recent fish harvest data are available for the Kivalina and Wulik river systems where the Kivalina residents catch nearly all their fish (Braund and Burnham 1983:22-39). Most of the harvest is done by rod and reel, gill nets and occasionally, seining. The fall fishing season was monitored in 1982, and

*In March 1983, a subsistence use report with reference to the Red Dog mine was provided for Cominco Alaska; it has newer and additional data.

TABLE 15
FISH HARVEST c. 1972

	Total Lbs.	% of Harvest	1972 Population
Kotzebue	164,480	9	1696 (43%)
Deering	3,725	.2	60 (2%)
Buckland	9,790	.5	104 (3%)
Selawik	507,156	26	450 (11%)
Noorvik	377,455	20	462 (12%)
Kiana	236,033	12	300 (8%)
Ambler	121,600	6	195 (5%)
Shungnak	190,820	10	165 (4%)
Kobuk	59,002	3	60 (2%)
Noatak	133,718	7	293 (7%)
Kivalina	110,950	6	190 (5%)
Total	1,914,729		3975

Data source: Patterson 1974. Subsistence Harvests in Five Native Regions. (Data collected by NANA employees in 1972)

the report provides information about timing, crews, methods, **equipment, storage**, actual catch and distribution. By far the most important fish was Arctic char which accounted for 86% of the harvest. Table 16 provides a valuable summary.

Comparative analysis with previous catches (i.e. 1959-1961 and 1968) indicated this harvest was substantially lower, perhaps because of the lesser need for dog food over the last 15 years as a result of the advent and availability of the **snowmachine**. The interview data indicates the **Kivalina** residents harvested as much fish as they needed (**Braund and Burnham 1983:58**).

The contrast between needs in the villages and in Kotzebue has yet to be considered. For example, one young man in **Kotzebue** was asked about his fishing activities. He said that he fished for about 24 hours for **all** he needed. For the processing, freezing and canning the fish, three related families got together for a day. And that provided his family of five with enough for the year. But he is employed full time, year round-- and that makes a difference in how much his family needs. But how much difference in total amount of fish and proportion of other harvests remains undetermined.

Table 16

Summary of Kivalina Subsistence Fish Harvest and Distribution, Fall, 1982

	COMPOSITION OF CATCH						DISTRIBUTION OF HARVEST			
	CHAR		WHITEFISH		GRAYLING		HOUSEHOLDS ¹		# PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLDS ²	
	<u>Lbs.</u>	<u>% Total Harvest</u>	<u>Lbs.</u>	<u>% Total Harvest</u>	<u>Lbs.</u>	<u>% Total Harvest</u>	No.	<u>% of Total</u>	No.	<u>% of Total</u>
Gill Net	3,100	(5.7)	700	(1.3)	-		8	(M)	40	(15.4)
Seine	<u>44,143</u>	<u>(80.3)</u>	<u>4,769</u>	<u>(7.6)</u>	<u>2,817</u>	<u>(5.1)</u>	35	" (70)	209	(80.4)
Subtotal	47,243	(86.0)	5,469	(8.9)	2,817	(5.1)				
TOTAL HARVEST:³ 54,960 Lbs.				TOTAL DISTRIBUTION:⁴		38		7.6%	216	83%

¹ These are 50 Eskimo households in Kivalina (based on August 30, 1982 Census and field work for this study).

² Total Eskimo population of Kivalina is 260 (based on August 30, 1982 Census and field work for this study).

³ Approximately 100 spawned and decayed salmon were caught by seining; they were discarded and are not included above.

⁴ Total distribution figures are corrected for duplication (i.e., each household only counted once).

CARIBOU

To finish this background discussion on subsistence activities, let us look at the information on caribou. Unlike the sea mammals, which are unevenly distributed among the 11 communities, the caribou harvest seems widely distributed" and closely matched to the proportion of the population, with the exception of Ambler. This village, with 5% of the population, took 18% of the reported caribou (see Table 17).

It is of course possible that the caribou in the early 1970s were somewhat evenly distributed across the north, and therefore the harvest for all these communities more closely matched with their size than would be the case if there were not so many of the animals available or they were concentrated in certain locations, or means of getting to them were unavailable.

Analysis of Tables 15 and 17 reveal some important variations in the relative distribution of the harvest of caribou and fish in the region. Although nine villages took about the same percentage of caribou as they represent in total percentage of the population, much greater variation between villages appears reflected in the fish harvest. Kotzebue with 43% of the population took only 9% of the fish, but Selawik with 11% of the population took 26% of the harvest. Likewise,

TABLE 17
CARI BOU HARVEST c. 1972

	Cari bou	1970 Popul ati on
NANA/Kobuk	14,219	3975
Kotzebue	5,000 (35%)	1696 (43%)
Deering	6 (.04%)	60 (2%)
Buckland	150 (1%)	104 (3%)
Selawik	1,887 (13%)	450 (11%)
Noorvik	1,381 (10%)	462 (12%)
Kiana	863 (6%)	300 (8%)
Ambl er	2,500 (18%)	195 (5%)
Shungnak	525 (4%)	165 (4%)
Kobuk	180 (1%)	60 (2%)
Noatak	1,214 (9%)	293 (7%)
Kivalina	513 (4%)	190 (5%)
Total	14,219	

Data source: Patterson 1974. (Based on data gathered by NANA in 1972)

Noorvik with 12% of the population took 20% of the total fish, Kiana with 8% of the population took 12% of the fish, and Shungnak with 4% of the population took 10% of the fish. The other villages were closely balanced between percent of the region they represent and the total percentage of fish harvest.

The unusual place of **Buckland** in the region, noted in Chapter II is further reflected in the reported harvest. In 1972 their take of reindeer was 74% of the total and total beluga harvest was 55%. Buckland had only 3% of the region's population.

In these general ways, the Patterson's data identifies some significant variations within the area. Future studies on a region-wide basis may both refine this kind of analysis, and provide comparative data for it.

Returning to caribou, the cyclical nature of subsistence economic activities is most clearly seen with this species. The caribou migrate roughly from the northeast part of the NANA area to the southwest. Thus Ambler, Shungnak, and **Kobuk** have the first chances to harvest them in the fall, and the last opportunity in the spring. Kiana and **Noorvik** have their chances after Ambler but before Selawik, which gets them near the end of their major migration south. One good thing, as

McNabb points out, if the animals are late or early anywhere along the line, word can be passed on to the other villages, and they can adjust their schedules accordingly.

This leads to the suggestion that variations in the timing of the take may be as important as the number. An analysis of the five villages for which there are data between 1959 and 1967 reveals that the high months vary considerably. For example, in 1959 Kivalina took no caribou in September, but in the following year harvested 130 in that month. In Noatak, the month with the greatest take in 1960 was October (462 caribou), whereas none were shot in October of 1966. Obviously, the data on which this suggestion is based are not current. Unfortunately more recent figures are not in the public domain. Therefore, the hypothesis is put forward that these variations need investigation and the hope is expressed that data will become available to confirm, deny, or modify the suggestion.

The Alaska Department of Fish and Game conducted a study of the western Arctic caribou herd (1978). The work was done in connection with a precipitous drop in the size of the herd from about 240,000 in 1970 to about 65,000 in July of 1976, which startled everyone. From 1963 to 1976, there had been no closed seasons nor bag limits, so the introduction of these restrictions was not easy. A cutback in the harvest was

necessary and considering the suddenness with which it had to be introduced, it is notable that there was not more resistant to the regulation.

In connection with the study of the crash, retrospective data on human utilization of caribou was sought. Like the restrictions just mentioned, the study has been subject to criticism. Nevertheless, in the absence of any other information, and recognizing the cautions stated earlier about the shortcomings of all available data, the information about caribou is provided in Table 18.

In addition to the fluctuations in harvests (and reporting) that seem to be reflected in the data, some averages are given in Table 19. A great deal more data is needed, of course in addition to harvest figures and herd variations. The relationship with the availability of sea mammals, for instance, **needs** to be taken into account.

Braund reviews the history of caribou hunting in the Kivalina and Noatak areas (1983:40 - 49), and reports:

“as the caribou population increased and expanded into the study area, local residents harvested larger numbers of caribou, and this species has become an increasingly important element of the subsistence resource base” (1983:42).

He also noted that reliance on caribou is sometimes tenuous and the number, direction and movement of caribou through the

TABLE 18
CARIBOU HARVEST 1960's

<u>Village</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Caribou reported taken</u>
Kivalina	1959-60	407
	1960-61	619
Noatak	1959-60	1541
	1966-67	44
Pt. Hope	1960-61	742
	1966-67	192
Ambler	1965-66	773
	1966-67	495
Selawik	1965-66	2520

Source: Table 2 in Human Utilization of Caribou, Fish and Game, 1978.

"These data are **highly** unreliable, representing a mixture of intermittent permit returns and intermittent personal contacts by biologists. I would be very reluctant to use these data in any form suggesting they are representative of harvest levels. " (SESP review comments on the draft report, 1982:13).

TABLE 19
HUMAN UTILIZATION OF CARIBOU 1969-1973

<u>Village</u>	<u>1970 Population</u>	<u>1970 enrollment</u>	<u>Avg. caribou per year</u>	<u>Avg. caribou per person</u>
Deering	60	54	6	.1
Buckland	140	146	150	1.4
Noorvik	462	444	1381	3
Selawik	450	433	1887	4.2
Kiana	300	315	863	2.9
Ambl er	195	173	2500	12.8
Shungnak	165	165	525	3.2
Kobuk	60	65	180	3
Noatak	293	282	1214	4.1
Kivalina	190	185	513	2.7
Pt. Hope	369	386	750	2

Source: Fish and Game 1978. Human Utilization of Caribou.

See qualifying statement on Table 18

hunting area fluctuates greatly from year to year. As an example, he notes that **Burch** reported a marked difference in harvest in the years **1964-65** and 1965-66. In the first year, only 228 caribou were taken, but in the following winter **375** were taken in a single day in October. **Braund** also discusses the risks and uncertainties, migration route variations and weather effecting caribou harvest.

For an other assessment of the range of variables that affect caribou hunting, consult Moore's report (1980) on the special caribou season for **Buckland**. Among the elements he cites that influenced the hunt were the cost of gasoline, the cost of snowmobile maintenance, and the cost of ammunition. Again are seen the monetary costs associated with the economic benefits of obtaining food.

To summarize this background discussion, **McNabb** prepared a chart based on a statistical analysis of the NANA region subsistence harvest estimates. A complete technical discussion of the methods, data shortcomings, and the like will be found in the CZM report (Derbyshire 1982:Appendix 1). The summary is in **Table 20**; it gives the proportions of food resources used by each village.

The utterly complex nature of Native economic behavior cannot be dismissed. The previous illustrations give a glimpse of

TABLE 20

PROPORTIONS OF HARVESTS USED BY NANA VILLAGES*
c. 1972

		Buckland Kivalina Deering	Kotzebue	Ambler Shungnak Kobuk	Selawik Kiana Noatak Noorvik
Land Mammals		Low	High	Unity	Very high
Sea Mammals		High	Low	∅	Very low
		Ambler Deering Buckland	Kiana Selawik Shungnak Kobuk Noorvik Kivalina	Kotzebue	Noatak
Land Mammals		High	Low	Very High	Equal
Land Fish		Low	High	Low	Equal
		Ambler Shungnak Kobuk	Noorvik Selawik Kiana (Noatak)	Buckland Deering	Kivalina Kotzebue
Sea Mammals		∅	Low	High	Equal
Sea Fish		Unity	High	Low	Equal

Data source: McNabb in Derbyshire 1982:Appendix I

* The ratings were statistically derived using the technique of Paired-Comparisons.

the complications. McNabb concludes as follows:

"Planning, projections, impact forecasting and so on need to take this . into account. Only rarely will some economic change or hazardous impact affect all subsistence as a whole; more often only some resources or areas will be directly affected, at least at the outset. Villages will be affected in different ways, and village patterns will therefore change in variable ways." (McNabb 1981:38. Emphasis in original.)

PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, AND CONSUMPTION CYCLES

There are many ways to portray the production, distribution, and consumption subsistence cycle. Often these are descriptive narratives (e.g., Anderson 1977; Uhl and Uhl 1979).

Another way is to chart the system as a whole in an attempt to integrate the many interrelationships. Two schematic representations are provided here.

The first chart (Figure 5) outlines the processes of the system. It illustrates that each part does not exist in a vacuum but depends on other aspects. For example, the production phase is underpinned by diverse forms of input and exchange outside the production unit. Skills and knowledge (which may or may not come from traditional practices) are prerequisites. At this phase, the cooperative sharing of raw materials and labor effectively enlarges the size of the social unit contributing to any specific subsistence activity.

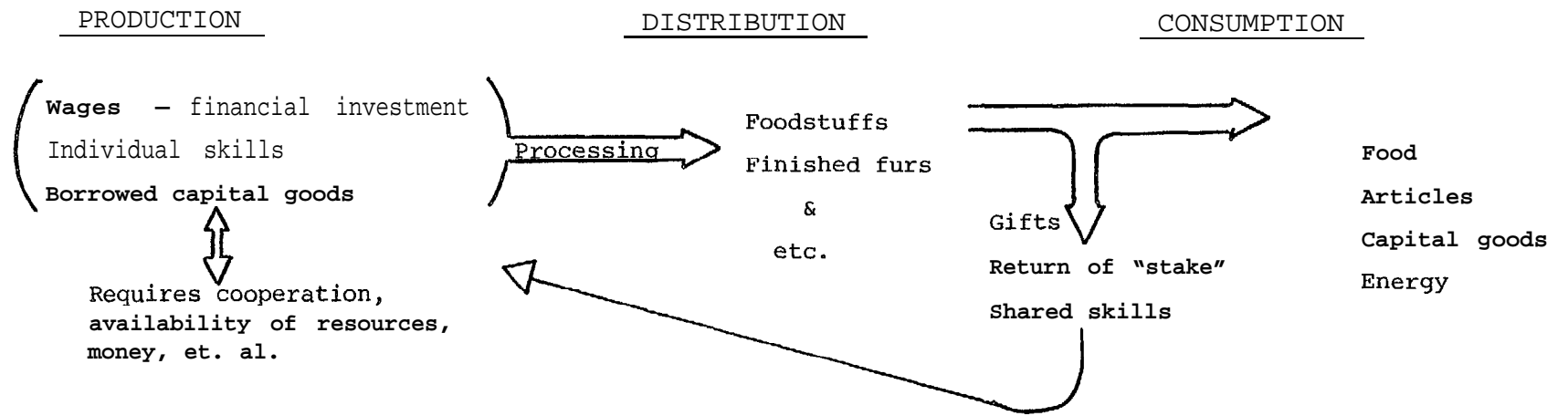


Figure 5

Subsistence Activities as a Process Cycle

Source: S. McNabb

In a similar way, processing and distribution may use traditional patterns of exchange and can involve the passage of both goods and services either in or out of the immediate production unit. Giving of gifts as well as repayment of debts and other obligations may be discharged at this point in the cycle. There can be differences in the degree of structure; that is, some exchanges can be formal and involve a balance between partners; others can be informal and represent a sharing of good fortune.

The end result is the consumption of the finished goods or services. Note especially that these can be elements of new production, such as capital goods or personal skills. In most instances, there is joint consumption not just by the producing unit but by others, particularly kin, who are involved one way or another in the subsistence cycle.

This brings us to our second schematic portrayal--the structure of the activities (Figure 6). Although a static picture, the cycle itself passes through time and across different social boundaries--factors that should be remembered when looking at the chart. The parts are labeled "Units" to reflect the fact that they can be families, extended families, domestic networks that span several villages, and possibly in certain cases villages themselves.

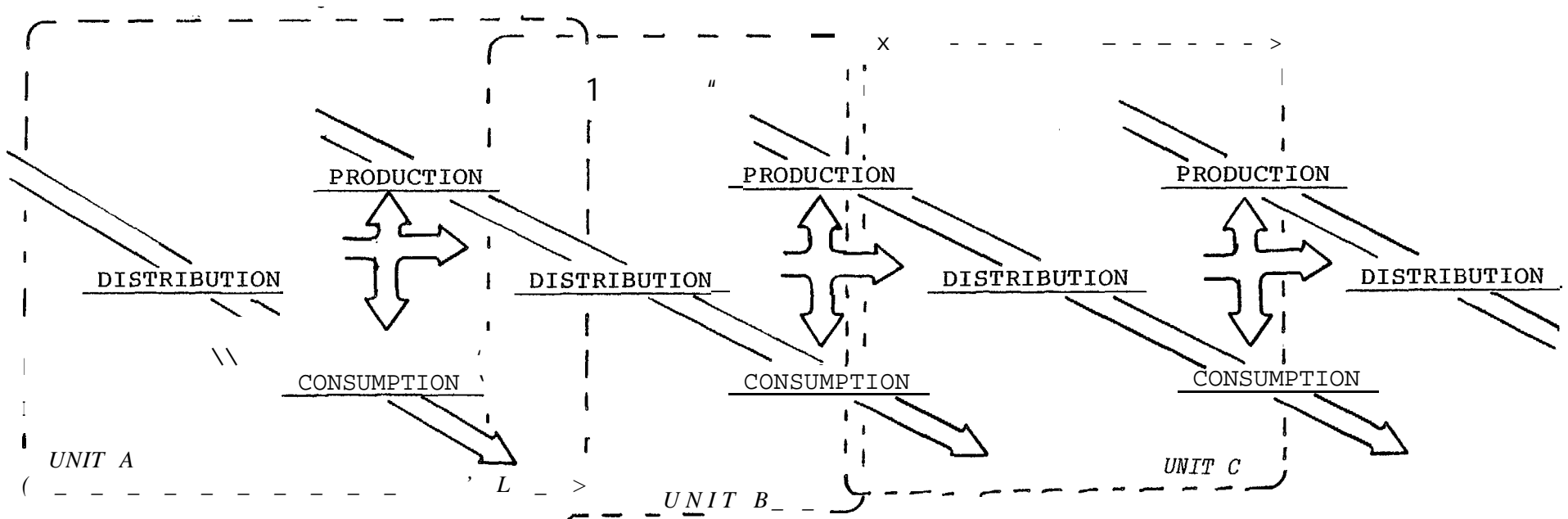


Figure 6

Structural Flow of Subsistence Activities

Source: S. McNabb

Production, distribution, and consumption are portrayed along a plane somewhat like a wedge; the diagonal "face" of the cycle penetrates multiple social boundaries. Distribution **across** these boundaries, or through time, transfers goods and services that can be applied to additional production, immediately consumed, or sent on **to** distribution beyond additional boundaries.

Let us assume Unit **A** is a family. **It** produces for itself and distributes to other units; in the process it may utilize skills provided **by** other families. **As** a result, no **single** unit in the structure can be said to provide boundaries for any part of the production-distribution-consumption **cycle**. A family cannot be seen, in other **words**, as an exclusive production or consumption **unit** since the amount of exchange and mutual participation between units contradicts such a definition.

These two schematic presentations place subsistence activities in the broader context of economic behavior, and emphasize the fact that it is the interaction of groups of people that distinguish subsistence economies from other types of arrangements.

CONSTRAINTS ON HARVESTING

Subsistence cycles are subject to a number of constraints. First are those having to do with resource distribution **including** both spatial and temporal variation; that is, they are scattered, localized, and ephemeral. The resources may or may not be present as anticipated, even though they may be common to the area and usually concentrated at a given point in time during an "average" year.

A second constraint stems from the fact that subsistence activities must be defined with reference to a fixed observer. As a consequence, they are apt to vary in meaning from place to place and through time. For instance, resources that were once localized in the vicinity of a fish camp traditionally occupied by a kin group may no longer be localized by virtue of the group's disuse of the camp.

Likewise, a resource like caribou may have once been relatively ephemeral because its migration route brought it into the proximity of a hunting camp for only a short time. Today, new technologies like snowmobiles may make the resource available for a far longer time. Similarly, wage jobs may make some resources less available because they are accessible to employees only on weekends. In these examples the constraints stem from the observer's point of view, not from

the nature of the resource or of the "environment."

A third constraint on subsistence cycles has to do with the means of extraction, usually involving a variety of technologies. In the *Kuuvanmiit study*,¹ Anderson reports that during one month 3,474 burbot, with an estimated total weight of 10,422 pounds, were harvested at three fish traps under the ice near *Shungnak*. These fish were divided into six portions of about 1,737 lbs. per portion, a high yield (Anderson et. al. 1977:264).

Clearly, this is a highly efficient form of technology that allows a large harvest of a fairly predictable early-winter resource. Yet fish traps have all but disappeared in the region. The apparent reasons for this include a decreased knowledge of this traditional technology among the local resource users, the high costs of servicing the traps on the ice when they are a long way from home, and competition from other activities that take one's attention away from trapping fish. The presence of other resources closer to home and on land may be attractive even if the yield is much smaller. Finally, natural events like wind and snow may make this activity less than desirable. Thus it can be seen that even when an efficient means of extraction is available, other factors may come into play to alter the subsistence cycle.

Also the significance of timing must be considered. **Burch** (1981) refers to this as the most important feature of the Pt. Hope annual subsistence cycle. When a change in use, location, or timing is documented, however, caution must be taken before concluding the change is permanent. For example, the patterned idea of migration to the coast by **Noatak** families, then to Kotzebue, to camp and then home is still there--even though fewer people actually do it.

Now there are options to supplement the traditional sequence, especially with jobs in the village. Construction projects may temporarily interrupt a traditional activity for some people--but that is quite different than "losing the tradition." Use of the ocean beach camps at Cape Krusenstern may be discontinued, but the knowledge continues of the kind of hunting that can be done there. In choosing to stay in town during the summer construction season, villagers are responding in good rational Eskimo fashion--by taking what comes their way in the form of a known bonus in jobs rather than a potential bonus in **seal**.

Uhl (1977:195) makes the point that no two "subsistence years" are ever the same, and he cautions against reliance on numerical figures corresponding to subsistence harvests, Economic activities, including subsistence uses, encompass natural conditions and social and cultural constraints;

they are dynamic events that are poorly captured by static numbers.

FOOD PREFERENCES

The harvesting and consumption of food resources does not occur in a value vacuum. Instead, it reflects what people like. The expressed food preferences shows a variation similar to that seen in the harvest figures. It is commendable that the National Petroleum Reserve field studies have provided that area not just with resource use maps and traditional land use inventories, but also with an indication of food preferences. (See, for example, Ivie and Schneider 1979:118). In the course of the field work for this project, the question was asked, "What is your favorite food?" A limited amount of data were obtained from three villages. The results are presented in Table 21. Considering the time of year and the locations, the replies are perhaps predictable. But there were a few surprises. One man said, "Fish." Then added, "Because I can't chew caribou anymore, " displaying a toothless grin.

