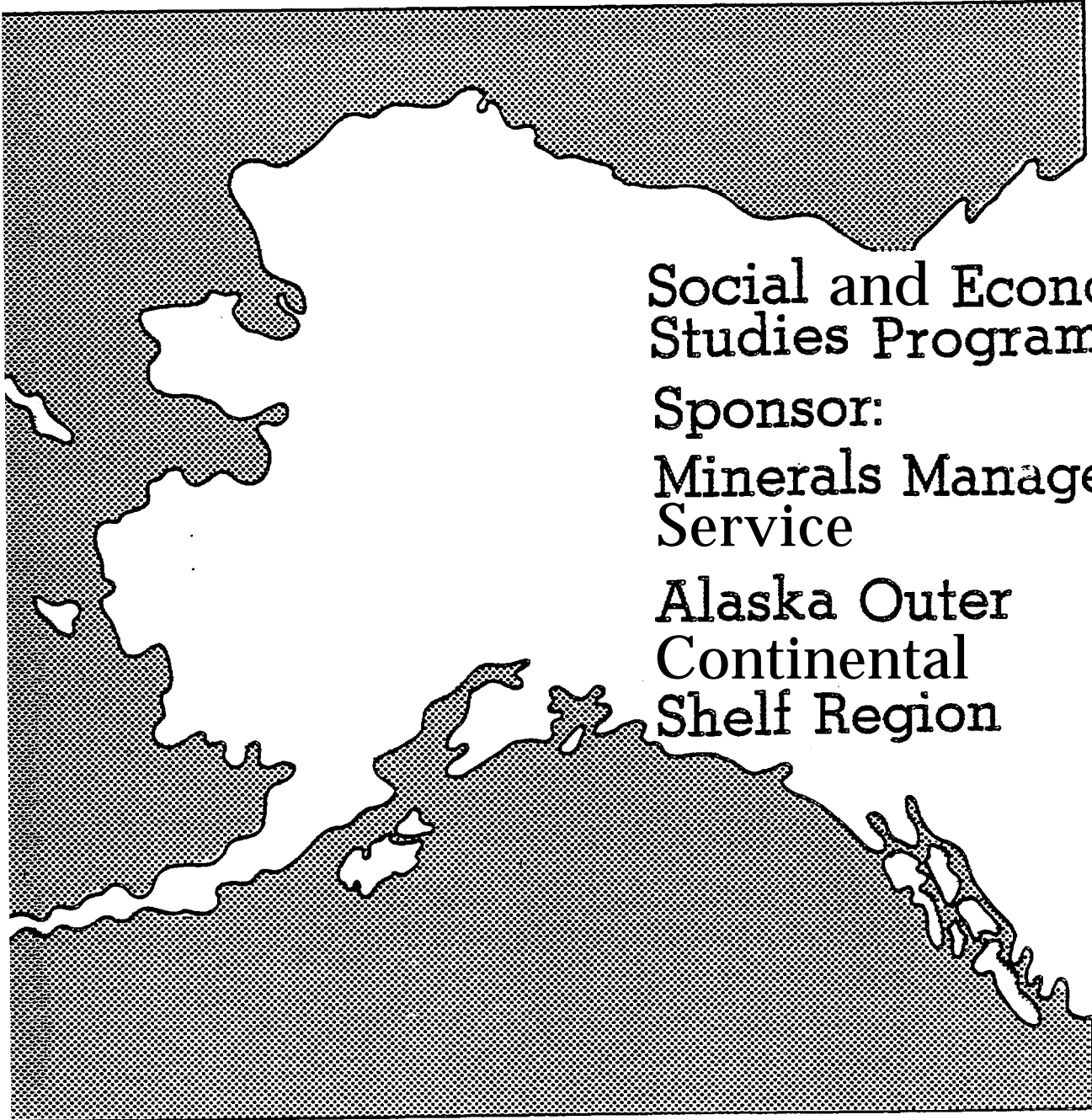


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Technical Report
Number 77



Social and Economic
Studies Program

Sponsor:

Minerals Management
Service

Alaska Outer
Continental
Shelf Region

Social Indicators -for **OCS** Impact **Monitoring**

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*Volume 3 of 3: Baseline Ethnographic Descriptions of
the NANA and Aleutian Pribilof Regions*

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

The Alaska **OCS Social and Economic Studies Program** is a multi-year research effort which attempts to predict and evaluate the effects of **Alaska OCS** petroleum development upon the physical, social, and economic environments within the state. The **overall methodology** is divided into three broad research components. The first component identifies an alternative set of assumptions regarding the location, the nature, and the timing of future petroleum events and related activities. In "this component, the program takes into account the particular needs of **the petroleum industry** and projects the human, **technological**, economic, and environmental offshore and onshore development requirements of the regional petroleum industry.

The second component focuses on data gathering that identifies those quantifiable and qualifiable facts by which **OCS-induced** changes can be assessed. The critical **community** and regional components are identified and evaluated. Current **endogenous** and exogenous sources of change and functional organization among different sectors of **community and regions' life** are analyzed. Susceptible community relationships, values, activities, and processes **also are included**.

The third research component focuses on an evaluation of the changes that could occur due to the potential oil and gas development. Impact evaluation concentrates on an analysis of the impacts at the statewide, regional, and **local level**.

In general, program products are sequentially arranged in accordance with MMS's proposed **OCS lease sale** schedule, so that information is timely to **decisionmaking**. Reports are **available** through the National Technical Information Service, and the MMS has a **limited** number of copies available through the Leasing & Environment Office. Inquiries for information should be directed to: **Social and Economic Studies Program Coordinator**, Minerals Management Service, Leasing & Environment Office, **Alaska OCS Region, P.O. Box 1159, Anchorage, Alaska 99510**.

TECHNICAL REPORT NO. 77

Contract No. **AA851-CTI-50**

Alaska OCS Social and Economic Studies Program

SOCIAL INDICATORS FOR OCS IMPACT MONITORING

Prepared for

**Minerals Management Service
Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region**

Prepared by

**Louis Berger & Associates, Inc.
Anchorage, Alaska**

VOLUME III

May 1983

SOCIAL INDICATORS FOR **OCS IMPACT** MONITORING

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ABSTRACT

The final report of the OCS Social Indicators research project reports the findings of **sociocultural** research conducted in the Northwest Alaska Native Association (NANA) and **Aleutian-Pribilof** Islands regions. The objective of this research was to conduct primary ethnographic and secondary quantitative data research in two dissimilar Alaskan regions that are represented by very different corpora of baseline data, both in quality and quantity, to ascertain how and in what ways a 'systematic monitoring of community well-being and stress can be conducted.

The focus of the research was broad and generalized. The research team sought to determine the general types of changes and measurements of these changes that occur along a number of socioeconomic dimensions, consequent to broadly defined social and economic adjustments and variations. Our emphasis was on the definition of social indicators that, based upon the empirical data **we** collected, could be used to index the varieties of social change and **re-adjustment** that are typical of both study regions. In short, we were concerned with the discovery and documentation of social variables that, as indicators, represent a broad range of social facts, and that might be used as scientific tools evaluate ongoing change in these and other regions, that can be traced to development impacts.

The study team conducted research and analysis on primary ethnographic data as well as secondary aggregate quantitative data. The contextual background for the research and analysis was established through a review of available existing data and literature in which generalizations concerning **sociocultural** trends in the study regions were developed; the result of this review is Volume 111 of this report: "Baseline Ethnographic Description of NANA and **Aleutian-Pribilof** Regions".

Volume 111 is designed to provide a brief description of the populations of the **Aleutian-Pribilof** Islands region (including the Alaska Peninsula villages northeast as far as Egegik) and the NANA regions. The purpose of this volume is to establish a cultural context for the Social Indicators Study by describing the primary cultural orientations of these populations in terms of the local economies, social structures and institutions, the values, sentiments and habits that underlie them, and the historical changes that have in

part shaped them. In anthropological parlance these are "ethnographic sketches". They have been designed, however, to advance the larger study objectives, and in doing so will focus specifically on historical changes and the **sociocultural** adjustments that accompany them. The perspective is not neutral, **but** instead geared toward descriptive and analytic data that **will** help lay the groundwork for the next phases of research.

The organization of the ethnographic sketches is more thematic than categorical. Instead of developing categories such as "kinship", "social organization", "the supernatural" and the **like**, the author has treated these areas within a larger framework that subsumes them all. The single unifying theme, if given a name, **would** be "cultural change and persistence" (the title of the second subsection); "**acculturation**" or "adaptation" would probably be just as appropriate. The categories of human experience and organization that persist and change are then discussed within this framework. For purposes of discussion and description in these reports, then, we focus less on discrete institutions, for instance, and more on the process of institutionalization itself.

The villages selected for primary field research study were **Kotzebue, Selawik, Noatak** and **Kiana** in the NANA region, and **Unalaska**, King Cove, **Nikolski** and St. George in the Aleutian-Pribilof region. Long time series of aggregate secondary data were also collected at both the regional and village levels; these time series are indexed and described in Volume **II**, Appendix **D**, "The Present State of **Well** Being in Two Selected Regions of Alaska". The primary **field** research was conducted for a period of two weeks in each village. This research was guided by data collection protocols corresponding to key domestic and institutional topics. (Volume **II**, Appendix **A**). In addition, Volume **II** includes a Definition of Variables (Appendix **B**) and a Guide to Matrices (Appendix **C**).

The aggregate and primary field data were collected independently and one goal was the comparison of these independent data sets to determine if aggregate time series were sensitive to impacts we could document in the field, such that selected time series might be used as monitoring indicators. Several series of data manipulations were performed on both primary field and aggregate data, creating multiple ordinal and **bivariate** matrices of comparisons after the data were sorted, coded and ranked. Finally, a smallest space analysis was conducted to identify the most conspicuous clusters of variables, and distinguish the variables that best serve as indicators of the larger

clusters of variables. Concluding hypotheses were prepared that seek to account for these clustering patterns, contingent on further tests of the hypotheses at other points in time.

None of the indicators identified in this analysis are linked statistically to **all** variables, but rather tend to be tightly linked to variables in the clusters in which they reside*. The variables corresponding to non-governmental source of income, domestic functions and child-rearing, and household dynamics seem to indicate many other variables relating to income, subsistence and family organization (nine variables in all). In a second cluster, seven variables are indicated by our variables of earned governmental-source income, and village size; these seven variables relate primarily to attitudes and expectations concerning political, social, and economic issues, and economic dependency. A third cluster of variables (related to income pooling and distribution, service use, economic strategies and attitudes) is best represented, or indicated by our household income variable, and a variable characterizing income source, predictability, and stability. A fourth **cluster consisting** of many critical variables concerning subsistence and wage practices, **Westernization**, and traditional patterns is strongly indicated by the variables of household size, resource pooling and sharing, and subsistence expenses. A fifth cluster of institutional variables related to institutional structure and organization in the study communities is indicated by the variables of Native institutional representation, **sodality** memberships, and perceptions of institutional control.

Judging by joint analyses of primary and aggregate data, the aggregate time series that are the most sensitive indicators of institutional and domestic changes are internal growth, school enrollments, government and private sector employment, and welfare payments; social welfare caseloads may represent another indicator.

The powerful aggregate and primary field data indicators are seen to be complementary because they overlap functionally in indicating numerous types of dependencies and the ramifications of these

***Nonetheless**, there are many dimensions along which one or several variables may indicate other variables in other clusters.

dependencies. Although the time series data may have less utility as indicators for a number of reasons, research showed that selected powerful events can be detected by the time series data record; specifically, the research showed that the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and recent 200 mile territorial **limit** legislation had measurable impacts evident in many time series. These findings are summarized in the concluding hypotheses along with a proposed methodology for testing the hypotheses at two additional points in time.

A research validation and monitoring methodology is proposed, based on the assumption that the social dynamics of Alaskan villages can be captured by a few key indicators and that impacts on social well-being from **OCS** as well as other development can be observed by measuring these indicators over time. This methodology requires that the indicator system be measured **at** two additional points in time in a wide variety of villages, including a sample of villages where **OCS** development is unlikely and villages outside the two study regions. By analyzing the relationships among measurements in three time periods, the indicator system can be refined until it is optimally unbiased and reliable. Observation of villages unlikely to be affected by **OCS** activities and those outside the NANA and Aleutian **Pribilof** regions will ensure cross sectional control. A first round protocol is proposed to **operationalize** a set of preliminary indicators which can be utilized by **MMS** until the validation has been completed.

INTRODUCTION

Volume III Baseline Ethnographic Description of NANA and Aleutian-Pribilof Regions is a supporting document that provides richer narrative substance and **particularistic** detail that will serve the needs of audiences that require additional corroborative and supplementary materials beyond those incorporated into the main text in Volume I. It represents a pair of ethnographic sketches of the study regions.

This Volume complements the coverage in Volume I and is designed to fill gaps that specialized audiences may identify on the basis of their specialized needs when reviewing Volume I; these gaps are intentional and are resolved through the inclusion of **assorted** Appendices for the sake of brevity in the main text. Volume III provides a broad and relatively wide-ranging discussion of the history, cultures, communities, and day to day social practices in the study regions designed to familiarize the audience with these elements and illustrate their importance to the study, in those cases where such familiarity has not already been achieved. Thus Volume III may prove most useful as a supplement at the beginning or end of the major report. The reader is urged to consult this Volume and Volume II, as well, at any point during the review of Volume I.

APPENDIX E

BASELINE ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION

SOCIAL INDICATORS STUDY

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- a) demographic shifts and mobility
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- a) self-determination and control
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3) Current Conditions, **Policies and Practices**

- a) self-determination and control
- b) inter-ethnic relations and native identity

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I. NANA Region

This section describes first traditional culture, then cultural change and persistence, **and** finally current conditions, policies and practices that relate to potential future changes with OCS development.

1. Traditional Culture, Then and Now

A. Subsistence and the **Local** Economy

The traditional cycle of subsistence activities was and remains closely calibrated **to** the migratory habits of game animals and fish, as **well** as precipitation, ice conditions, and the physical topology of the land. The closely attuned relations between these elements have been noted on numerous occasions **in** the literature, but can hardly be overstated. High levels of precipitation delay or even prevent fish harvests; ice movements are frequently the deciding factor in successful sea mammal harvests; the north-south versus east-west configurations of rivers create completely different ecological zones each with their own types of resources available on different but **normally** predictable schedules; the exposure on elevated slopes also creates different mosaics of flora and fauna concentrations; the generally northeast to southwest migration routes of caribou cause different calendars of availability depending on location (thus caribou are available near **Buckland** in late **fall**, winter and very early spring, whereas they are available twice, in spring and **fall**, on the **Kobuk**); the migratory habits of fish like the **sheefish** cause them to be accessible twice on the lower **Kobuk**, but only once in the upriver area near **Kobuk** village. These natural principles and the many other factors that surround them form the basic hunting and fishing lore of the NANA region **Inupiat** and underpin their larger economic strategies.

These observations have often led social scientists and others to postulate topological 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. After all, it seems that if these regularities **can be** observed, then villages or entire peoples can be classified on **the** basis of terrain, climate, animal concentrations, etc. Here we begin

to walk on dangerous ground, however. Although assertions developed on the basis of this logic seem to make common sense, the empirical data often show a different picture. A review of basic and traditional practices in the region **will help** to identify some of the regularities; after this review such generalizations **will** be analyzed in more depth.

Traditionally the **Inupiat** of the northern Seward Peninsula area pursued sea mammals in late spring and early summer. Those living in the **vicinity** of Cape Deceit (present day **Deering**) and to the west normally moved northwest to **Espenberg** to hunt seals from leads and later in open water. **Inupiat** further to the east **travelled** to the coast to hunt **beluga** at **Eschscholtz Bay**. Eastern Seward **Inupiat** (such as those from **Buckland**) may have remained after the **Beluga** hunt to hunt seals, **but** many went to the annual summer trade fair in **Sisualik** (across the Bay from **Kotzebue**) or **Kotzebue**. Western Seward **Inupiat** might attend the fair, but most would return to their fishing sites to the east along the Goodhope, **Kugruk** or **Inmatsi** aq Rivers (**Burch** 1980: 288). These rivers had significant **salmon** runs during the summer, whereas the **Buckland** River did not. Both groups fished intensively at **fall** time before **freezeup**. At freezeup **the Western Seward Inupiat** might net seals **until** the ice was frozen hard, but most Eskimos **in** the entire area concentrated on fishing in the vicinity of their upriver winter settlements. The winter settlements of the Westerners may have been further downriver than their neighbors to the east. **In** winter both groups subsisted on caribou and **small** game (ptarmigan and rabbits primarily), sometimes ranging far to do this, and other times remaining in **fairly** dense settlements **until** early spring.

Today the picture is quite different. The **Buckland** people continue to hunt **beluga** in **the** late spring and **early** summer, but **seldom** do they remain afterwards to hunt seal. The trade fair at **Sisualik** or **Kotzebue** is a memory at best, and commercial and trade needs are channeled through the local **village** store. **After** the **beluga** hunt, **people** return quickly to **Buckland**, to fishing and jobs, or for some, neither. 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. Gas and other prices are high,

thus hunting trips or other journeys must have a reasonable expectation of success. Today, snow machines are used nearly exclusively for (1) hunting expeditions, (2) water hauling (ice), and (3) trash hauling. The number one factor that causes people in this area to refrain from hunting as they would like to is lack of essential cash (Moore 1980). The Deering people no longer go to Espenberg, even though people know there is a virtual bounty of seals and fowl there. Today, **it** is simply too far. Very few **Deering** people hunt for seals in the spring now, as they did **in** the past. Although they still fish during the summer, it is notable that this is an activity that can be carried out in the-village; no major expenditure for travel is necessary. Otherwise they are involved in wage jobs, often outside the village, or in reindeer herding. After the turn of the century the caribou were absent from the entire Seward Peninsula area perhaps due to **overhunting**, or possible simply as a result of capricious migration route shifts far to the east. Reindeer were imported to this area that was most afflicted by the loss, and the industry today is the main economic base aside from State and Federal government in Deering. Most residents are employed at some time or another, and can be paid in either cash or meat (most temporary workers prefer meat). Today, Deering **residents** nearly uniformly prefer the taste of reindeer to caribou, a fact that highlights the magnitude of the recent change and the rapidity of adjustment (cf. Karmun, personal interview).

The caribou have since returned to a more westerly route, although they do not enter the Seward Peninsula proper. They are available in the winter south of **Selawik** and to the east of **Buckland**. The Buckland people have access to them at this time and actively pursue them, both in allowed winter periods and in the **fall**.

The low, moist habitats in the riverine delta areas to the northeast show some uniformities in resource utilization. Both **Selawik** and **Noorvik** are situated on **slow** moving rivers **fairly** close to the ocean, and lack access to the faster moving north-south tributaries, as on the Kobuk, and are **fairly** distant from mountainous terrain. Traditionally the **Inupiat** who dwelled in the **lower Kobuk** delta were dispersed **in** spring, the season of hunger and sometimes famine due to limited availability of resources. Just before **break-**

up people would be subsisting on ptarmigan and rabbits, or occasionally some early fish caught through the ice. Just prior to breakup people would make a dash **downriver** before travel became impossible. The women, with **the** assistance of the men, **would** establish fishing camps and await breakup. **The** men **might** remain **to** fish with their families, **but** might rush on to the coast **to** hunt early **seal**, and then proceed to the trade fair. Or, they might head back upriver and up one **of** the lower north-south tributaries (Squirrel River normally). Although they would not have **time** to hunt any caribou as the animals were moving toward the Brooks Range, they would be **able to** hunt bears. In summer the men would then return downriver to make contact with their **families**; those who had gone on **to** the trade fairs would also, **all** timing their return in order to meet their families and assist with the **tail** end of the salmon run. Then, before freeze-up, they **would** regroup with other families in order **to** communally trap fish during the extremely rich **fall** fishery (whitefish, some **sheefish**). **Fall** was ordinarily the time of greatest population density in the **delta** area.

After freeze-up the trapping **would** continue through the ice **until** the catch diminished. **If** resources of sufficient **volume** had been accumulated the families might winter **over** together. **In most** cases the people dispersed again, and went their own ways with families traveling alone and subsisting on accumulated stores and small game. All through this **cycle** the families **would** have been caching food at selected sites, so that in their travels they **could** intercept these caches at strategic intervals. **In fall** they might hunt a few caribou as they crossed the Kobuk, but this was rare; the caribou were normally too far to the **east**, and a sure bet was consistently the **fall** fishery. **Burch (1980:289)** indicates that **Kobuk** delta people made **only** short moves during the year **within** their territory, and that caribou were hunted in some **significant** numbers at breakup **along** the river, **or** during the summer **in** the Brooks Range. For some families this may have been the case, but it is more **likely** that breakup saw **more** emphasis on movement toward the coast **for seal-**ing prior to the trade fair and the establishment of summer fish camps. Very few **people travelled** to the Brooks Range since the distance was considerable, and most **who** began the journey up a north tributary would have time to hunt the numerous bears that **inhabited** the area in the summer, but not **caribou** on a normal basis.