The people themselves noted seasonal preferences. The commentator who mentioned Eskimo ice cream, next cited caribou as his main preference in the winter and ducks and beluga in the summer. A gourmand stated precisely, "Dried bearded seal

TABLE 21. FOOD PREFERENCE: FIRST ITEM NAMED,
MAY 1981

Village	Total	Caribou	Fish	Seal Oil	Muktuk or Whale Meat	Duck	Other
Noatak	7	3	2	1			Mt. sheep
Kivalina	19	4	2	2	8	2	Eskimo ice cream
Pt. Hope	11	2			8	1	
Total	37	9	4	3	16	3	2

Male: 20
Female: 17

Source: N. Davis fieldnotes.

meat dipped in seal oil." Several villagers emphasized the need for seal oil. "If I don't have it, I stay hungry all the time." This is consistent with Anderson's findings about the importance of seal oil, and the variations in preference for its taste (coastal vs. inland) (Anderson et.al. 1977:441-444).

Of course, preferences can and do change. McNabb observes that many children prefer western foods and speculates on the influence of TV in these choices. He confirms changing choices, as well, in several villages, noting that Deering has grown to prefer reindeer over caribou. This makes one wonder about the rate of change of traits like food preferences. How long does it take to come to like moose, when it becomes available again after many years absence? How long does it take to get used to the taste of food frozen in a freezer rather than stored in an ice cellar? .

DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION

Limited attention has been directed toward assessing harvest amounts and locations, and some information is available on the primary distribution of the larger sea mammals (see Van Stone 1962; Worl 1979). However, little seems known on the extensive redistribution of goods within villages, between them, and between regions. The beginning analysis provided

here is based on both reports of exchanges documented in the literature and observations in the field.

In a comparative study of material cultures, Clark (1974) reports in considerable detail the trade relationships between three groups-the **Koyukon** Indians, the **Kobuk** and **Nunamiut** Eskimos. Some Eskimo entrepreneurs settled at **Alatna**, which is primarily Indian territory, and traded regularly with **Shungnak** on the **Kobuk**. Twice a year they transported passengers by dog sled, obtaining in the process seal oil and whale blubber for resale to both Indians and Eskimos living on the **Koyukon River (1974:208)**. The high percent (61.25) of material traits shared in common between **Nunamiut**, **Kobuk** and **Koyukon** suggests there was a long period of contact, especially reflected in men's hunting and fishing equipment (Clark 1974:251). Through partners and messenger feasts additional opportunities for exchange took place between **Koyukuk** and the **Kobuk**. In 1897, Eskimos from **Buckland** also went to a messenger feast on the **Koyukuk River**, near **Huslia**, and exchanged items, dances and songs. Later, from 1899 to about 1910 trading was directed to **Bettles** on the Upper **Koyukon** where both the **Kobuk**, and **Nunamiut** Eskimos sold their furs.

Trading and sharing patterns today may be as complicated as they were in earlier days. The **Uhs** begin to capture the extent of the distribution system when they report that "any

one of several thousand people who have relatives, friends or casual acquaintances among the **Noatak** River resource harvesters may share in the fruits of the harvest" (1979:8). The methods for obtaining goods include direct gifts, delayed sharing or reciprocity, secondary distribution, partners, radio requests and **mail** orders to friends.

Underlying these cultural patterns **of** distribution and redistribution is a commitment to the **value** of sharing. The ethic is strong, and efforts to validate and revitalize **it** as a **Inupiat** virtue is one theme of the Spirit Committee. Sharing is a comprehensive concept that incorporates a range of exchanges, direct and **delayed, old** and new; today the methods and goods shared may **be** diversifying and taking on additional meaning.

Sharing can include equipment-- a gun, a snowmobile, a net. Sharing can include knowledge-- of hunting techniques, of the approach **of** Fish and Game personnel, of the location **of** a **job**. **And** sharing can require **time**, an increasingly scarce and valuable resource. Yet the time that kin spend helping one another with subsistence activities may be one of the more important aspects of that economic behavior. Here the discussion concerns only the exchange of goods: within the village, between villages and to some limited extent, between regions.

Field observation of the distribution of foodstuffs within villages indicates that food is not only **shared** but that much is consumed in someone else's **home**. For example, in May 1981, **muktuk** was being served by one family when another family was invited over to enjoy it with them. Duck soup prepared in one household was consumed by members of at least five different households. A bag full of frozen fish was given to a man who would later return with fresh seal oil. These kinds of events illustrate that it is not just who obtains how much food and eats it in one single household, but also how many other households (and communities) share in its consumption.

The following indicates the kinds of trading that continue to occur between communities:

"If you take seal oil to **Noatak**, they'll give you dried salmon. "

"Eggs are traded for caribou meat."

"Pt. Hope people want trout. Will exchange **maktak**."

"**Selawik** caribou is exchanged for **Noatak** trout."

"Whitefish from **Kiana** is exchanged at Pt. Hope for seal oil and **maktak**."

In these ways, surplus goods of one kind are converted into desired goods of another kind, both within and between communities. These are traditional, well-established patterns for the exchange of goods.

Careful allocation of scarce, and valued food, sometimes

causes problems. For example, at Easter, someone wanted fish, but the household asked did **not** have any - because "we give it **all** away already. " One man reflected on a conflict he feels when he goes to **Noatak** because he **feels** he is expected **to** bring seal **oil** whenever he visits. "Too many friends in **Noatak**." Because he does **not** hunt at **Sesaulik** anymore, he has **little** surplus seal **oil**. When he and his wife last went to **Noatak**, they gave some **of** their precious seal **oil**, and the relatives, "they forced money into my **wife's** pocket" which embarrassed him. This man added, "**I** am a hunter. **I** give what I get." (At some **point**, converting food surplus to needed cash should be addressed. There are, historically, **well** established patterns for direct conversion of some items which **should** be considered a form of customary trade).

Usually, the exchanges take the form of delayed reciprocity. For instance, one man said he did not trade much anymore, but on occasion he does take dried meat and seal **oil** into **Kotzebue**. Not to **sell**, but to "get gifts from them. They remember. " What do they remember? They give him "**sheefish**, store **bought** stuff, and gas." This is customary trade for **him**.

The many occasions for **get-togethers** provide opportunities for sharing. For **example**, at one of the Friends' Quarterly meetings, a couple from **Kivalina** took **seal oil** to friends

in **Selawik**, and in return they each received a beaver skin.

An example of the continuity of traditional patterns in modern times appears in **intervillage** partnerships. (The items given may be traditional, but they need not always be.) A couple in **Kivalina** sent special greetings "to **our** partners in Pt. Hope" when they heard the author was going that way. The **Kivalina** woman had made long **mukluks** for her partner, and now the woman in Pt. Hope owed her a parka. "Tell them I sure need it."

In another case, a woman had received **maktak**, whale meat, tongue and intestine (by both air and snowmobile) from her partners in Pt. Hope. She had not sent them anything in return yet. The giving, and the postponed reciprocation, suggests continuation of previous practices of partnership described in the literature. **McNabb** also reports continuity in modified forms of partnerships. Much more data are needed to determine exactly how much continuity persists.

The reciprocal obligations of partnerships are **full** of complexities; a few illustrations of just how complicated they are follow: Partnerships in fishing, hunting, and berry picking mean receiving an equal **share**. For example, if you own and share your net, you are guaranteed to get half the fish. (But, if on the other hand you just send **someonesome**

fish, you may not receive anything in return.)

McNabb observes that the **lines** between friendship and partnership are **often hard** to determine. Friends can make demands on each other and there is **little** restraint **on** these expectations; partners feel reciprocity and an obligation **to** fair sharing. In part, the latter grow up over time so generally partnerships are not found between teenagers or **young adults**. Once established, though, they tend to last even when one family moves to a different location.

BOWHEAD WHALE REDISTRIBUTION

The **role** of kinship, partnership, and friendship was seen in the redistribution of some **Pt. Hope whale** meat in **Kivalina** in **1981**. A number **of** men and women traveled by **snowmachine** to Pt. Hope and returned with quantities of **maktak**, whale meat, tongue and intestine. One unsuccessful **Kivalina** whaler went to see his mother's sister in **Pt. Hope**; a friend of his (another whaler) went **along**. They visited for three days:

"We went to Pt. Hope to give a **little** help. So I get share maktak, helping. "

In exchange for helping with hauling, he received about 1000 pounds of meat which was transported back to **Kivalina** by snowmobile.

Another man went to Pt. Hope and returned with a "couple hundred pounds. " He said he didn't take any trout this time-- but implied that he had before, and would again. Two women made the 80 mile trip to Pt. Hope by **snowmachine**, taking fish to a cousin. They returned with about 1000 pounds of whale meat which they received from women friends.

Not only did a lot of meat travel from **Pt. Hope** to **Kivalina**, when it got there considerable internal distribution went on. One couple, with no maktak, was invited to have some for supper at their son's parents-in-law. (The next day, they too had some extra **maktak** in their household.) In one house, just when the topic of trading and exchanges was being discussed, an older man came in with 10 to 15 pounds of maktak in a large, white plastic bag. This **man** did not have a relative in Pt. Hope, but his wife did. The only explanation the recipient of the gift volunteered was he had let the **older** man use his rifle that day. And he added, they are friends,

Finally, the continuity of mailing maktak was confirmed by observations at the Pt. Hope airport. There were three boxes addressed to people in **Kivalina**, **Noatak** and **Kotzebue** from a man who had relatives in each of those communities. He himself had not taken a whale, but his wife's brother had.

BELUGA DISTRIBUTION

A comprehensive study of **beluga** hunting and distribution has yet **to be** reported, but **McNabb** gained some information and insights in **Buckland** after the hunt in **1981**. Here is a summary:

"The **Buckland people** pointed out quite overtly that their hunt was not like **Pt. Hope's**. There was not a main captain, and certain **people** did not regulate **the** hunt or the distribution of the **maktak**."

"b/hen it came to the distribution (note earlier that more than twice the number of outsiders were present during the hunt):

- One hunter **sent 5 gallons** of **maktak** to friends in **Noorvik, Selawik, Kotzebue** and **Deering**.
- **Beluga** is no longer fed to the dogs.
- Now **people** charter to **Buckland** to get **maktak**.
- The **maktak** taken is perceived as their own, to dispose as they like. There seems to be **little** pressure to share community-wide. "

Quoting one hunter:

"If some people get **beluga**, it's theirs. When winter comes and you don't have **maktak**, you want it **alright**, but you can't complain. That's too bad, but **all** you can do is wait and hope for next year."

Concerning the distribution of **beluga maktak**, McNabb provides us with two levels of analysis. The first is diagrammed as follows:

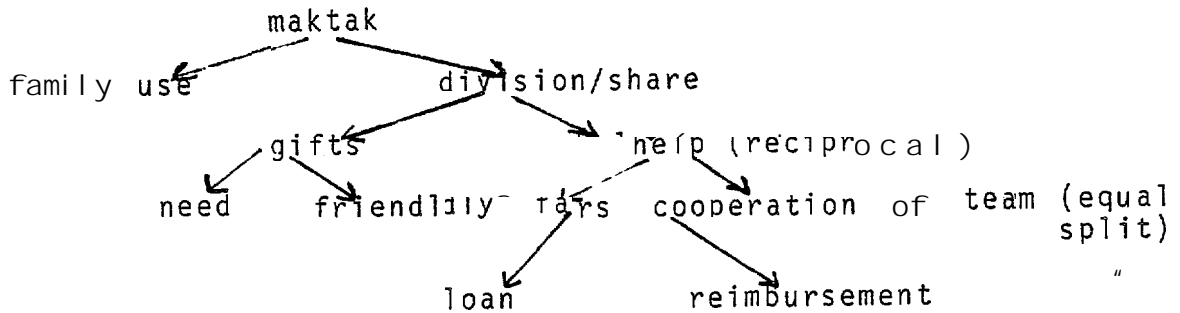


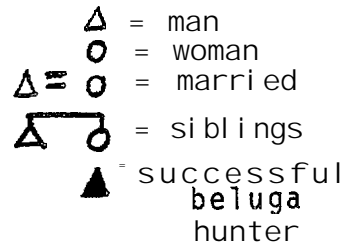
Figure 7

Primarily the meat goes for family use. As noted, the division and shares can become complex. If, for example, the **beluga** was caught through the efforts of two families, then the team splits the proceeds exactly 50-50. However, there are other arrangements for "help" and lesser distribution of amount.

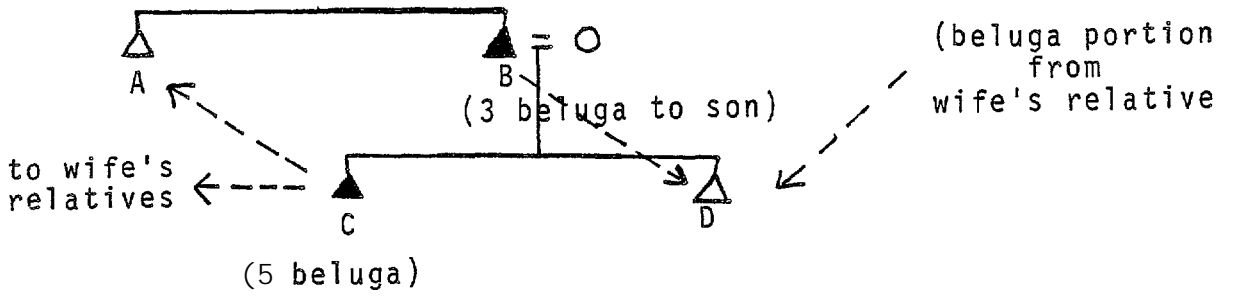
The basic and sequential priorities, in the case of partners are:

- equal split
- family use
- gifts and favors to kin
- gifts and favors to non-kin

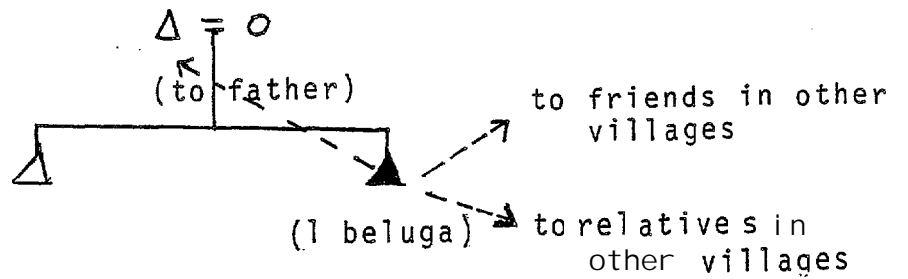
Three specific case histories of the 1981 **beluga** distribution are provided here (see Figure 8).



Case #1



Case #2



Case #3

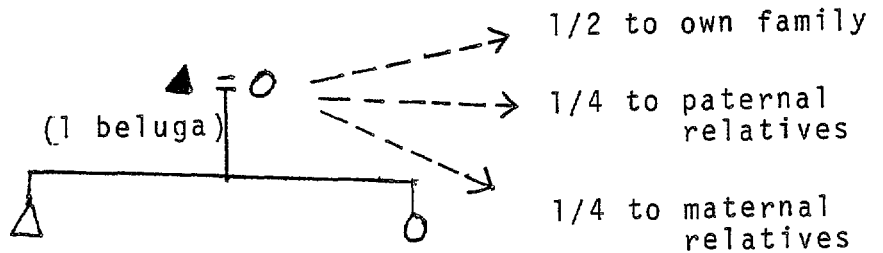


Figure 8

Beluga Maktak Distribution: 3 examples

- e In Case 1, a father (B) got three **beluga** and gave one to one son (D), but not to his other son (C), whom he does not like. He also did not give any to his brother (A).
- The son, D, did not kill any **beluga** himself but he received some from his wife's relatives, in addition to the one from his father.
- However, D's brother, C, got five **beluga**. He did not give any to his brother, or to his father. Rather, he gave some to his uncle (A), and he gave some to his wife's relatives, and to some friends.

This example demonstrates that although one member of a **family** harvests an ample amount of a resource, that resource may not be equally distributed within the immediate family. Feuds and hostilities, as well as in-laws and friends, influence where **beluga** goes, or does not go.

Size of family is also a consideration. In the second case, "A" took one **beluga**, shared some with his father, gave some to friends and to relatives in other villages. It would appear he had few local relatives or established ties in **Buckland**. In the third case, a young man harvested one **beluga** and shared it in three parts: One half for his family; one fourth to his paternal relatives and one fourth to his maternal relatives. These three examples suggest a range of distribution patterns of **beluga** harvest.

SUMMARY

For Inupiat, economic endeavors are **but** one part **of** a complex pattern **of** culture that includes both traditional and modern aspects. In many ways, **non-Inupiat** are just beginning **to** understand **rural** economies and their relationship to the complex culture patterns.

Even though our understanding may **be** limited, and the **infor-**
mation on which this comprehension is built **is** in most ways inadequate, it is **still** possible **to** make some generalizations about subsistence activities. Based on the present available information, the following can be suggested:

- Those villages with greater dependence on fish and sea mammals, relative to land mammals, **will likely** experience more threat from water-related development than land-related development.
- **Noorvik, Kiana and Shungnak** would be most affected by any change in the Kobuk that **led** to fewer fish, or a decrease in specie variety.
- A decrease in caribou availability might most seriously affect Ambler and **Kotzebue** because of their apparent greater relative dependence on land mammals.
- Modifications in the availability of sea mammals **would** be **felt** most directly in **Buckland, Kivalina,** and Pt. Hope.
- The communities with the greatest guarantee of subsistence continuity are those that have maintained the greatest flexibility. For example, if **Kivalina** can shift **easily** to more fish when sea mamma? harvest is **low**, then they may have greater overall protection than **Selawik** with its higher relative dependence **on** fish.

Regulations: Some New Taboos

In the old days certain locations were considered spiritually risky and, therefore, physically dangerous. There were clearly some restrictions on where individuals could hunt and fish. The shamans (**angakoks**) instructed their clients as to which areas were safe and which were not. Clients obeyed, on pain of death or illness to themselves or to their relatives; these taboos were powerful.

When the western missionaries came, clutching a new amulet, **the Bible**, they were able to safely approach, enter, and return unharmed from the tabooed areas (**Burch 1971**). The power of the shamans waned, and the old taboos lost their validity as well. But the missionaries introduced new restrictions that affected different parts of life, such as dancing, marriage, and not working one out of seven days.

In more recent times, another set of restrictions has appeared dealing once again with hunting and fishing. The dieties have changed from former days, in this case being "scientific"; and the agents of enforcement are regulators instead of shamans or missionaries. The analogy seems apt, however, because the new regulations may be seen as irrational, and the people who have to live with them may be legitimately confused.

There is no doubt that the citizens **agree to** the basic tenet **of** conservation. The difficulty is **having to live** under the sanctions now in effect when they are so **many**. As an illustration, consider the state regulations for **Unit 23** for **the** period from **July 1, 1980** to June 30, **1981**. **The** following concerns only **land** mammals. Excluding those animals for which there is no closed season (black bear, red squirrel, snowy owl and rabbits), and excluding those animals for which there is no open season (musk oxen, beaver, marmot, marten, mink and weasel, muskrat, land otter, squirrel --parka and ground), there remain **12** different species for which there are hunting **seasons**. For these, there are six different starting dates **in** five different months: **8/1, 8/10, 9/1, 12/1; 2/15, and 5/10**. There are also 9 different **season** ending dates in **7** different months: **9/20, 10/10, 10/15, 12/31, 2/15, 3/15, 4/15, 4/30 and 5/25**. In 1980-81, there were only two months when there were no openings or closings for land animals. (Those two months, June and July, are covered by fishing regulations which open and **close** sometimes quite unexpectedly.)

In addition, there were geographic variations. For instance, on December 1, the caribou season reopened, but only south of the **Selawik** River. At the end of that month, moose season ended everywhere but on the Seward Peninsula west of and including the **Kiwalik** drainage. Then on February 15, red

fox season closed and caribou hunting began again--north of the Selawik River. In view of all of this, it is hardly surprising that some villagers express uncertainty about what animals can be sought at any given time and, as one hunter reported, that everybody stops hunting when the game warden is in the area--even though the season actually may be open (Moore 1980:17).

There is yet another set of regulations to consider: some species cannot be hunted, but they can be trapped. up to 20 beaver could be taken by a single trapper between November 1 and June 10. Marmot and squirrel cannot be hunted, but they could be trapped all year round. In addition, 8 species could be trapped with no bag limit, but only between November 1 and April 15. They are coyote, white fox, red fox, lynx, marten, land otter, wolf and wolverine. Mink and weasel had a short season: November 1 to January 31, and beaver and muskrat had a longer season--to June 10.

Altogether, including both hunting and trapping seasons openings and closings, there were 7 different opening dates and 11 different closing dates involving 19 different species over an n-month period.

A recent addition to regulation is the bowhead whale quota. The following observations were made by the principal in-

investigator in May 1981, shortly after the whale quotas had been met in Kivalina and Pt. Hope.

In Kivalina, the tension about the quota was clear. Apparently **it** took a combination of **the** commissioner, and the **elders** to convince the crews, especially the young people, to **go along** with the regulations. Some were waiting to see what would happen at Barrow--what **would** result if the Barrow hunters reached their quota and didn't stop. Here, for the record, are some direct quotes from **Kivalina**:

"**It** was kind of hard, especially for the young people to stop. I don't like it, but we 'have to obey. \$90,000 penalty **is** too much."

"They never used to have quota. **I** think they're crazy."

"I would like to see 3 landed here in **Kivalina**. If they got that many, **Kotzebue** people **would** come swarming in. From **Noatak**. Even **Shishmaref** people would come."

"It's sad to see them get only 4 at Pt. Hope. They usually get more."

"A lot of people disappointed. The penalty of **\$1000** scared me."

"We talked among ourselves after the meeting. (We figured) maybe if we **follow** the directions they give us, maybe we **will** do better next time."

"**If** we had been allowed another one, we probably would have gotten that. **It could** be 4 or 5 years before we see that many (whale) again."

"But the **older folks** said we have gotten along before without whales, "

The point of **all** this is to emphasize that **all** subsistence

activities are integral parts of the economic system and that regulation has a direct effect on the lives of the Inupiat. Further, there is no question that most individuals are law-abiding citizens (Eisler 1978; Uhl and Uhl 1979:54; Moore 1980).

Subsistence Laws

Mixed in with changing boundaries and changing regulations is increasing conflict over qualifications for access to a potentially limited subsistence harvest. One Kotzebue young man shuddered: "It's going to get worse before it gets better." Because subsistence is such a highly politicized issue, good objective data about harvest activities may become increasingly difficult to obtain--just when it is needed most. Perhaps the apolitical information collected by anthropologists over the last 40 years can be of help in working out the political dilemmas.

Consider, for example, the relationship of the natural cycles to human activities. In general terms, the sequence is the same: the birds, fish, caribou, and sea mammals continue to come at about the same times, from the same directions. The challenge for the people is to gauge their own time, activities, and resources to intercept these natural cycles.