Selawik drainage **Inupiat** followed a similar regime, but did not **travel** to the coast for the trade fair and sealing in the numbers that the delta people did. At **freezeup** most people would have gathered in fairly large numbers (several families) at fishing sites known for fish trapping potential or conducive to netting under the ice. During winter the **Selawik Inupiat** would continue to fish as long as fish were available, dispersing from time to time to hunt **small** game and caribou, especially in late fall and very early spring. In spring many would move west to **Selawik** Lake to fish through the ice; just prior to breakup most would drift back to the east while **travel** was still possible in order to establish fish camps for the summer, and for muskrat hunting. These activities **would** persist through the summer, and a few at most would attend the trade fair. By **fall** most families **would** be establishing residence near their winter sites, and caribou, not in their prime, **would** be intercepted **on** their move to the south.

As for the northern Seward Peninsula Eskimos, the Selawik and Kobuk **delta (Noorvik)** people now follow a similar but more restricted subsistence schedule, compared to the past. As is the case throughout the region, most of the resources and methods that promise a substantial payoff considering the investment are **still conspicuous**. Caribou and fish are central mainstays of the locally extracted resource base; sea mammals and the many diverse smaller game resources, like rabbits, ptarmigan and the like, are not utilized today in the proportions they once were. Although many of these other resources that have an ancillary or subsidiary role were once important, they were important chiefly because they filled the gaps in a regime that would have been dangerously marginal if the people relied completely on the large, rich, and normally predictable resources like caribou and fish. Today these gaps are filled by cash and transfer payments. Again, it is too expensive to use gas and other purchased supplies to attempt to extract some of these resources. Nearly all of them are welcome additions to a sometimes monotonous diet, and they still have a high intrinsic **value** to the people. But their overall "purchase" price is now too high, unless they are apprehended **close** to home or in the pursuit of other resources. This 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 into the traditional scheme.

We will discover similar story anywhere we look in the region. The mid- and upper-Kobuk River Inupiat subsistence calendar is much like that of the delta area, except at breakup the emphasis is not on setting up fish camps for the women and children prior to going to the coast for sealing and trade, and later hunting primarily bears. Instead, the fish camps are established prior to the men and older boys heading up one of the north-south Kobuk tributaries. Although some of the men would indeed head for the coast for the trade fair, this was less common, and normally involved those further downriver. For upper Kobuk Inupiat, the best use of invested time and effort was in the summer caribou hunt. The men would be gone nearly all summer, hunting caribou for their sinew, fat and hides. Little meat would be brought back in late summer. Upon returning to the fish camps, the men would assist in salmon fishing and prepare for the fall return to their winter sites. Before freezeup the families would have dispersed and regrouped at excellent fishing sites, where they communally trap and net fish during the rich fall fishery. Often staying at the same site, which would be a semi-permanent winter village of perhaps ten families or more, they would then prepare to corral caribou in the fall when they are returning to the south. Using surround techniques, and even snares or enclosures that herded caribou into lakes where they were easily dispatched, dozens or even hundreds of caribou could be killed before winter. These facts allowed high winter population density in the upriver area. The largest villages in the NANA region at the time of contact were in this area. Winter was a time of relative inactivity, but by spring most families were hungry and would disperse to fend for themselves. Ptarmigan and rabbits provided some food during this period of slow movement downriver to fish camp sites. The major differences between the Kobuk River settlements stem from location: those further upriver received certain fish (i.e., sheefish) at only one time, while downriver they would be available twice; the caribou were also available later in the spring and earlier in the fall upriver, and the caribou intercepted upriver in the fall tended to be larger, and healthier than those intercepted

further down (this is due **simply** to the affects of travel after they leave their summer territory.

Although the Noatak **Inupiat** had readier access to more caribou and naturally exploited them more, the round of activities in this area followed a **similar** formula depending on actual **location** along the river and **local** tributaries. The upriver people were less inclined to travel to the coast for trading, and if far enough upriver would even be more inclined to descend the **Colville** River to the Arctic coasts in the summer. During the summer the lower Noatak people normally descended the river to trade and hunt **beluga** near **Sisualik**, as did some of the upper Noatak people. In late summer the upper Noatak **Inupiat** would ascend the river to fall residence sites where they would hunt caribou and fish. This pattern would continue throughout the winter and spring; interspersed in this calendar would be periods of hunting for small game and birds (ptarmigan primarily). The lower **Noatak** pattern bears a close similarity to the traditional **Kotzebue-Baldwin** Peninsula **subsistence** schedule. The lower Noatak people would return upriver from **Kotzebue** Sound in mid- to **late-summer** when they would establish fish camps for the women and youngsters; the salmon runs on the Noatak tended to run later than on the **Kobuk**, so this chronological **delay** compared to the **Kobuk** case was actually well-timed. The men and older boys would hunt caribou at this **time**. As the fishing season drew to a **close** and after the **fall** fishery, the men would continue hunting, dispersing now and returning later, **while** the women continued to fish through the ice and hunt small game. In early spring the families would move to the coast, taking up residence in the **Sisualik** or possibly Krusenstern areas to hunt seals, especially after the first leads opened in April and May. After breakup they would prepare for summer **beluga** hunting and trade, moving by boat to **Sisualik** if they were not located there already.

In **all** but one major detail, the **Kivalina-Wulik** River **Inupiat** demonstrated a pattern much like those of the lower **Noatak** and **Kotzebue** people. Immediately after breakup many went to the **Sisualik** trade fair, while others moved **inland** to hunt caribou. By fall and before freezeup most had returned and were settled at choice fishing sites along local tributaries. Char were common fish resources during the **fall fishery**. During the **fall** and winter

char, other fish, small game and caribou were the economic mainstays of the area. In early spring before breakup they moved to the rim of the **landfast** ice and hunted seals, retreating to the coast as necessary to escape dangerous ice, continuing with seal hunting until breakup. **At** breakup some families participated **in** the **bowhead whale** hunt, the **only bowhead-oriented** hunt in the NANA region. At about this time they were **also** preparing for the move to **the Sisualik** area for trade.

The transition to today's economy and a complex mixture of **local** resource extraction and wage-and cash practices has been much the same for **all** the **Inupiat** in the region, even given the real exceptions or localized variations we can identify. Although it would be incorrect to say that some subsistence practices have been discarded, it is a fact that **the** intrinsic weighing" or loading individual practices now have is different, and thus the likelihood that **they will** be pursued is different. As noted earlier, "subsistence" takes cash, and it is an expensive proposition. The **Inupiat**, like anyone else, take numerous factors into account in making decisions about sustenance and the domestic economy. Traditional activities **like** ptarmigan hunting, rabbit and muskrat hunting, fish trapping and **the like** are **on** the wane, or have been absent in some areas for many years. Caribou hunting and fish **gill-** and seine-netting, however, are very conspicuous in **all** villages. Today over 60% of the **Inupiat** protein intake and most of their caloric needs are accommodated through subsistence; in many villages **all** of the fresh vegetable produce is gathered, for some families (**cf. NANA Regional Strategy 1979**).

Subsistence practices and wage-cash incomes are tightly integrated in a single economy here; it is in fact misleading to **use** separate terms to **describe** the **whole**. Although many activities are disappearing, **like** trapping and **small** game hunting, they frequently **re-emerge** anew **in** times of economic uncertainty. During the last year when **CETA** and **outher** cutbacks threatened the economic stability of most villages, there was a resurgence of subsistence activities that had been practiced only marginally for many years. Young men were out hunting muskrats for clothing in large numbers; new trap lines were established, and to cut down on outrageous gas prices new dog teams came **into** being. In some villages the number of **Inupiat** mushers has doubled in two years

(McNabb, personal observation). Even given the "snow machine revolution" the numbers of dogs and available sleds has not decreased in the area in the last 15 years (cf. Foote 1965; Moore 1980). They remain an available resource, **one** that people, at least some people, are willing to use again.

Subsistence planning is a strategic process, one that **people in** the **region** consciously reflect upon. It is not uncommon at all for families to mull over their needs for a new boat or a new net for subsistence, or a new rifle or **ammunition** for hunting, and then try to determine how to collect the needed cash. Often an adult son or daughter will be subtly assigned to take a job; they **will** then work just long enough to purchase the items needed. On the other hand people will often evaluate the pros and cons of certain kinds of employment, knowing that they require a job but knowing also that they must integrate their work schedule with hunting and fishing. Each is constantly evaluated in terms of the other; opportunity costs and real rewards are always two-sided. Subsistence is a volatile issue today, both locally and Statewide. Frequently uninformed observers are mystified by the actual practices they see, since it becomes clear very quickly that people do not simply hunt and fish, or alternatively work. One would be hardpressed to find some ideal, truly "traditional" family and village, where all hunted and fish exclusively; not could one find many families of villages where everyone worked for wages. The **blends** are complementary and complex.

The following analysis is drawn, in part from previous CZM and **OCS** work in the NANA region, and illustrates the kind of integration that is typical in the area. The idea that there is subsistence on the one hand, and wages on the other doesn't come close to describing the tight, complementary integration between these economic practices. To describe how these are part of a larger, unified **whole**, an analysis was prepared that looks at subsistence fishing in **Kiana** during **1976**. A daily record was kept by this author of (1) **all** whitefish and **salmon** caught by a sample of seven families, and (2) daily or seasonal activities that went on in the village during the summer. This record was compiled as part of the Kuuvangmuit **NANA-NPS** cooperative study (Anderson, 1976). The purpose of the analysis is to demonstrate from day to day evidence how subsistence activities influence, and are in turn influenced

by, a **large** variety of non-subsistence and even non-economic factors. Figure 1 (below) shows the Kiana fishing record from June 20 - August 23, **1976**. Whitefish are **represented** by the solid line, and salmon by the dotted **line**. **Volume** of the daily harvest is charted against the horizontal axis from the **left** to the right. The parenthetic letters and broken **lines** by them running vertically correspond to other activities or events, and **these** are explained on Table 1, which follows the fishing record.


This record clearly shows how varied a normal summer is in a village. People obviously do not "do" either subsistence or jobs, as if the choice were that distinct. They are involved in **all** sorts of activities, some planned **and others** not, that greatly influence both the **level** of participation **in fishing** activities and the types **of** activities that are carried **out**. **In 1976**, a variety of events and background conditions **hold** the **level** of fishing down until **July 13**, when some seining begins. Weather and holiday activities hold the level of fishing down at the beginning of the summer. Seining and larger harvests pick up in mid-July, but drop off when fire-fighters depart and visitors leave **for Kotzebue (July 25)**. After their return **the** pattern of activities **in the** village again shifts. Bad harvests **lead** to considerable frustration, **and by** the end of August **several people** have departed to look **for** jobs and **local** tension increases. **It** is important to point out that it seems that fishing was the first priority for many of the people; they leave to **look** for **jobs** after the fishing season proves to be **a loss**. Other types **of jobs**, however, seem to be **highly** attractive (fire-fighting). These variations are undoubtedly due to the difference in "cost" for carrying out one kind of activity at the expense of another. Some activities fit better into the summer scheme, allowing a variety of other options and more **flexibility, while** others are more restrictive. **It is** also **clear** that threats to subsistence well-being, as **in** the case of extraordinarily bad harvests, increase stress at the community level.

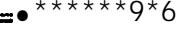
Other recent studies support the conclusions here. Moore (1981) **describes the** special **caribou hunt** allowed in the **Buckland** area recently, and illustrates the connections between subsistence activities and cash very clearly, especially in regard to **the various** costs that allow or prevent

FIGURE NUMBER 1

KIANA 1976 FISHING RECORD

summer seine and set nets

whi tefi sh = 

salmon = 

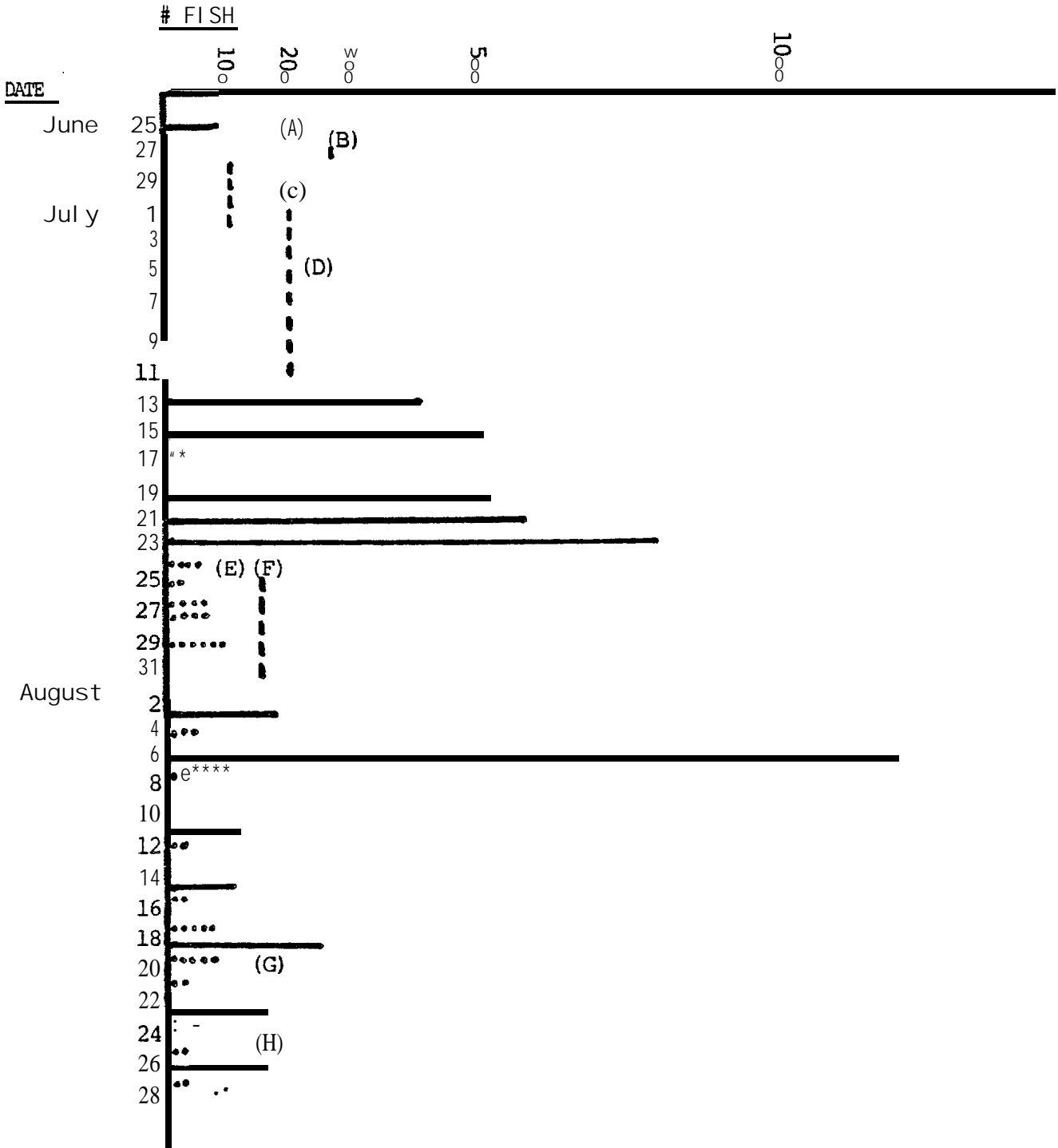


TABLE NUMBER 1

KIANA SUMMER CALENDAR 1976

This calendar is keyed to the **Kiana Fishing Record Chart**. The capital letters and vertical broken lines on the charts refer to other community activities and conditions that were present during the summer fishing season. These other events are charted against the time line on the chart in order to show how **all** of these summer activities intersect and influence one another. The broken lines represent events with a longer duration. "

- (A): Vacation Bible School parties.
- (B): weather **rainy**, high **water**.
- (C): planning begins for 4th **of July** festivities and Bicentennial Celebration, hosted in **Kiana** this year.
- (D): 4th of July festivities, Bicentennial activities, several days.
- (E): BLM fire-fighting **call** for two crews (38) persons; **PHS** sewer work with **local** employment begins.
- (F): **Quarterly Friends** Church Meetings **begin** in **Kotzebue, Kiana** participants depart.
- (G): **local** frustration due to bad fishing harvest; some **local people** leave for **Kotzebue, Fairbanks, Anchorage** to look for **jobs**; **sporadic** drinking sprees **erupt**.
- (H): complaints by residents about local bickering, feuds, and factions increase

people from carrying out the subsistence activities they are accustomed to. Moore (1980) also provides subsistence fishing data from both **Kiana** and Noorvik for **1980** that support the figures used in the **Kiana** fishing record calculations, as well as the earlier (**1972**) harvest base that was used in the regional comparisons.

So localized variation, both between families and chronologically, is pronounced. This variation moreover is far from capricious, but is instead well-timed and coordinated. It is also apparent that **intra-regional** variation is evident. Earlier a comment was made regarding the **neat classifications** found in the literature distinguishing between "sea **mammal** hunters", "caribou hunters", and so on. In fact these distinctions are of the grossest level of generalization. If we were to examine detailed reports of volumes of extracted resources village by village, the clusters of like villages, and **thus** similar orientations by subregional area, will show variations too.

A **1972** survey in the region (**Mauneluk** Association 1974) collected data through personal reports on volumes (in pounds or numbers of animals) of subsistence resources extracted locally for each village. The more recent OCS and CZM projects in the area **re-analyzed** these data in the effort to determine the kinds of similarities or differences that were evident between villages on the basis of overall proportions of different resources. Sea mammals, for instance, were tabulated together and then compared to the other major classifications of resources, i.e., land mammals, and fish. These three main categories were compared statistically using **chi-square** techniques in order to determine how likely the superficial differences in proportions, one category to the other, really were between villages. Animals used for food alone were tabulated; furbearers were excluded for the sake of simplicity in this first order of analysis. The purpose of the analysis is to document at a very provisional level the types of clustering patterns we can see using discrete sets of resources, such as land mammal and fish utilization, or sea mammal and fish utilization, and finally land mammal and sea **mammal utilization**. (cf. McNabb in **Darbyshire & Associates**, 1982; Davis **n.d.**).

•

These comparisons show that there are really at least three basic ways to cluster the NANA villages on the **basis** of subsistence. Each method gives

a different result, based on the kind of differences or similarities one is talking about. In terms of land mammal versus fish use, we arrive at these four categories or clusters of villages:

- (1) **Ambler-Deering-Buckland**
- (2) **Kiana-Selawik-Shungnak-Kobuk-Noorvik-Kivalina**
- (3) **Kotzebue**
- (4) **Noatak**

Each category represents the villages that clump together and are unlike the others. On the basis of sea mammals and fish, these four categories stand out:

- (1) **Ambler-Shungnak-Kobuk**
- (2) **Noorvik-Selawik-Kiana-(Noatak)**
- (3) **Buckland-Deering**
- (4) **Kivalina-Kotzebue**

Noatak is a marginal case here. It fits most closely with the **second group**, but is nearly different enough to have its own category. Categories based on the **land mammal-sea mammal** pattern are:

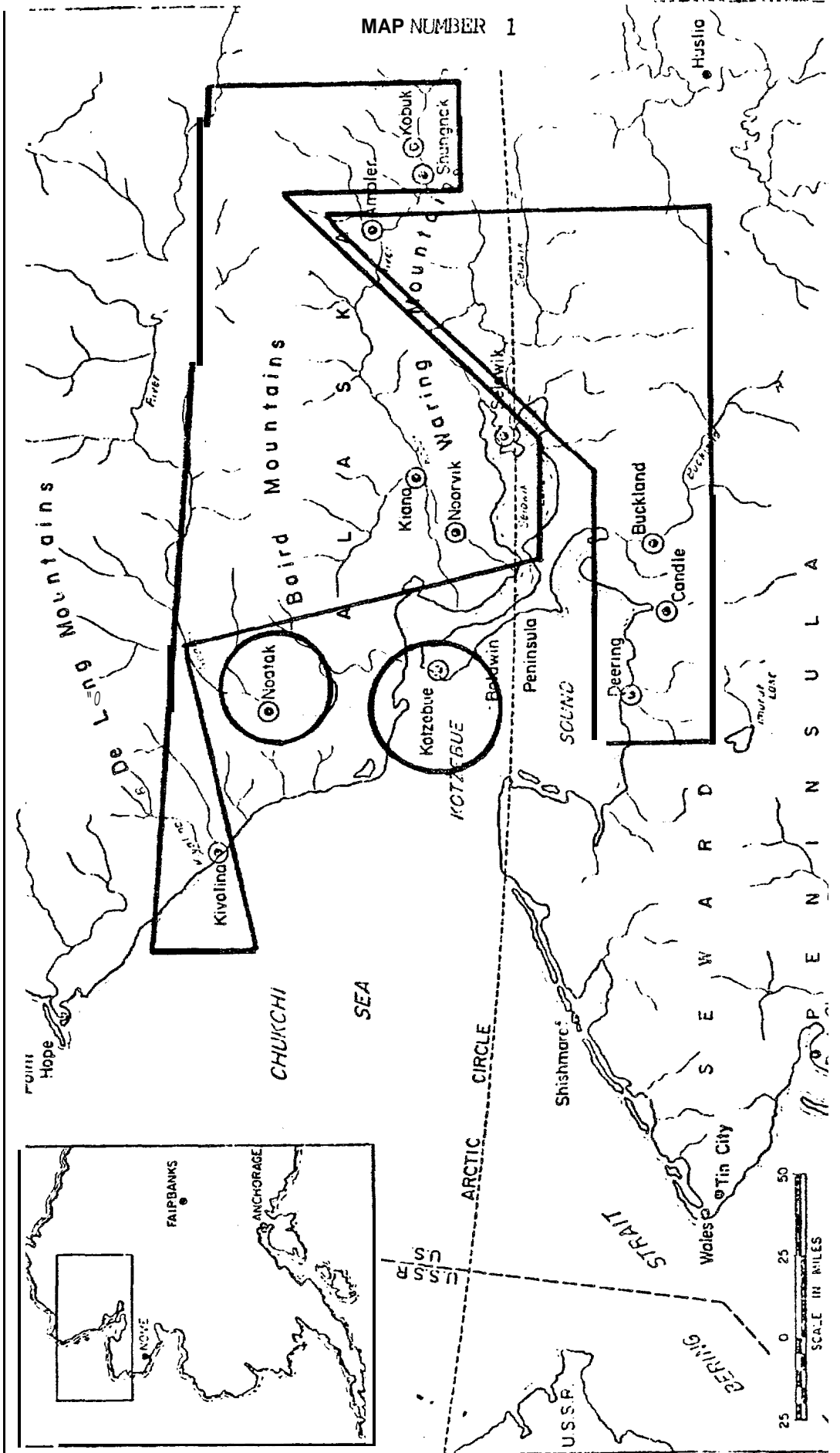
- (1) **Kivalina-Deering-Buckland**
- (2) **Kotzebue**
- (3) **Ambler-Shungnak-Kobuk**
- (4) **Selawik-Kiana-Noatak-Noorvik**

Villages can be grouped in many different ways. It depends on what you need to know, and what your underlying questions are. There is **no** single "good" way to separate out the villages, **just** as there is **no single** "correct" way to gauge how subsistence is changing. Planning, projections, impact forecasting **and** so on need **to** take this information into account. Only rarely **will** some economic change or hazardous **impact** affect 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. The analysis above shows some of these differences, and identifies some of the factors that account for these differences.

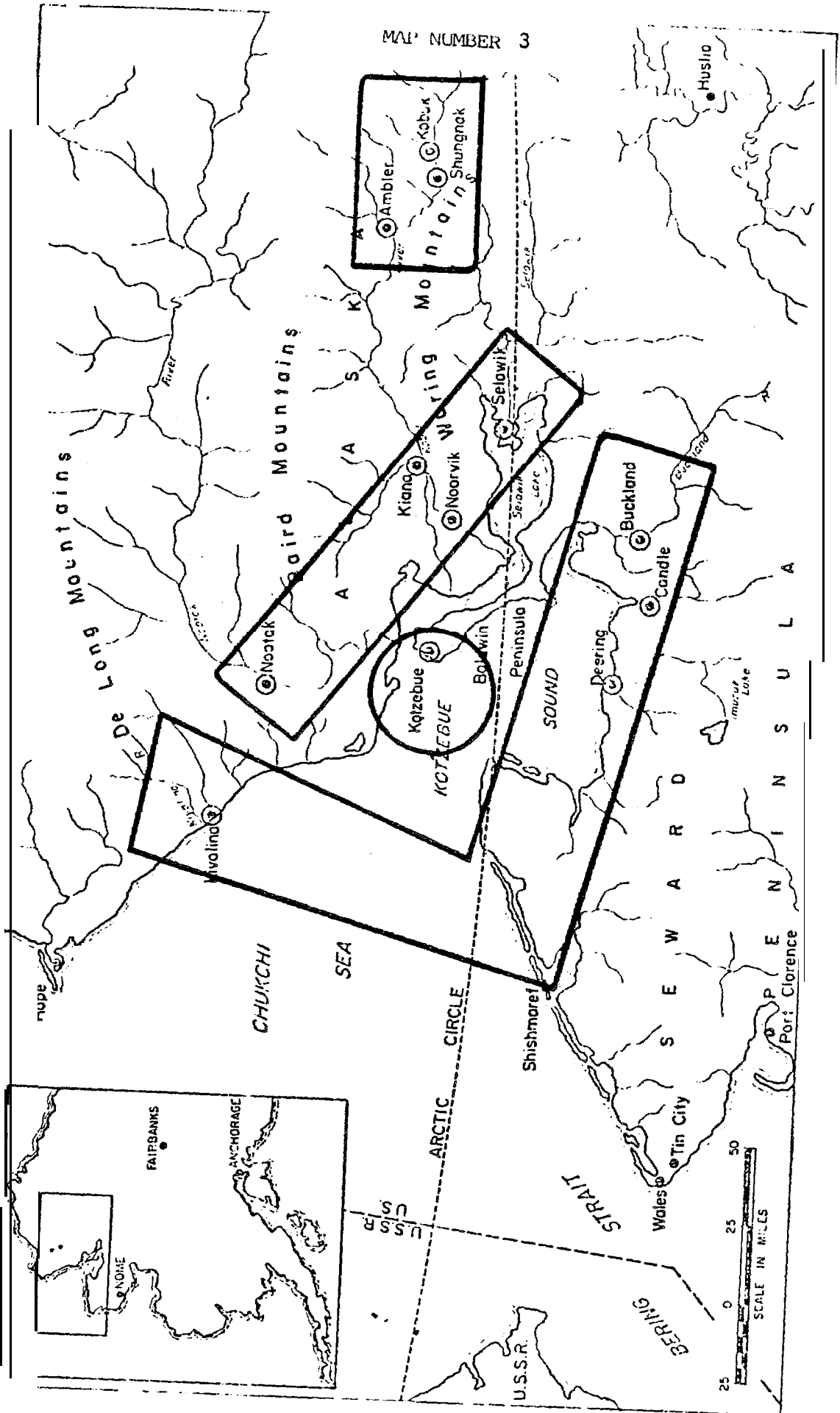
Maps 1, 2, and 3 graphically cluster the villages on the basis of these three kinds of differences. **Map 1** shows the groupings on the basis of land mammal-fish differences. **Map 2** provides a picture of **the** region in terms of sea mammal-fish differences. **Noatak** is partially blocked **off** to show that it is a marginal case. **Map 3** shows the land mammal-sea mammal based clusters of villages.

There aren't any "correct" clusters of villages that we can easily **point** out. Even villages that show very close affinities in history and geographical proximity (like Ambler, **Shungnak** and **Kobuk**) do not cluster together all the time. The point of this brief analysis is that the notion of "regional societies" or "subcultures", or "subregional types" or "lifestyles", does not do justice to the facts. Social scientists, especially culture historians, are fond of designating such "subtypes" and other pockets **of** peoples that show uniform traits and when taken together with others in an area form a mosaic of organized diversity, a diversity that is nonetheless based on discrete pieces. In its own way this idea erects monolithic constructs that are on a similar but lower order of "culture". The details on the NANA region give **us cause** to be **sceptical** of these constructs.

The quantitative and aggregate data on the NANA regional economy will be covered in substantial depth in the second Technical Memorandum and so coverage of these data will be deferred. **It** is important to note at this point, though, that the structure of the economy encourages **local Inupiat** to be suspicious of the cash elements of their economy, and in the long run encourages as well more optimism about the advantages of maintaining a subsistence **local** resource regime. About 88% of the region's economy is based on government funds, in the form of wages, direct and indirect transfer and other payments, and State and Federal grants and contracts. Two-thirds of the regional income is based in **Kotzebue** and the remainder in the outlying villages, while **Kotzebue** represents half the population (Derbyshire and Associates, 1981). Government payments fuel the economy in a very real way, and the air charter services, taxis, Dairy **Queen** and other businesses are totally **dependent on** a continuing **flow** of government money into the region. This is felt acutely by the **Inupiat**, although it is hardly understood and is a constant source of mystery and confusion'. **Cutbacks** come and go, and reliance on wages **would** be, in the minds of most, a foolish decision. Jobs are



MAP NUMBER 3



capricious and **unpredictable**, as the recent CETA cutbacks brought home to **the** people. **Nonetheless** cash is a necessity, even in order to hunt and fish. The ambivalence **and** anxiety people show about money is pronounced; but now, **as probably** in **the** past people see there is no way to escape their dependency **on** this fickle resource.

B. Polity and Social Organization

In **traditional** times the **local** community consisted for the most part of **several** households which represented a fairly **large** family, tightly linked by **bonds** of kinship. Authority was vested in the elders in matters of wide **concern**, while **the umialik**, by reason of proven skill, character and knowledge, **held** a position of respect and leadership. **The angatkuq** was a spiritual and **ceremonial** specialist. Nonetheless, the fundamental authority and leadership **rested** within **each family**; there **were** elements of stratification in this **system** based on riches or prestige, but overall the system was egalitarian. **There was significant** sharing and reciprocity within the community that was **obligatory**, for indeed **it** was at this **level** that kinship connections were most pronounced. Intermarriage and trade relations, as well as territorial **overlap** of a **seasonal** nature, encouraged somewhat weaker but nonetheless **real** bonds of obligation and **mutual** aid between communities and more distant **families**. **Inupiaq values and ideals** formed the framework of ideas and attitudes that made this **system** work and made it meaningful to the people who lived in it (cf. **Burch 1975, 1980; Anderson 1977 ; Smith 1966**). See section **IC** for a treatment of **Inupiaq** world view.

In its most basic form, politics, the economy, social control and education were rooted in the family. Generosity within the family or close kin **group was not a** virtue, but an obligation. **It** extended outwards **to** others, **but** the conditions under which it would be extended tended to be limited. Relationships with namesakes, certain relatives, trading and working partners, **and** so on were close, and might cross hundreds of **miles** of territory. **Cultural values** in general, **qualities** of leadership, harsh environmental conditions **sod-the** uncertainty they promoted, child-rearing practices, all tended to **emphasize** harmony, humor, high **quality performance** and self-reliance, dependency

on the larger group and cooperation, generosity, and sensitivity to others' needs. Equally, they encouraged suspicion of outsiders (those who had no **kinship** connections or other obvious **links to the family** or community), strong needs for the **approval** of others, and a hard-headed pragmatism.