Key **to our** understanding of the relationship is realizing that old patterns persist with great complexity, far beyond what can be seen visually, weighed in pounds, counted in **hours**, or assessed in **dollars**. **The actual** amount of berries collected **at** the end of August may **not** be as important as the act of berry picking, and doing it with your partner. **It is not** just the berries that are missed by the young teacher aide who must go to **school** orientation meetings in August. She can afford to buy substitutes, but it **is** the **social time**, the kinship time that she needs to maintain her place within the **family** and **within** the **village**. She cannot buy **that**.

These social and cultural dimensions of subsistence activities tend **to be** missed in the usual **economic** analysis of subsistence. They are factors that complicate our understanding of wage employment as **well**. For instance, **Inupiat** with jobs may need to assure themselves and their families that they still are **Inupiat**, perhaps modern **Inupiat** with additional **skills** and knowledge, but with a continuing commitment to the **old way**. **It is** this struggle for the integration of **life's** options that is **felt** when a meeting conflicts with a harvest, and one must decide if the per diem from the meeting is needed more than the social affirmation of the harvest. **Or** when it appears that the very act of harvesting is now taboo-by **law**, regulation, or

international treaty.

Jobs

The integration of cash into a basically subsistence economy is not a new phenomenon. The degree to which cash is currently being integrated into **Inupiat** life may be increasing and the interaction with other parts of the culture is more complex. But the presence of cash wages and jobs is not new.

The long history of participation in wage-producing activities includes commercial whaling, trading, trapping, mining, reindeer herding, arts and crafts sales, store managing, construction, pipeline work, and in recent years local construction and school employment. Not only is there a long history of cash sources, but also there is evidence of preferred continuity in some lines of work.

WORK TRADITION AND EXPERIENCE

The range of job experiences that village men have had in the past may be an important indicator not **only** of skills now available locally, but also the kinds of work that have become traditional. For example, those families whose forebears worked the mines on the Seward Peninsula or the

Kobuk in the 1930s may be more interested in similar type work in the 1980s. The grandfathers and fathers of the present work force who worked in mining created a family history of the dignity, and the fun, that mining can be. Their descendants are likely candidates for similar work now.

Likewise, those families on the Seward Peninsula that had a tradition of owning and managing reindeer herds are likely to continue to be interested in this kind of work. At the same time, it should be observed that individuals without these traditions may not be interested in similar jobs.

It is important to note that residents often brought up the range of work experience men had outside the region: from Kodiak to Prudhoe, on construction, water projects, long-shoring, carpentry, plumbing, and mining. For just one example, a Kivalina whaling captain worked as a plumber in Kodiak, as a construction worker for almost a year in Pt. Hope building the school, and frequently as a carpenter in Kotzebue. He also had pipeline experience.

The kind of work a person does for cash can change just as hunting patterns can change. Even though the work may be traditional for a family, it may be given up if it is no longer economically productive. Trapping is an example. In

the past, it was highly rewarding. Spencer reports a fox hunter earned \$8000 in 1927 (1959:363). How much effort and cash would it take to earn the equivalent to that amount on today's market? Trapping was also the focus of contention. In 1933, the Noatak council minutes were filled with trapping rules, conflicts, and disputes. In 1944, the rules were still hot topics (D. Foote's notes, Box 3). But as the price went down, so did interest, and the associated conflicts.

In 1965, in Kotzebue, V. Smith reported very few families trapped and there was no local buyer for mink and muskrat. In Kiana in 1975, a mink brought \$230 a hide (Anderson 1975 notes). In 1981, a Kotzebue council member estimated that fewer than 10 people do any trapping now. In Noorvik, in November 1980, some trapping was being done and the fox price quoted was \$150. In Kivalina, at least two persons reported they had done some trapping during the winter of 1980-1981. But the price of fox was down to \$45-\$50.

Subsistence hunting, fishing, and trapping can be considered "traditional" activities because they occurred before the arrival of western jobs. But as noted earlier, some kinds of wage employment have been around a long time. In the following sections, we look at some of these different categories of jobs.

MINING

Mining was to the land what whaling was to the sea during the late 19th century: the arrival of outsiders and the extraction of a valued resource--perhaps without Eskimo prior permission but clearly with their participation. The first Eskimo experience in mining took place on the Seward Peninsula, south of Buckland and Deering. In 1881 the Omilak silver mine opened and operated periodically. Eskimos filled skin boats full of ore which was then floated down the Fish River, headed eventually for smelters in California (Ray 1974:148).

The families that were involved in these activities tend to be the ones that continue to favor mine development. Many of the older men in these families have filed their own claims and feel quite possessive about these sites. They want the land problems to be settled so they can develop their own claims.

McNabb, who talked with former miners in the Kobuk area, reports:

"Many. . . talk about finding 'color' in the rocks, smelling petroleum, seeing gas or oil seeps, spotting green copper deposits. . . The local term is 'money.' You spot 'money' in the ground--oil, gas, copper, gold, whatever. People speak of seeing 'money' descend from the sky, and they go looking for it. People speak of having dreams about 'money' in the ground and to

and behold, there is in fact 'money' (i.e., signs of ore) where they thought. . gold fever is with us today" (McNabb 1981).

Many continue to go out prospecting, and they are getting impatient. From their standpoint:

"If there are any minerals, let's develop them. . and I want my share, since I staked some claims years ago."

As noted earlier, exploring options for the development of mining was approved at the NANA shareholders meeting in April 1980. NANA leaders have been pursuing the options since then. Among the possibilities are the Red Dog mine, near Noatak, estimated to have minerals worth \$30 billion; and the copper deposits near Ambler, that Kennecott is interested in. More than just the mines will be involved, since access will be needed.

The Upper Kobuk area has been opposed to a railroad or highway coming into their area from the interior--for fear of what the migration of people would do to the caribou and beaver--but there was increased interest in a railroad or road to the coast. One leader cautiously commented, "I can't speak for anyone, but they won't oppose a mine." Another stated that mining in the region was "A foregone conclusion but it would take ten years," and it would be mined from camp sites, not by the building of a village.

In Noatak several people said they had heard about a mine somewhere but "it was a long time away." They were far more interested in the summer's immediate local construction projects. Likewise, in Kivalina, little interest and sometimes complete ignorance of mining possibilities were indicated. One person, when asked if she had heard about any plans for a mine, replied, "Where? Oh, maybe down at Deering. I don't know." In other words, very little local knowledge, or interest, was shown in these mining ventures in mid-1981 in the two villages located closest to the potential development.

What this suggests is that--at least at the time of the field work for this study--villagers were not anticipating jobs with the mines, nor were they openly expressing much concern about the consequences of industrial development in the NANA region. As the regional corporation moves ahead, this may change.

At the same time, one suspects that practical matters may be most important. One Kivalina man said he had been asked to work at a camp for one of the mines, but he didn't go because the pay was too low (\$5 to \$7 an hour). This individual was accustomed to earning \$19 an hour on the pipeline as a union carpenter. One older villager, no longer employed, said, yes he had heard about mining and

added, matter-of-factly, "There will be no more fish in the river."

One man had been interested in mining since he was 18 years old when he worked in mines at Candle and **Deering**. He moved to **Kivalina** to work a claim with his wife's sister's husband, and they expected to hear soon what kind of metal they had found. This man knew about NANA's interest in mine development; when asked about the plan, he stated:

"They are stepping it up. There will be some impact here, but they **will** be cautious about how and where to build a road. Also they are talking about a deep-water port."

Indeed, if the Red Dog lead-zinc mine is opened perhaps it would compete with future oil and gas development for scarce harbor space.

Since there is already a history of mining in the NANA region, and plans for more, the amenability of local people to these developments should be addressed. The initial 1981 findings of this research are:

- Village people were interested in working in mines.
- Little information was available about likelihood of mining activity.
- The official NANA policy is to accede to the wishes of the villages with respect to development like mining (Schaeffer 1982:Personal communication).

REINDEER

A key reference for understanding reindeer and caribou hunters in the archaeological and ethnographic context is Spiess (1979). For discussion of cooperative ownership and management of the Alaskan herds, consult Olson (1969, 1970a, 1970b). For information about reindeer herding in the area of this study, Stern et al (1977) identifies the herds, their location, and other details of the enterprise. The NANA herd enterprise in the beginning suffered some losses, but through the sale of antlers to the oriental market has diversified its value.

In May 1981 the manager of the NANA reindeer herd was asked to look at the list of 13 men working with the herd at that time. He was asked about the proportion of men who were descendants of former herd owners. He, himself related to former herd owners, indicated that many names were from "reindeer families." It is likely that the most successful herders on the program are and will continue to be the descendants of former herders.

The work pattern for the reindeer camps in May 1981 was 2 weeks on and 1 week off-- similar to the pipeline employment pattern. Work plans may change to 10 days on and 5 days off. In any case, the pattern of men going away for wage labor is

being perpetuated by the NANA hiring policy both in Prudhoe and reindeer herding jobs.

HORTICULTURE

Efforts to introduce agriculture have a long history; missionaries, teachers, and agricultural professionals have sought to demonstrate, coach, and convince the Native people to participate in gardening. For example, the teacher, Henderson, worked vigorously in 1933-35 in Noatak but neither his lessons nor the seeds put down enduring roots. In other parts of the world, attempts to change fishing and hunting populations into agricultural ones have a documented pattern of failure.

Several projects were underway in Northwest Alaska in 1981. Rural Venture Inc. had initiated a three-year plan at Selawik (Siilivitchzq) which includes a whole new community, away from the river. The plans entail an agricultural plot, a fish processing plant, fur farm, herd of goats, logging for fuel and home construction, craft classes, and other educational projects. An update on the progress of this new community is not available, though indications of difficulties have been reported in the public press (Anchorage Daily News, Nov. 26, 1982: b-6 & 7).

In June 1981, NUNA 2(3) reported the agriculture efforts at a second community, Ambler. Involved here were about 10 acres and 50 vegetable gardens. Two greenhouses had been built, and a portion (10-15%) paid for by the owners. Anticipated crops included honeybees, grain, chickens, onions, and a range of others from potatoes to cantaloupe. Plans included marketing the produce in Kotzebue.

Both Maniilaq and NANA regional corporation have been active in these projects. Maniilaq staff accompanied villagers from Selawik to Minneapolis where Rural Venture Inc. has their headquarters. A NANA staff member managed the project for a while. Maniilaq has also run the Ambler operation with partial funding from Rural Venture for 1981 and 1982; the Association has a separate program for other villages. Although the 1979 OEDP plan speaks of import substitution projects as beneficial to the area, no mention of agriculture appears in any of the Regional Strategy reports, except for Siilivitchzq in 1982 (NANA 1978;1979;1982).

TOURISM

No one seems to think tourism is a "bad idea"; it's simply not very profitable. When asked about tourism possibilities in his village, one mayor said:

"I don't have anything against it. There's more cash and it's an outlet for arts and crafts. "

But, he pointed out, as did many others, the severe shortage of material to make articles for sale to visitors.

Even at Noatak which reportedly has as many as 150 **canoers** visiting each summer, people just shrugged and said:

"They're okay. **No** problem. "

One concern expressed was for the caribou migration--but still, "**It's** okay if they come. We won't mind. But--maybe they should stick to one side of the river. . ."

Similar reactions were found in Pt. Hope, where there used to be a guided tourism business: "Nothing wrong with them."

But there are no facilities available where tourists can stay, and none are planned. In Kotzebue, in 1981 an All-American city, there was hope that this special nationwide honor would draw more tourists. One council member commented about the types of tourists who visited:

"The difficulty here has to do with retired people on limited income who can't spend very much money here locally. The Jade Shop, for example, has products too expensive for retired people. . ."

There may be a future market for local guides. Visitors who wish to visit the newly established national parks in the area might be potential clients; one leader noted, "**It** will take English-speaking Eskimos to take those jobs."