The Northwest Alaskan **Inupiat** developed over the years a complex **but** entirely flexible **and** accommodating system **of** partnerships and **kin-like** relations that created networks of persons one could identify with and **recruit** for mutual aid or merely friendship. Although the closest and tightest affinities obtained between kin, it was possible with notable ease **to** extend these boundaries out to many other people both within the village and beyond. Within the **village**, as noted earlier, the kin group comprised by collateral **and affinal** extension encompassed most **of the** inhabitants. **Obligations and** sources of **mutual** support at this **level** were obligatory, especially for close blood relatives. Orphans or transients frequently had few or no sources of assistance, and were on occasion **trated** with hostility or exploited unless they were **clever** enough to crest **partnerhsip** bonds within the community.

The **Inupiat** had a number **of** different partnership categories, ranging from **generic** types ("**piqatigiik**" = **dual** number, 'people together' or '**partners**') that represented any sort **of** partnership, to others that were restricted in meaning and substance and available to **only** few people. An example would be "**suruqqatigiik**" (**dual** number, '**share** everything partners'), a form of partnership that was restricted **to** non-kin and involved the complete unrestricted sharing of **all** possessions and complete cooperation in **all** endeavors. Although **all** partnerships were technically restricted to non-kin, the degree of relationship that counted as "non-kin" is unclear, and in most cases many exceptions were allowed. For the **latter** example, **this** was not the case; the partners must be **able** to unearth no evidence of any relationship. This example is also locally considered to be a special relationship that was **an** exemplar of **the** true partnership; furthermore **it** was considered to be a feat to develop, a relation that **might** emerge after years of other sorts of partnership activities. It was thus in most normal cases restricted to the elderly." Many other types existed, for instance fishing and hunting partnerships, traveling partnerships, and wife-sharing partnerships (the latter was

normally associated with a pre-existing hunting partnership among the male spouses, and was not open to **alltakers** as the literature seems to indicate in other areas) (cf. Anderson, 1977, **Burch, 1975**).

The **Inupiat** are well known for their trading partnerships, a bond that served to **connect** persons **living** far from one another and that allowed goods found in localized areas to pass to others; for instance, seal oil and **beluga** from the coast, traded inland for pelts or dried fish. The author's work in the past (**McNabb**, personal observation) indicates that this relationship was probably not a true partnership, at least not in the NANA region. "Barter", per se, was not a partnership; it **was** a straightforward economic transaction that carried none of the emotional freight as did true **partnerships**. A trading partnership per se is probably a misnomer. People would exchange goods within the village or between very **close** villages, but in conjunction with the actual harvest; this **would** have the appearance of a trading partnership, and people would volunteer that it was partnership. But then upon closer inspection it is found **almost** uniformly that it is **coterminous** with a fishing or hunting partnership. In fishing and hunting partnerships, the proceeds of the harvest are shared equally between partners regardless of the role each played. One partner may borrow a net, or today a few gallons of gas to go seining. Upon returning, the active partner **would** turn over **half** of the fish to the partner who may have done nothing besides providing the net or gas. In most cases partners work together and divide the proceeds, but this is not strictly necessary. In fact this relation verges on other sorts of purely economic transactions that the people here also recognize. For instance, the loan of a net to a person you are not partners with is considered "staking" the other party; the person loaning the net **will** also expect half the proceeds or the equivalent at a **later** date. There are many localized variations of these patterns, and the main common denominator for true partnership is **regularization**. The joint efforts recur **at** regular **and** frequent intervals.

Other "fictive" relations are evident today, although most are disappearing or already have. Soul-names (**inua**), a name given to a **child** in **addition.to** his or her profane title, are rare today if they exist at all. But namesake relations (**atiq**) are very strong. Not only will children be named for others, **normally** for a **recently** deceased relative, but there is

some conscious attempt **to** make sure that the name is the same as others in neighboring villages. **An Inupiaq** person who has the same name as another is considered to enjoy a marginal but real kinship with the other person; in a sense, they are the same, or at least share some of the same traits that names are thought to confer. Because naming attaches the child to the person he or she is named for, and **allows the** deceased person to live again **in** a vicarious **manner**, then **all** with the same name are somehow the same person. This is not reincarnation in any sense, but is at one and the same time **a** method for keeping **the** deceased in **living** memory, maintaining continuity in the family, and anchoring the child in the past; it is also part of a **strategy** for creating bonds outside the family, since an atiq is apt to **call** on other namesakes **in** other villages in time of need if other closer kin are inaccessible. **It** is another network-building **mechanism** (Oswalt 1967, Anderson 1977; McNabb, personal observation).

Although **Inupiaq social** structures have undergone tremendous alteration in the **last 100** years, the kinship-based relations and obligations, the village-specific identity, and mutual aid and assistance networks remain **relatively** strong. Leadership and social organization processes are a different situation. **Although** the **role of** "strong" families remains central to current politics and in **all local** institutions, the traditional style of leadership is eroding rapidly. New institutions have taken the place of traditional dispute resolution mechanisms, organizing principles, child-rearing techniques, spiritual practices, and health care. In many cases these institutions are simply **an** overlay, a thin veneer over Eskimo ways of doing **things** that are **still** quite strong; children, for instance, **still** learn primarily by precept and respond **weakly** at best to the hierarchical bureaucratic education institutions in which self-assertion is encouraged and over instruction is practiced. Although **Inupiaq** leadership is achieved in large part **by** personal charisma, as it was in the past, today's requirements for leadership include facility in English and Western economic and other bureaucratic systems. Successful leadership today calls for acculturated Natives who are willing to be assertive, bold and competitive; a strong **family** helps in recruitment for support, but it is hardly necessary in the long run. Today's successful leaders may share many attitudes and goals in common with their neighbors, but leaders are drawn in **many** instances from families with roots

in the early commercial merchant families, who were in the vanguard of first sustained contact in the region.

Today polity and social organizational processes tend to centralize powers and institutional authority at regional hubs (Kotzebue in this case), and thence outward with stronger rather than diminished links to outside bureaucracies, whereas in the past these powers and responsibilities were vested in the individual family and secondarily in the community (a **fluid** entity at best). This process of institutionalization is common to most colonial settings around the world, and is notable in the NANA region.

Institutionalization has accelerated, and it is more immediate and visible, but there has been a major change in the last two decades: **the level** of Native participation on these organizations has increased, and a variety **of** new Native organizations have formed. A year after the Northwest Alaska Native Association formed to engage in land **claims** activities, the **K.D.C.** (**Ki ki ktagruk** Development Corporation) organized in 1967 under grants through the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. In **1971** the NANA Regional Corporation was formed and aligned itself with the Northwest Alaska Native Association; village corporations were also organized, and **all** save the **Kotzebue** corporation (**K.I.C.**) merged with NANA in 1975. In 1972 the Northwest Alaska Native Association was separated from NANA Regional Corporation and renamed **Mauneluk** Association, becoming the non-profit organization to develop social programs. The Kotzebue Area Health Corporation incorporated in 1973, and then merged with **Mauneluk** Association in **1975**. The manpower and training branch of **Mauneluk** Association had **by** 1980 separated from **the parent** corporation, forming **Mauneluk** Manpower.

Under the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, individual villages have formed **IRA** Councils (Tribal Governments). With the exception of Noatak, all villages are incorporated as second-class cities. In **Kotzebue**, which for many years was dominated by whites on the City Council (Smith 1966), Native participation in city government has increased. The establishment **of a Rural** Education Attendance Area in the region in 1976 boosted the **level** of Native participation in official organizations in Board or advisory capacities. These multiple **overlays** and checkerboards of authorities and

organizations have led to much confusion **in** the region, as is natural. The unique Alaskan **dual** form **of** government, with city councils on one side (recognized by the State but ignored by the Federal Government) and IRA Councils **on** the other (recognized by the Federal Government but ignored by the State), lead **to** complex planning and administrative problems for villagers. Participation **or** lack of participation in these institutions is frequently **a political** statement in itself. **Noatak** chose not to incorporate as a city precisely 'to avoid some of these problems, but most notably to continue exclusive IRA, Government organization which, as opposed to city government, **would allow** them to control the entry of Whites into their village (**McNabb**, personal observation).

C. Worldview

The strengths **that** recent social developments in the NANA Region have focused on, those of cooperation, sharing, respect, sensitivity to others, concern for elders, knowledge of the environmental (**NUNA Vol. 2, No. 2, 1981**), are truly traditional values. Not **only** are these values central to the **Inupiat** of the NANA region, **they** represent **an almost** verbatim **list of** esteemed **qualities** and ideals among **Inupiat** everywhere (cf. **Briggs 1970**). The Eskimos have shown their cultural interest in these properties 'in everything from child-rearing practices to an extensive **Inupiaq** vocabulary dealing with concern, **nurturance**, fondness **and** appreciation, hospitality, confidence, **intellect** and awareness. The language equally demonstrates the negative connotation of insult, greed, envy, boasting, loneliness, and egotism.

These concepts, or rather the values and underlying attitudes that they point to, signify **what** wisdom, proper adjustment, and the "good **life**" stem from and mean in **Inupiaq** culture. In other words, they direct our attention to the Eskimo worldview or ethos. They are the ingredients of a proper **life and** outlook on the **world; the** positive elements of this roster represent the virtues **to be** fostered, idealized and hopefully achieved by **Inupiat**, just as their antonyms represent proscribed forms of life experience, personal or interpersonal states **to be** avoided.

Jean **Briggs'** study of Canadian Eskimo interpersonal style and adjustment (1970) is an extremely illuminating documentation of Eskimo worldview, one that is relevant to Eskimo societies everywhere. The delicacy and tact in interaction, concern for others, cooperation and sharing, self-sufficiency and non-assertiveness, and other qualities that she teases out of her observations bear striking resemblances to the elements of Northwest Alaskan **Inupiat** ethos. But there is **little** reason to believe that these qualities as they stand are relevant to all Eskimo societies without qualification. Her own comparative studies show that Eskimo aggression management, for instance, is significantly different from one Canadian group to another. Even looking **only** at Alaska, the literature shows conspicuous **discontinuities** from place to place. Speaking of Eskimos in general, **Oswalt (1967:205)** says that:

"An **adult** was expected to fit unobtrusively into his community".

Another observer states that:

"Rivalry is expected to be of the good-natured kind, never psychologically injurious. **..Modesty** being an important virtue, one should not flaunt one's skills (Chance **1966:74**).

An observer at Barrow states that: .

"Argumentative or quarrelsome persons were ignored" (Spencer **1959:160**).

Yet other observers say that:

"Eskimo social life was rife with competition and violence" (**Graburn** and Strong 1979:166).

and the same Barrow observer **later** can say:

"Competition marked by aggression was the clear keynote of the traditional society" (Spencer **1979:72**).

It **is** difficult at first blush to reconcile these inconsistencies. **Al-**though it is true that the **Inupiat of Alaska did** practice warfare at times, and did indeed have outlets for displaying an assertive form of boasting and competition, these were exceptions or irregularities. It seems that it is most likely that the self-sufficient, nurturant, cooperative qualities **noted** by **Briggs** in Canada and other observers in Alaska were, and are, the "clear **keynotes**" of the Eskimo ethos.

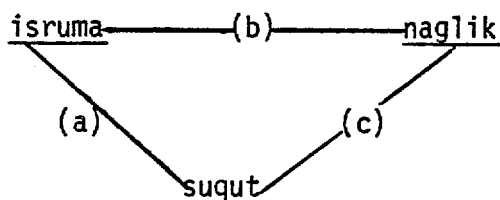
Some researchers (Burch 1980; Smith 1968) have suggested that these qualities are **only** partly true as applied **to** the **Inupiat** of Northwest Alaska. They **feel** that the wide-spread kinship connections and feelings of **mutual** assistance that cross **large** territories **are** not traditional, but are rather the **result** of **large** population movements at **the** end **of** the **19th** century that blended **a** variety **of** very distinct **societies, all of which** were separate and, to a degree, hostile to one another. The Eskimos of the area, far from **being** a "peaceable, friendly people" were "aggressive fighters who had' developed a relatively elaborate pattern of conducting warfare" (Burch 1980: 272). The friendly, open, outgoing exterior one sees today was an adaptation to interaction with **Western** society; although they displayed these characteristics to **family** members, the **Inupiat** were in other settings aggressive, competitive, tough and emotionally restrained.

The **Inupiat** clearly **feel** different **kinds** of obligations and sentiments toward their very **close** kin compared with others, especially outsiders, as any **local Inupiaq will tell** you. But the descriptions that some researchers have prepared exaggerate these differences. Factions exist today that are **based** on long-standing **family feuds** and village differences, and the affinity that **local** people **feel** for' the village **of** origin, **and** most of **all** the family, is very strong. Nonetheless, underlying these differences are basic **Inupiaq** codes of conduct and values that **cut** across **blood lines**. This seems to be the case today, and was probably the case one hundred and more years ago. Outsiders are suspect today as they were many years ago; sentiments are strongest within the **family** and rapidly **dilute** as you move beyond those boundaries. But **the** "outsider" group is now more clearly defined as **non-Inupiaq**, and the relations that exist between **the** Eskimos today and these values of **harmony**, generosity, cooperation, and responsiveness are current. They are **in** jeopardy, but **real**. Prime responsibilities are **still** focused on **the family** and village peers, but the "ideals" of all-round Eskimo qualities are **those** that are **displayed** equally to **all**. One may act differently with kin compared with whites, but **all** of these actions are uniquely and thoroughly Eskimo.

TheSe- traits or preferred qualities and virtues are not strung together haphazardly, but are integrated within emotional and cultural structures that

tie one to another, and make **it** "sensible" and meaningful to be non-assertive, sharing, **nurturant**, calm and accepting, self sufficient, and highly dependent on the attitudes and feelings of those around you. Research by the author points to the existence of a tripartite scheme of constructs that inform an Eskimo philosophy of adjustment and social behavior. The major of central **Inupiaq** emotional concepts and ethical **virtures** are linguistically derived from, or are perceived to cluster around, three basic meanings: these include **Isruma** (in coastal dialects **isuma**), which signifies thinking, thought, **rationality** reason, intellect and the like; **naglik**, which signifies **love**, mercy, compassion, pity and care; and **suqut**, which represents attentiveness to others, awareness in an active sense. Each is a root stem without linguistic elaboration, and dozens of words in common usage are derived from them. **Isrumaaluk**, for instance, is **etymologically** "bad thought" but means **worry**. Each base concept is the kernel upon which both negative and positive **concepts** are built.

These concepts are thought to form a three part structure, the interrelations between which flesh out the bulk of the inventory of valued and shunned Eskimo emotional or personal states.



It is further apparent that **isruma** in simple terms represents mental strength; **naglik** signifies emotional **states**, covert and interior conditions; and **suqut** stands for the active behaviora?, **social** sphere. In **general** terms it seems that the intersection of these major elements are significant; the intersection (a) of **isruma** and **suqut** could be signified by **law**, a product of rationality and social obligation. **The** intersection of **isruma** and **naglik** (b) could be glossed as personal maturity and inner balance. (c), the intersection of **naglik** and **suqut**, **could** best be summed up as morality and ethics, given that it represents social obligation and emotional commitment. These linguistic bases, **incidentally**, are closely related to the terms that **Briggs** found, **namely isuma, naklik, and huqu.**

Nearly **all** mental states, emotions, social obligations and the like are related to these basic constructs in the **Inupiaq** scheme of things. Cooperation is an act predicated on mental maturity, attentiveness to others' needs, and emotional responsiveness; cooperation> though is not a virtue per se, especially not among **kin**. **It is** an obligation, or more properly **an act that** flows in an obligatory, and really automatic, manner from the other traits, traits that are presumed to be present if a person is mature and proper. **Non-**assertiveness is a **style** of behaving that **flows** naturally from these traits, since a proper person doesn't need **to** be assertive (they are self-sufficient in their own **minds-isruma**), since you are attentive to others' feelings (**suqut**) and feel enough compassion (**naglik**) for them to avoid such acts that detract from others and draw attention to oneself. A well-adjusted person does not **dwell** on problems but instead withdraws from them or accepts them, since worry represents a bad thought. The last example may be thought to be linguistic determinism, but is not. Many **Inupiat** are quite conscious of the fact that mental maturity represents a state of being' in which one knows how much to think about a problem, and when to stop thinking about it. Too much though, too much consideration given to a problem is a sign of **instability** or childishness. The literature and personal-anecdotes of many **observers** show that "thinking too much" is a sign of a troubled mind, and even pathology given the **Eskimo worldview (Briggs 1970; Brady 1975; McNabb, personal observation; McNabb 1980)**

The **Inupiaq worldview, in** contrast to many if not most of the more tangible elements of their culture, remains very strong **in** Northwest Alaska. Although this system of meanings and beliefs is vulnerable to change due to its dissimilarity to Western constructs (which underlie the curricula of schools, the unconscious agenda of helping services, especially counseling, and others), it remains the **plan of** life that most children are raised **with**. Most **Inupiat** are of course unconscious **of** this fact, and **certainly** the **majority** of **Whites in** the region are unaware of' it too. **But** because **this** ethos **is** the **filter** that Eskimos employ to interpret and evaluate **life** experiences around them, **Inupiaq worldview** probably represents a key research topic in any investigation of how **Inupiat** apprehend and **deal** with **people** around them and ongoing **culture** change.

2. Cultural Change and Persistence

A. Demographic Shifts and Mobility

The history of the region has frequently been seen as one of constant catastrophe and abrupt change, especially since prolonged contact with Western society began. **Unfortunately we** have little solid evidence about the lives of people in the region before the turn of the century. Some experts and researchers have attempted to reconstruct elements of social life prior to this time, however. Ray (1967, 1975) and **Burch (1980)** both agree that there were in fact a number of distinct societies in Northwest Alaska before the turn of the century. Ray chose the term "tribes", while **Burch** preferred the term "societies". In any event, both were trying to emphasize that there were a number of politically and socially distinct groupings in the area, each with its own dialect, its own territorial boundaries, its own routine "of subsistence and ecological adaptations, its own limited kinship network. Each was largely autonomous and separate. Their separate subregions were presumably jealously guarded, and trespass by outsiders even from an adjoining subregion was cause for serious repercussions in many instances.

The situation we see today, according to **Burch** and Ray, in which **there are** extensive kinship connections between communities and regions, and in which there is fairly easy access from one area to another for visitors and **travelling** hunters and fishers, is very recent and not typical of the traditional pattern. The patterns we see today are the product of enormous changes that occurred after the 1850's. The information that Ray and **Burch rely** on is made up chiefly of reports from people in the Seward Peninsula-Northwest-Arctic **Slope** areas who have some memories of what their parents and grandparents say it was like before the Whites first arrived.

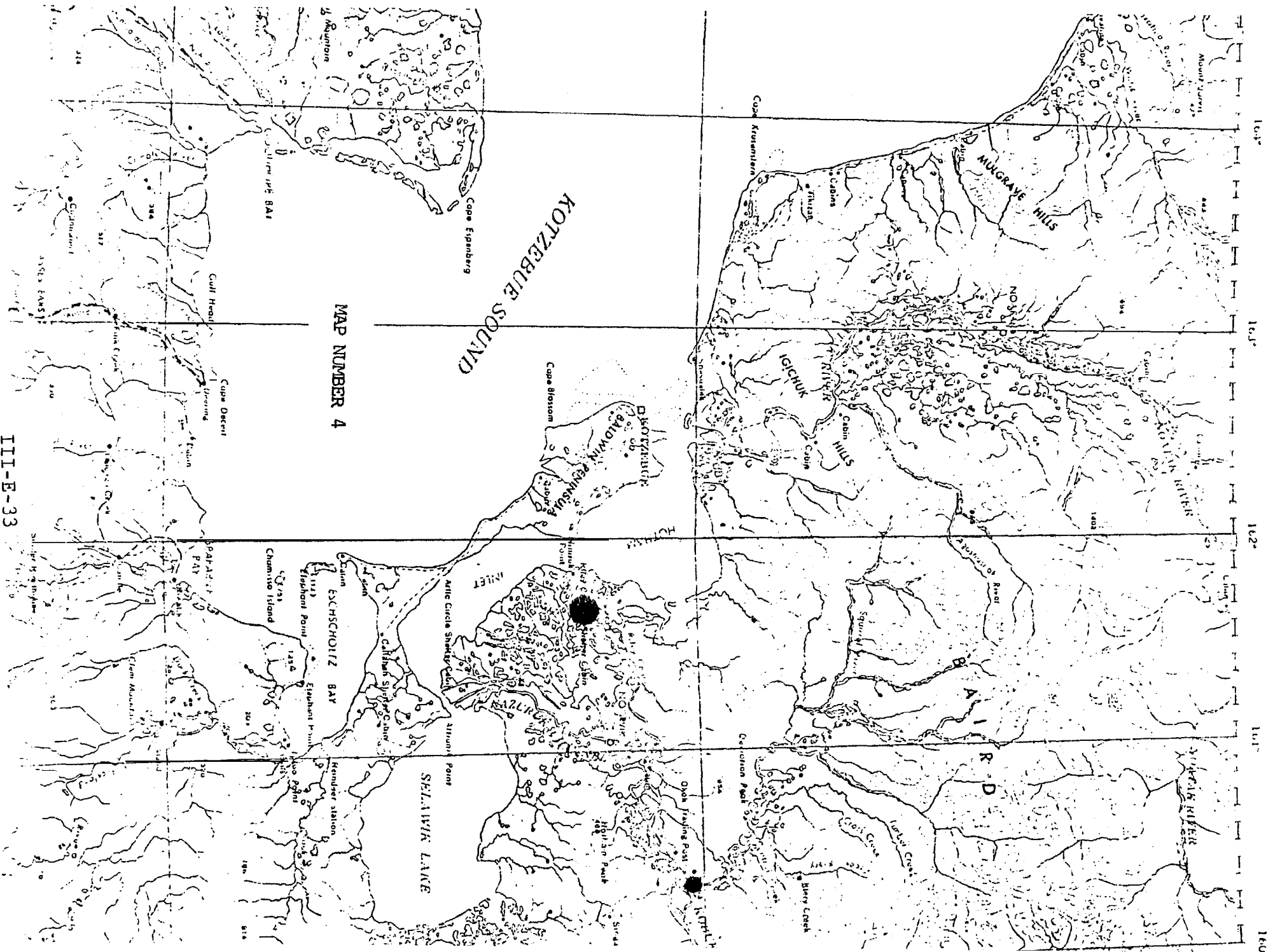
Burch (1980:286-295) identifies ten original **Inupiaq** societies that existed independently in the NANA region during the 1800's. They are: **Kivalina**, Lower Noatak, Upper Noatak, Kotzebue, **Kobuk** Delta, Middle **Kobuk**, Upper Kobuk, **Selawik**, **Buckland**, and Goodhope Bay (near **Deering**). According to his data, **all** of these societies began **to** fragment in the middle of the 19th century; furthermore, **Kivalina** society was nearly exterminated during the