The president of NANA did not expect much improvement in the near future. However, NANA is taking a closer look at the

market for international visitors. In sum, the NANA area does not seem adverse to tourism developments. But this far north, the volume of tourism is not large enough to be particularly viable economically at the present time.

COMMERCIAL FISHING

In February 1981, two key NANA leaders indicated that their priority ranking of future development was this:

1. Fishing
2. Tourism
3. Mining

NANA has been active in the commercial fishing industry for a number of years. The industry is judged by the leaders to be in tune with traditional culture. Commercial fishing does have a history that goes back over the years; but the potential in 1981 had yet to be determined.

Historically, a floating cannery was operating in Kotzebue in 1962. In July of 1965, 150 licenses were issued but the fish, at 50 cents each, were hardly worth the effort. The local value of fish sold that year was about \$20,000 (Smith 1966:58). By 1976 chum salmon sold for 50 cents a pound (Uhl and Uhl 1977) and the commercial take brought in \$1.3 million. By 1981 the chum fisheries brought in \$5 million (Derbyshire 1982).

The total number of permanent gill net permits held for the **Kotzebue** area increased from 118 in 1976 to 179 in 1979, all held by Alaskan residents. During that four year period, 41 permit transfers occurred. The average price paid for the eight monetary transfers reported in 1979 was \$5,200 (Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission 1980).

Most of the money from commercial fishing seems to support the direct costs of fishing; it is not viewed by most as **all** that profitable, but there are other values to fish camp, in addition to the dollars. These are exemplified by the comments of the local residents.

A 41-year-old hunter in Noatak spoke of his commercial fishing activities. (He is also a carpenter who-likes Noatak especially for its hunting.) He owns a permit and gear, and each year goes to **Sesaulik** from about July 10 to the end of August. His oldest son has been fishing with him since he was 12. He figures on a good year every 4 years; a good year is defined at \$27,000-\$30,000. In 1980 he made about **\$16,000**; but that was not considered a "bad year."

Another permit holder, from **Kivalina**, volunteered he really likes fishing. "Better anyway. You are your own boss." Another commented, "It's easy money; hard **work**." This man too likes to go each year. But other men, who had tried it

and didn't make any money, quit. "It didn't work out."

A brief summary of the possibilities included in the area's fisheries plans in 1981 included:

- Deering was interested in herring and bottom fisheries. The village needs a slightly longer airport runway for direct exports.
- Bottom fishing was not considered economical in this area at that time.
- Tom cod continues to be a mainstay, especially in Kotzebue, during the winter. An ANF market research study indicated that up to \$1.50 for dried cod could be recovered through marketing to Norway and to Nigeria.
- A NANA fish processing plant combined with a slaughter house for caribou/reindeer with sufficient freezer facilities was planned.

PIPELINE- HIRE

Individuals from throughout the study area have been employed on the pipeline. Table 22 indicates the distribution of workers. Kivalina had by far the highest turnout: 31 different individuals (16.8%) out of a total enrollment of 185--surely nearly all eligible men in this small village. Several of these workers were asked about their experience. One man worked 6 months one time and a few weeks the second time.

"One of the best places I have been. Fantastic!" He was nostalgic about the experience.

TABLE 22
HOMETOWN OF NATIVE PIPELINE WORKERS

Community	No. of Jobs	No. of Individual Natives Hired	1976 Native Membershi p	% of Native Membershi p Worked on Pi pel i ne
Deering	10	4	162	2.5
Buckland	5	3	159	1.9
Selawik	61	34	478	7.1
Noorvik	103	36	485	7.4
Kiana	82	28	341	8.2
Ambler	25	13	166	7.8
Shungnak	18	6	163	3.7
Kobuk	3	3	68	4.4
Kotzebue	333	130	1976	6.6
Noatak	26	13	288	.7
Kivalina	68	31	185	16.8

Source: Naylor & Gooding. 1978. Alaska Native Hire on the Trans.-Alaska Oil Pipeline Project.

Another man reported that **he** had worked on the pipeline four **different times**. He made \$19 an hour and twice that on Sundays **and** overtime. And he liked the **work**:

"Everyone treat **us real** good. I was supposed to work nine weeks on and **get** two weeks off, **but I** never stayed that **long** and they **always** hired me back."

A different villager, who had not worked on the pipeline, gave this reason:

"**I don't** want to be a part of the destruction of the environment. So I had nothing to do with it."

In passing, it is interesting to note that there is **little** difference in overall participation between residents of **Kotzebue** and Barrow. 6.6% (130 persons out of 1,976) went from **Kotzebue** to work on the **line**; 5.8% (117 out of 2,000 enrollees) were from Barrow. The NANA region people held a **total** of 330 trade jobs.

The wages established by the pipeline experience, reinforced by the more recent high wages paid for housing construction in the villages, **will** likely affect **future** employment of these astute and experienced men. As one volunteered:

"It hard **to** work for **less** (now)--once you get paid that high on the pipeline. "

At the same time, the preference for working close to home

must be considered. Some may not work even for high wages when the jobs are away from home-- if there are local options.

For example, one former pipeline worker in Kivalina said he had three job offers for the summer of 1981. "But, I like going hunting," he said, so he was going to wait for a village job at \$11 an hour, rather than work for more outside the village. Some sample jobs and their associated wages that were gathered during the field work stages of this study are reported in Table 23.

VILLAGE CONSTRUCTION JOBS

"When construction is going on, people are happy. But, when there's no construction, they have to ask for help."

This statement by an articulate young woman is especially insightful for the implication that "asking for help" is not a happy thing--but a necessary event.

However, this village was anticipating much summer employment including a new grade school, a fire hall, Public Health Service water projects, airport lights, and surveying for allotments. Most men were planning to stay home for this work. Buy the mayor commented:

"If it's a bad year for working here, then they'll go elsewhere. "

TABLE 23
 SAMPLE JOBS AND WAGES, 1980 - 81 *

Teacher aide	Noatak	\$8 an hour
Teacher aide	Pt. Hope	\$10.50 an Hr.
Maintenance	Pt. Hope	\$12.00 an Hr.
Cook	Pt. Hope	\$11.50 an Hr.
Carpenters	Union (1980)	\$19.10 an Hr.
Airport Maintenance	Kiana (?980)	\$14.00 an Hr.
Recreational Dir.	Kiana (1980)	\$8.52 an Hr.
Fee Agent	(1981)	\$8 an application \$4 Energy Asst. application

* Reported by individuals, not substantiated by employing agency nor an indication of length of service

This village's experience is typical of what has been happening throughout the study area. Next to local and regional governmental employment, construction accounted for the largest number of jobs (see Derbyshire's Coastal Management Plan, 1982). Housing and capital improvement projects have brought employment to the villages, rather than **requiring** labor to leave. And these summer construction jobs combined with **CETA** village work have brought considerable cash to the villages.

SUMMARY

Like subsistence activities, engaging in labor for wages and/or salaried employment is an integral part of the rural Alaskan economy. The use of money has been going on for at least a century. Nor has its use undermined subsistence. As **one** expert states:

The blend of old and new does not, however, point to a degradation of the subsistence economy. The subsistence formula remains the same; the same kind of logic is used to weigh alternatives, determine potential gains and losses, and calculate the prices of natural resources and the opportunity cost associated with pursuing them 'or failing to do so. Cash has thus been integrated neatly, and traditionally, into the traditional scheme (McNabb 1983:App.8)

Jobs, like subsistence, must also be placed in the cultural context where they appear. All of the factors of kinship,

power distribution and values, bear **on the people** at work. Labor and work decisions do not **occur in** a vacuum any more than do hunting and fishing decisions.

Several areas for further investigation are suggested **here**. Future research **should** address the long-range implications of concentrating so much local construction during one summer session, **rather** than spreading the projects over several, planned years. What **actually** happened in **Noatak**, for example, both during the **1981** summer, and afterward? **Is** there a maximum amount of **local** construction which a **small village** of **250** can absorb? Or, on the other hand, can a village incorporate an unlimited amount of workers and cash?

At some point, it would seem, the number of on-going projects **would** stress **local** resources in terms of local **labor** availability and the capacity to accommodate outside workers. Both Native relatives from other communities and the non-Native specialists must be **dealt** with. But what is that threshold? How does it vary by community? **Is** there a circulating work force that moves **from** village to village, wherever the work is available?

There are political considerations that need to be weighed, as **well**. For instance, **if it is** perceived that one village has received too much attention, with more than its fair

share of jobs and funds, (in other words, out of proportion with other villages), then the traditional antagonism between communities could be accentuated. This, of course, would be contrary to what leaders and agencies, who want most to help, had intended when providing the new services.

The continuity of the **Inupiat** egalitarian ethic may place important constraints on the rate and distribution of projects, and jobs, in the region.

Finally, perhaps greater attention should be given to the village consequences of local jobs because this experience may be a model for understanding oil and gas development impacts. The combined, intensive, concentrated series of many projects one on top of the other, especially if this happens with no time to accommodate the new building, new service, and new costs may create far greater local disruption than some remote lease sale. On the other hand, there is clear preference on the part of the villagers for this **local** employment. Because it provides jobs close to home, it is little wonder **people** talked about the coming construction season in 1981, and appear indifferent at that time to mining or OCS plans,

Government programs

A large amount of cash flows into the region from government sources. Some of this comes through employment in a variety of state and federally supported programs, and some comes as direct cash payments. As an instance of the former, exclusive of CETA jobs, Mauneluk managed a range of 20 federal and 13 state programs during fiscal year (FY) 1981. Of the little over \$500,000 of federal funds, about 55% were for 5 programs under the Indian Health Service of the Department of Health and Human Services, and about 35% derived from nine programs in the Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs. The proportion from the state totaled about 40% of the \$840,000 of funds for the 33 different programs. (The original total of the programs was \$3,500,000 of which all but \$840,000 had been expended in FY 1981.)

Data provided in the Derbyshire CZM report (five tables, 18-22) are instructive about the sources and relative significance of the economic dependence of Kotzebue, and the villages, on external funds. Approximately 88% of the region's economy was reported to be government generated, and about 31% of the Kotzebue economy was reported to be related to providing services to the villages. Some of these sources of cash and employment, such as village construction

projects, have already been discussed.

The other source of cash income from governments is the variety of direct aid that is available to qualified residents. According to **the** Derbyshire report (1982) transfer payments to households account for 17.6% of the economic base in the NANA region. Public assistance, of course, is a sensitive topic.

The expectation and receipt of certain kinds of assistance at selected times of the year and in particular circumstances may be, for **some**, a part of modern **life**, village or town or city. The reliance on this assistance is neither as large nor as significant as the white myth about Native dependence would lead one to believe. However, for some families the knowledge of funding sources and their selective use over several generations may now be considered as part of modern life. This does not mean misuse of public funds (although that may happen among Natives, as it does with other peoples in the state and nation), but rather means that part of being a modern Eskimo, and poor, may be knowing about, applying for, and receiving needed funds.

One example of what this means at the household level can be cited. (It must be realized, however, that for this particular study no attempt to assess family sources of

income was made). One retired man, head of a large family, volunteered three sources of cash coming into his household.

They included:

Social security payments	\$158
AFDC	457
Food stamps	300
	<hr/>
	\$915

In addition, a niece who lived in the home brought in some income, from her village job, and a son who was working at Pt. Lay periodically sent money which helped with larger purchases such as boats, hunting equipment and snowmachines. This large 3-generation family pooled its resources, creatively, to maintain a minimal living standard for its members.

Like a natural disaster, cutbacks in federal programs will likely generate a host of rumors, predictions of dire consequences, and other interesting conjectures. More substantively, the local responses to cutbacks may be important indicators of the level of relative dependence certain programs may have created. For those who considered the recent abundance of funds as temporary, cutbacks may be just one more of a series of uncertain fluctuations. Part of modern Native life may include accepting the installation and demise of one program after another. On the other hand, the level of recent affluence may have inhibited former flexibility to respond to losses of this type.

Concerning CETA funded jobs, **McNabb** notes they included health aides, patrolmen, city clerks, water and sewer technicians, city administrators, pumphouse operators and recreation directors (1981:53). The question now is to consider how critical these jobs are in the different communities. Have the positions and their accompanying services and wages become institutionalized in the social fabric; are they internalized in village **life**? If they have become integral parts of the culture, and are considered permanent, their loss will be deeply felt and **their** absence will be disruptive. The responses of the people to possible loss of these job sources may include an increase in subsistence harvesting, or greater pressure for accelerated industrial development like mining and oil and gas exploration.

Village costs

In Chapter V a sense of costs with the new housing and facilities was indicated. Table 24 was prepared to indicate more specifically some of the expenses noted in the field in 1981. To place the oil costs in perspective, one household in Pt. Hope reported they needed 3 drums a month at \$114 each to heat their ASHA home. It took 4 barrels a month at \$95 a barrel to heat two connected houses for one Kivalina family. An owner of one of the new NANA houses in

TABLE 24. SAMPLE VILLAGE PRICES, 1981

<u>Locati on</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Uni t</u>	<u>Pri ce</u>
Kivalina	stove oil	barrel	\$ 98
Pt. Hope	stove oil	drum	114
Noatak	motor gas	gal lon	2. 47
Noatak	lights	monthl y	100 (avg.)
Kivalina	snomachine	1	2600
Kiana	water & sewer	monthl y	45
Kivalina	3-wheel er, Honda, small	1	1395
Kivalina	3-wheel er, Honda, large	1	1650
Pt. Hope	alumi num boat, 16 foot freight	1	900 200

Source: N. Davis field data from informants, not substantiated at stores.

Kivalina reported it takes a barrel every 17 days to heat his home in the winter.

Usually cash enhances hunting and fishing success, but it can be a handicap if, while waiting for a check to arrive, travel is delayed and a portion of the harvest missed. The importance of cash in connection with snowmachine gas expenses, for example, was noted by Moore (1980).

The store manager in Noatak keeps on hand a cash receipt book dated 1952. He opened up a page and noted with interest, "That was a good day--\$198." "Now," he added, "a good day would be over \$2000."

Part of village living includes the high costs of items and the frustration one experiences when necessities run out. In spring 1965, the Pt. Hope store ran out of flour, oil and milk (at that time milk cost \$1 for 3 cans; in Kiana, in November 1980, 1 can sold for 80 cents). In May 1981, the Noatak local store was out of Pampers and Clorox--by then these items were considered necessities. On May 15, 1981, two Honda 3-wheelers were bought in Kivalina. The most popular items, seasonally, may give an indication of the flow of cash, and local demand for goods.

Quite a lively exchange system exists between the post office

and the store in one village because of the concentrated receipt of checks at certain times of the month and the low cash supply. When the store runs short of cash in the middle and the end of the month, the post office might have enough to help out. A banker in Barrow reported he has made a personal run with \$25,000 in cash by air charter for a village store in response to a request for cash in time for payroll checks. A study of cash and check flow is needed to provide insights on how these media of exchange are managed.

Future Considerations

EMPLOYMENT

The high incidence of NANA-wide interest in work, combined with individual willingness to work outside one's village, is documented in the 1978 NANA survey. An accompanying preference for work allowing at least two months off for subsistence activities is also reported there; similar wishes are reported in later follow-up studies (NANA 1978;1979;1980).

The number of Natives available for participation in oil and gas development will be influenced by the availability of other jobs which are closer to home, especially when this is in the family tradition. The argument made here is that family values are so strong that, to coax workers away, the

pay will have to be considerably greater than that available on any ongoing local project. If, on the other hand, the local construction projects decrease or cannot employ most of the local labor, then, logically, interest in other industries will increase.

Mining is an example of possible competition with oil and gas development outside of the villages. The Derbyshire CZM report (1982) anticipates at the Red Dog mine:

- A possible 75 jobs for NANA shareholders who have heavy equipment and construction-related skills;
- A six-year program for the construction of necessary infrastructure, to begin in 1984;
- A work force to be kept in remote, self-contained construction camps.

With so consistent a background in mining on the part of some families, it is interesting to note that NANA's leadership is adamant that the facilities at the mine sites would be "camps" not "villages." At the same time, it is clear that preferred patterns of employment are to be accommodated. A **Native** leader in the NANA region stated with confidence and commitment that the ideal arrangement will be "two people for every job available. Then they can spell each other off and still maintain their subsistence life style.'" There are two facets to this accommodation. The first is getting enough work in the winter if you live in the village; the

second is getting enough time off from work if you have a job in town or elsewhere.

Perhaps it is in the area of job allocation and timing of work that the **Inupiatization of** the work force is most promising. The costs in paperwork and for the associated training are high and will have to be weighed against the long-range benefits for the **Inupiat** cultural values. Thus **the** resolution may not be made in the arena of whose values win out, but, rather, who will pay the bill.

NANA AND MANIILAQ PLANS

In addition to the developments identified thus far, the following plans are mentioned in various publications like **Mauneluk** Reports and NUNA. Some proposals have evolved out of the regional strategy meetings. They include:

- feasibility study of fur farming;
- community freezers;
- wood stove use;
- timber management/cutting for local use;
- woodchip boilers;
- fish processing for fertilizer, etc.;
- development of the **Kotzebue** commercial fishing operations, emphasizing more local operations at the NANA plant such as **degutting, filleting** operations, and the like;

- reindeer management/herd development; branch out to include more meat for local consumption;
- salmon hatchery on the **Noatak**;
- increased tourism;
- portable sawmills for Ambler, **Selawik**, **Kiana** and **Noatak** with instructional workshops and vocational plans associated;
- local businesses increasing diversity of products available.

As indicated in Chapter V, NANA adopted an extensive goal statement in early 1983. It emphasizes that

NANA is the instrument through which our **Inupiat** People not only achieve economic objectives, but more importantly protect our Land (NANA 1983: Personal communication).

With respect to the future, the statement links NANA efforts with **Inupiat Ilitqusiak**, which is described as

a program of life which hopes to maintain **Inupiat** control of NANA after 1991 as well as to provide for the rejuvenation of **Inupiaq** Values.

Most of the specific actions described for NANA are related to the preservation of traditional activities rather than for economic payoffs. For example, the list of values to guide NANA's conduct include sharing, hard work, avoiding conflict, successful hunting, respect for elders, and knowledge of family tree. Mention is made of maintaining profitability and providing for capital growth and dividends under the section on **Manikput** (Our Money).

Also included **in the** statement. of corporation **goals is** developing education for youth "to **help** prepare them for **Western** job skills -- in our Region. " Along with other economic objectives, such as establishing a shareholder survivor benefit **plan** and a retirement system, is **the plan** to "**encourage** and support self-sufficiency in each Inupiaq family. " In these complex ways, NANA continues its efforts to enhance the economic welfare of its shareholders **while** maintaining the quality of the **Inupiat** way of **life**.

Final Note

Rural Alaskan economies involve the integration of sets of resources and practices into a coordinated **whole**. Cash acquisition and subsistence activities **are** co-existing systems. Part of the difficulty in understanding rural economies comes from the cloudiness introduced by looking **at** cash and subsistence as two discrete entities, and getting data first about one and then the other.

To illustrate, cash may be seen as an asset useful for purchasing capital goods required for subsistence activities, or for purchasing subsistence substitutes (store-bought food); cash can **also** be used as it is in Western economies. On the **other** hand, the way one acquires cash, for instance wage labor with the specific tangible end of buying an outboard

motor, makes cash a commodity-equivalent: an outboard motor in this example.

Government assistance and transfer payments can be cast in the same fashion; food stamps, for example, represent a nominal cash value but a real commodity-equivalent: food. Such resources are as apt to be shared with others as they are consumed by the individual who receives them. In this connection, it is significant to note that the most meaningful exchanges seldom involve cash, but instead natural resources, purchased commodities, and skills (many of which are wage-earning abilities like welding, small engine repair, and the like).

Rural economies do not operate in a haphazard way. Planning is essential. There are many financial demands on residents; there is a high cost per unit of many subsistence goods; investment in capital goods (like snowmobiles, outboard motors and boats) and their use (gasoline, oil, spare parts) is costly; and the natural resources and the periods of their availability are uncertain.

On top of this are the traditional social obligations fundamental to Inupiaq culture and economic behavior. This, not surprisingly, brings us back to questions of kinship. Smith reports that in the crises of food shortages,

"individuals whose kindred were geographically scattered — had a marked advantage" (1966:36). A wide distribution of relatives continues to have numerous advantages, not only food related. If you have relatives on the Arctic Slope, you can visit them, and assess the job situation. Relatives in Anchorage, Fairbanks, or other cities provide places to stay; their presence can provide an excuse to visit if one needs to get away from a village for awhile, as well as providing a source of exchange of ideas.

Not only may kinship networks provide help in finding jobs and commodities when there are none available locally, they can provide stability in local situations, especially job positions. An example is a man who has worked in maintenance of a village school for 20 years. His wife teaches in the bicultural/bilingual program and a son or daughter as a teacher aide. Descendants of school employees seem to have a "tradition" in the family of working with the school. Though it may appear as nepotism (and may be in a few instances), it also is a logical sequence of economic opportunities. If not many job options are available and if over half of the existing ones are school-related, then those individuals with experience in the system are more likely to obtain the jobs. Also kinship may help fill the gaps--when one person wants to go hunting or fishing, a relative may take over the job for awhile.

It is cultural factors like kinship that complicate analyses based on Western economic concepts and theories. The region, for example, soaks up traditional goods like a sponge; there is little likelihood of a surplus ever building up. When extra goods are available, they are likely as not to be exported through informal channels to people in other parts of the state and Outside. Beyond one's household needs come obligations to kin, friends, partners, those seen as "needy", and others with whom formal or informal bonds have been established. In most cases, these requirements exhaust all the resources that a family can harvest and prepare.

By viewing the whole context of rural economies, one can see their internal consistency. The selection of wage jobs, other cash opportunities, and subsistence activities are juxtaposed and weighed, one against the other. Certain cash practices may mitigate against highly valued subsistence practices --for example, having to be away from a village for a long time for a job. On the other hand, an individual may choose such cash producing activities on a different occasion because it will allow the accumulation of enough money to further a specific subsistence pursuit--for example, purchase of a snowmobile. Absence from a village for skill training (carpenter's school in Anchorage; petroleum engineering in Kenai) can also constitute a long-term investment to enhance

economic strengths.

Constraints on cash, capital goods, **time, or skills** may necessitate a domestic subsistence regime focused in one direction or another. A **family** may have to engage in passive **gill** netting and gathering by themselves when they need rewards that are fairly reliable and costs that are moderate. On a different occasion, they may choose large mammal hunting where the expenses may be **high**, the return less certain, but the intrinsic value of the hunt and the preference for the food is very high.

All of these actions reflect the **larger** attachments and relationships that draw the many integrated economic elements into association with the broader social and cultural patterns. The land, its resources, and the practices that hold domestic groups together have a high intrinsic value for the **Inupiat**. The economy is geared not just to consumption, but to the production and distribution of goods and services in traditional ways. Today, as in the past, resource extraction, distribution, and consumption are activities that tie together extended **social groups--family** members, partners, friends--and bond them together through mutual and complementary efforts.

Many of the newer activities that **people** engage in, espe-

cially at the village level, involve members of social
-- ~~groups~~ in remarkably similar patterns. These activities
include school employment, service and agency work, fire
fighting, summer construction, search and rescue, and
commercial fishing, among others. In many instances, these
employment patterns ~~reflect~~ cohesive kin-based units. It is
as if traditional practices were penetrating non-traditional
domains, in this instance, Western economic structures.
Rural Alaskan economies can be more fully comprehended if we
can come to better understand the persistence and tenacity of
kinship, of traditions, and the values that keep them viable.

VII. TRENDS AND SUMMARY

The purpose of this last chapter is to add findings concerning people's ideas about change and the **future**, and to bring selected insights derived from the research into a focus especially relevant to OCS concerns. As a **baseline** document this report is primarily directed toward understanding the current (1981) dimensions of **Inupiat** life. Now the question must be asked:

"Given this background information, what relevance might it have to the future, especially an **OCS**-related future?"

These findings and their implications must be viewed tentatively; their main purpose is to alert the reader to some possible considerations. Future research must address specifically the **non-OCS** scenario and the different levels of possible oil and gas developments.

Change

Historically, the **people** of the study area have seemed to respond to change both positively and creatively. Perhaps as one result of the intense acceleration of change since 1976, a near saturation point may have been reached; but overall, people have welcomed most changes to their way of life, and few seriously indicate a desire to return to the

Old Way.

Concern about the negative effects of current modernization processes seems most pervasive among middle-aged parents; **this is well** summarized by **the mother** who stated:

"**More** housing. **More schooling.** **More money.** **More** people. **Bad** changes. **Too** much money coming in. Everything is **climbing** in. **Booze.** **Drugs.** Even my kids **get** it."

The **elders** may shake their heads, **but** several spontaneously **added:**

"Things are better now. It's easier. "

The Old Days

Marked differences in response was found to the question: "How was **life** in the **old** days?" In Kotzebue, the new elite commented, "**It** used to be a happy culture" and "we were happier then". Nostalgia was "in" in Kotzebue, in the early **1980s.**

This validation of the **old** days lends support to the developing **Spirit** Movement.

But in the villages **quite** a different series of answers were **given,** for example:

"Things were tough them days" (Kiana).

"I don't miss it at all!" (Kivalina).

"In the older way, sorrow-type thing" (Kiana).

"Life is better now, but the cost - have to have money" (Noatak).

The overall impression of village life was that things are relatively comfortable, and there are few regrets about the changes.

Yet, in addition to the disparity of opinion noted between the town and village, the old and young also differed. In talking with older residents, they seemed to think things are easier now for them, but they went on to comment that the ones who are suffering most are the youth:

"It's tough on them. They don't know what to do. They're all mixed up."

When talking to school children, a different viewpoint was expressed. Life for them was interesting, varied, fun: Trips. Sports meets. Disneyworld. They seemed generally to be having a good time, not "suffering" as the elders seemed to suggest. But in discussing change, several young people spontaneously commented, "Oh, the old people. They are all confused. "

Some kind of reverse empathy seems to have evolved. Overall, the impression was that life was not all that great in the

old days, nor all that bad now - for either segment **of** the ~~population.~~ -Perhaps the greatest dissonance is **felt** in a **highly** concentrated age group of young men - out of school but not yet established economically, or politically. **Also**, perhaps it is the middle-aged group, those now in their 40's who are, appropriately, the most ~~concerned~~ **concerned - about** both the elders and the young, about the new and the traditional. And, in good **Inupiat** -Fashion, perhaps the greatest responsibility for **Inupiat** welfare continues to **lie** with those in their middle years.

The debate whether The Culture is coming or going **will likely** continue for many years - and be indicative of the range of **Inupiat** ideas which currently exist.

One young leader shook his head and commented:

"It's going to go."

But another leader countered:

"It's coming back. With the price of food, there **will** be more hunting. .."

The discussion will also undoubtedly be lively, part of the modern **Inupiat** way of life, enhancing both a sense of history and the future.

The Future

Local perceptions of the future may be important, but they are difficult to elicit. The demands of the present are so great that the idea of thinking and talking about years ahead seems to be a **peculiar** western exercise. The inappropriateness of asking Eskimos about the future is tactfully noted by **Briggs** (1970). Indeed, one elder pondered for a long **while** and then answered the question with:

"I never thought of it (much) before. It depends. "

In **Kivalina**, the answers given about the future were consistent with their interest in development:

"I hope that our young people will get more jobs"
(Mother of five).

"I would like to see more development. If I could work six months out of the year, that's good."

Overall, this researcher's conclusion is that the village **Inupiat** tend neither to be greatly concerned about the future nor nostalgic about the past.

At a more global level, two analyses can be found in the anthropological literature concerning the activities taking place among some Native groups in Alaska, including the NANA leadership. **Lantis** (1973:99-118) describes the changes as a **nativistic** movement. She refers to Linton's 1943 definition:

"Any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or ~~perpetuate~~ **selected** aspects of its culture." **Burch** (1978), speaking more specifically about the Northwest Alaskan Eskimos, describes the changes as "cultural revitalization." Both emphasize the continuity of traditional behavior.

At the regional level, it appears that the future may involve greater, conscious emphasis on adapting traditional ways to modern affairs, or conversely, modifying modern requirements and opportunities to mesh more closely with continuing and preferred **Inupiat** life styles.

Kivalina Relocation

As noted in Chapter 11, under the village descriptions, the topic of relocating **Kivalina** was on the residents' minds in 1981. The interest seemed to this researcher to be relevant to possible future **OCS** development. The connection between "relocation" and **OCS**, however, was not made by the villagers. It was the combination of factors (such as the location of a potential harbor site nearby, the relative "recency" of the settled community, their employment history elsewhere, and current interest in staying home) that led the author to the connection. The implication is that **Kivalina**, more than any other site outside **Kotzebue**, might be amenable to

participation in future development should it occur in the vicinity.

The NANA Regional Corporation's official position is that they support the village's wishes. "If Kivalina wants to move to take advantage of an economic situation, we will assist" (Schaeffer 1982: Personal communication). In some instances, however, the implication has come across that the corporation wished to protect their villages from such consideration. Kivalina seems to be on the fringe of NANA in many ways. Linguistically, the villagers are more affiliated with the North Slope. Culturally, they seem to balance a whaling interest with fishing and caribou. It is predominantly an Episcopalian community with closer religious ties to Pt. Hope than to points south. Also there is evidence of kinship ties to Barrow.

It is significant to note that during the fieldwork, throughout the discussions, no one mentioned the possibility of relocating in connection with the mine development being considered at Red Dog on the Noatak, nor was any mention of OCS made. Through other questions it was clear that the villagers had no expectations of involvement in the mine, at that time, and only two persons interviewed said they had heard of "OCS."

The interest of the Kivalina people in relocation, plus the possibility of a lease sale in the Barrow Arch in 1985, along with the associated need for an on-shore site if commercial quantities of oil or gas are discovered, combine to lead to the next question: Would the Kivalina people choose to be part of those developments?

Of course, this cannot be answered from the limited data gathered by this study. However, a tentative prediction is ventured. This researcher believes that the people of Kivalina, if asked in 1981, would have been in favor of participation in OCS or other related development. For discussion of a similar situation on Kodiak Island, see the report on the feelings of Old Harbor citizens in 1978 (Davis 1979).

Inupiat Values

An early, and landmark, analysis of Eskimo values was Lantis' 1959 article. She identified six "focal values" in major sectors of Inupiat life:

- High value of hunting
- High value of personal skill and ingenuity
- Valuation of human and animal souls (and spiritual experience) above body
- Valuation of community survival above individual survival

- Emphasis on positiveness
- Emphasis on **good socialization.**

She adds that this list "still is incomplete--it does not account for leadership, for example" (Lantis 1959:36).

The Spirit Movement--Inupiat Ilitqusiatic--has more recently sought to spell out the central values from the Inupiat's own point of view. (See, for example, NUNA July 1981).

The list of values changes, however, from time to time and from place to place; this is how the organizers planned it--each village was to design its own Ilitqusiatic program.

There are, nevertheless, some for which there is general agreement:

- Sharing with others, helpfulness, and cooperation.
- Respect for all people, Elders, all animals, and successful hunters.
- Treat children with love, know your family tree, and meet your family obligations and responsibilities.
- Work hard, avoid unnecessary conflict, and don't lose your sense of humor.
- Trust in a Spiritual power greater than yourself.

In one published list of 15 values (NUNA June 1981), nine of the values concerned relationships with others; six with oneself. Three were negative statements, such as "avoid idleness", but mostly they were positive statements of what one ought to do. Four of the 15 were directly related to the

value "respect". The most prevalent theme in the list addressed avoiding conflict, and how to do it: share, respect, cooperate and humor. These Inupiat values clearly reflect a preference for consensus, for congenial human relationships. These tenets of culture, if maintained and revitalized, will continue to shape Inupiat response to future events and to Inupiat leadership.

Summary

The following findings seem particularly relevant to our baseline understanding of Inupiat culture in the NANA region:

- Because village identities are strong, and **intervillage** ties extensive, what happens near one community will likely have **ramifications** outward to their kin in many other communities. Therefore, it is important to accurately assess the strength of **intervillage** ties in the future.
- The flow of people and kin extends **all** along the coast, reinforced by **interregional** ceremonial events. Therefore what happens in one **region** is **likely** to effect kinsmen in another. The employment opportunities in the NSB **will likely** draw relatives from elsewhere. The increased occasions for meetings may heighten awareness of growing disparity of affluence between **regions**.
- e If men must continue to **leave** home for jobs outside the village, then the grandparent/grandchild ties may continue to be enhanced to **help** compensate for the absent father.
- a The increasing economic and social distances among the Inupiat may put additional stress on the leaders to provide others with jobs.

- Mobility as a culture pattern is so viable it must be considered in all future plans.
- The NANA region of the study area appears amenable to future industrial development because of a combination of traditional values and recent events.

The traditional values which lend the area responsive to change include a positive attitude toward change. Fatalism, accepting what happens, may also function in facilitating acceptance of change, even disruptive change. Further, the value of avoiding conflict may lead to local reluctance to object to what comes their way.

Historically, the original tribes in this area were active entrepreneurs ; their descendants in the recently settled villages seem responsive to new opportunities and new goods. The recent developments which further encourage interest in industrial efforts include the 50% increase in new housing in a decade, and the numerous associated costs. These homes, their upkeep, combined with the recent affluence of the 1970's may make people both amenable to a future with more jobs, if perceived for them, and also vulnerable to disappointment if they do not get them.

The men in the area are accustomed to leaving home for wage employment, and NANA's plans for mining developments and reindeer herding perpetuate the pattern. The added impetus

of seeing the relative wealth of **their** neighbors and kin to the north may also contribute to increased **local** interest in oil and gas and other development.

However, **little** information about **either** the costs or benefits of OCS related development was available in the study area in 1981. What appeared then to be a potential vulnerability to negative effects will **likely** be offset by other factors, and by NANA leadership. The recognized, pervasive importance of the **land**, the strong political position concerning subsistence, the unquestioned viability of the harvest **cycles** and their role in the physical and **social** health of the people knits this region together in an unusual way.

The NANA **Inupiat** have shared an area, a territory, and they have shared a history. Now they may have to share a future with newcomers and that may be one reason there is a sharpening of their value systems, a heightened awareness of who they are, and a concerted effort not only to maintain their uniqueness as **Inupiat**, but also to modify those characteristics in ways both consistent with traditional ideas, and also amenable to a successful modernization of **Inupiat** life and opportunity.

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