famine of 1882-84, **Kobuk** Delta society was exterminated during the same famine, most of Kotzebue society was exterminated at this time, and most of the Lower **Noatak** society met the same fate. All of the other societies suffered to some degree during this famine, and those that survived **somewhat intact** were **nearly** completely dislocated by the **Kobuk** area gold rush of **1898**, **thereby losing** what independence and autonomy they had.

Although the effects of **early** dislocation in the **19th** century, the famine of 1882-84, and the 1898 gold rush cannot be discounted, it is **likely** the catastrophic and permanently disruptive effects attributed to these events have been overstated. Although we have few hard data to review in order to defend this assertion, it **should** be noted that there are few hard data to support the catastrophe theory. The census data compiled during the **1880**, 1890 and **1900 census** efforts are inaccurate, but by referring **to the** original field schedules used to collect the data we at least have access **to** a more primary source of data. The following analysis will review the **Kobuk** River population **elusively**.

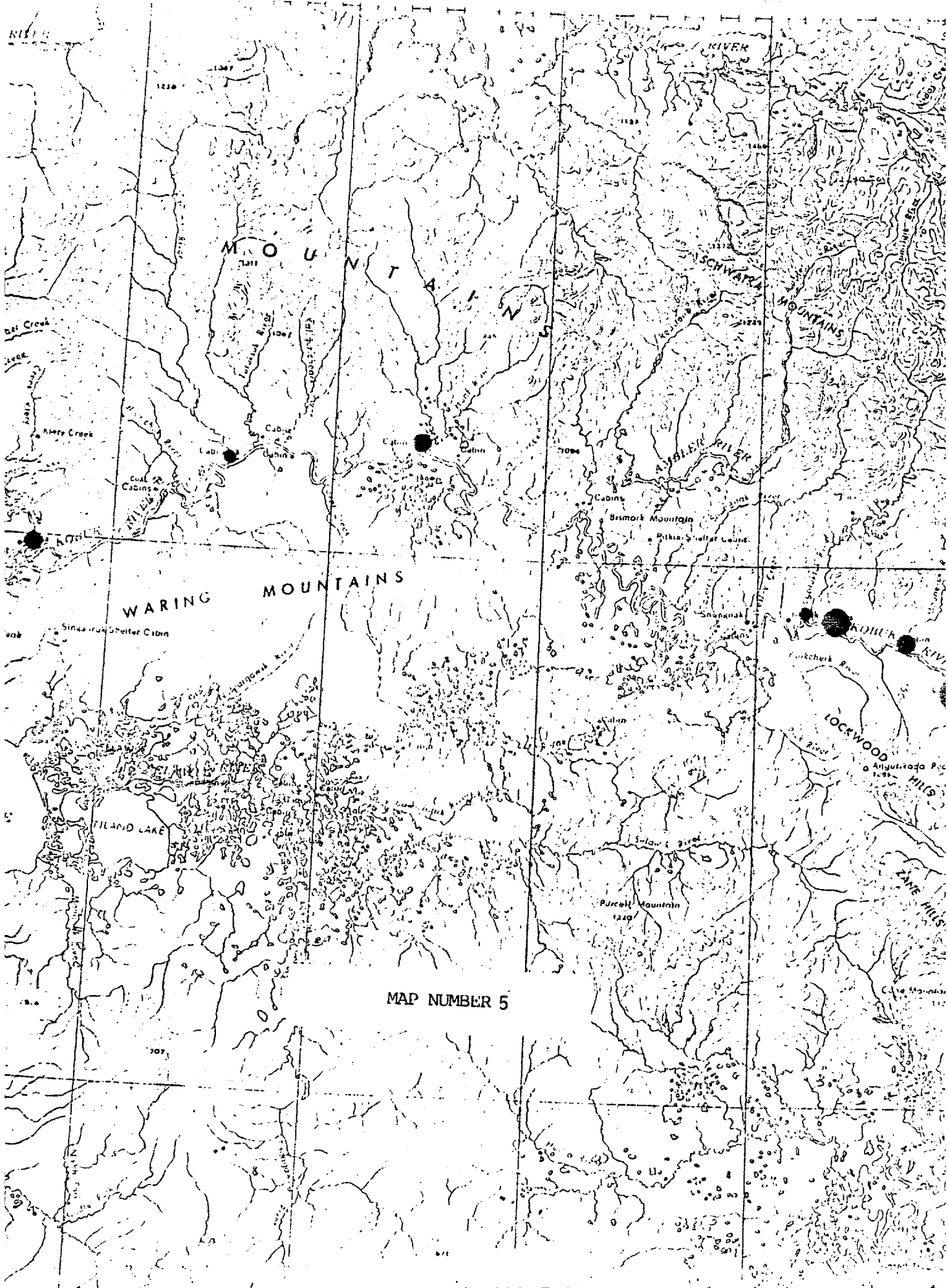
The **field** schedules (United **States Census Office 1902**) list a population of 100 in the **Kobuk** delta, 45 **at** the mouth of the Squirrel River, 23 at the mouth of the Salmon **River**, 40 at the Hunt River, 25 at the **Kogoluktuk** River, **99** in the "**Kallamute**" district (at the old **Kalla or Qalla** site), **69** in the **Kolete-Kulver** district (near the mouth of the **Mauneluk** River), **117** at the Pah River, and **16 at** the mouth of **the** Reed River. This gives a total **Kobuk** River population **of 534**. The **delta** area that was enumerated would correspond to **Burch's Kobuk** Delta region; **Burch's Middle Kobuk** would correspond to the Squirrel River mouth to the Hunt River. The Upper **Kobuk region would** extend past the Hunt **River to** the Reed **River**. The **distribution** of the **Kobuk** population in **1899** is represented on Maps 4 and **5**; the size **of** the dark points is **roughly** equivalent to **relaive** population size. The Reed **River** community is not shown on the maps, and is **to** the east of the **Pah** River site on Map 5.

These figures were compiled one year after the **Kobuk gold** rush and fifteen years after the famine of 1882-84. **These** figures, therefore, should **provide** the first written, solid documentation of the disruption and mortality



MAP NUMBER 4

III-E-33



MAP NUMBER 5

that resulted from these great events. The figures are obviously far lower than the estimates **Burch** gave for 1840, but they can **tell** us more than that if we accept two assumptions: **(1)** dislocation **will** be evident in **family** structure and community make-up at the time, and **(2)** two groups normally suffer most in famines and similar catastrophes (like epidemics); the very young and the very old. In other words, we should expect to find wider dislocation (transients and the like) **in** the areas hit the hardest, and we should expect to see diminished **numbers** of youngsters and elderly or an otherwise disrupted family structure.

A review of the family data shows an average family size of about 5.6, which is precisely what the **NANA** region average family size was in **1970** and about **10% larger** than **it** is now. Although this figure is undoubtedly lower than estimates of what the traditional family size was, there is very little evidence for a series of calamities of the scope suggested. **The** records of birth dates in this census must be viewed with some skepticism, but **there** are no conspicuous gaps in the age distributions in this population. The field records also listed "lodger", a **category** of resident who was **living** **in** a household or site but was unrelated to the other residents. **All** others were categorized by kinship (mother, father, uncle, **sons**, etc.). Following the first assumption (above), we should expect to find large numbers and uneven distributions of these "lodgers". As a matter of fact, lodgers represent almost exactly 10% of the **population** at each **Kobuk** site except for **Kogoluktuk** (16%) and Reed Rivers (**0%**). **To** make full sense of the data we would need to know precisely how lodgers were defined; it is unlikely that they were **truly** unrelated, and more **likely** that they were more distantly related and **simply** not a part of the regular residential unit. If this were the case, it would not be much different from today's situation **in** which **there are large** numbers of **temporary lodgers in** people's homes in every village.

There was, however, a series of large-scale population movements in the region and from the region near the turn of the century. These movements, though, probably did not start until 1900 or soon afterwards. Their causes are due-in part to these historical crises, but are due to other factors as well. The decline in the caribou herd late in the 19th century, epidemics

that were especially severe on the Arctic coast at the same time, and the economic opportunities provided by the presence of **Western** whalers in the Barrow to Herschel Island area, also served to draw people from the interior Northwest region to the north. By 1885 the original population of the Arctic coast had been **halved** due to disease, and this situation created a Population vacuum that migrants from the upper **Noatak** and **Kobuk** Rivers started to **fill**; in addition, close to 170 whalers wintered over between Barrow and Herschel Island from **1889** to 1914 (Foote **1964**). There were far more caribou in this area, and moreover the **whalers** who wintered over needed fresh **meat** which they would pay for in goods. The Arctic coastal area and the adjacent interior hinterlands became attractive sites for settlement by migrants from the South.

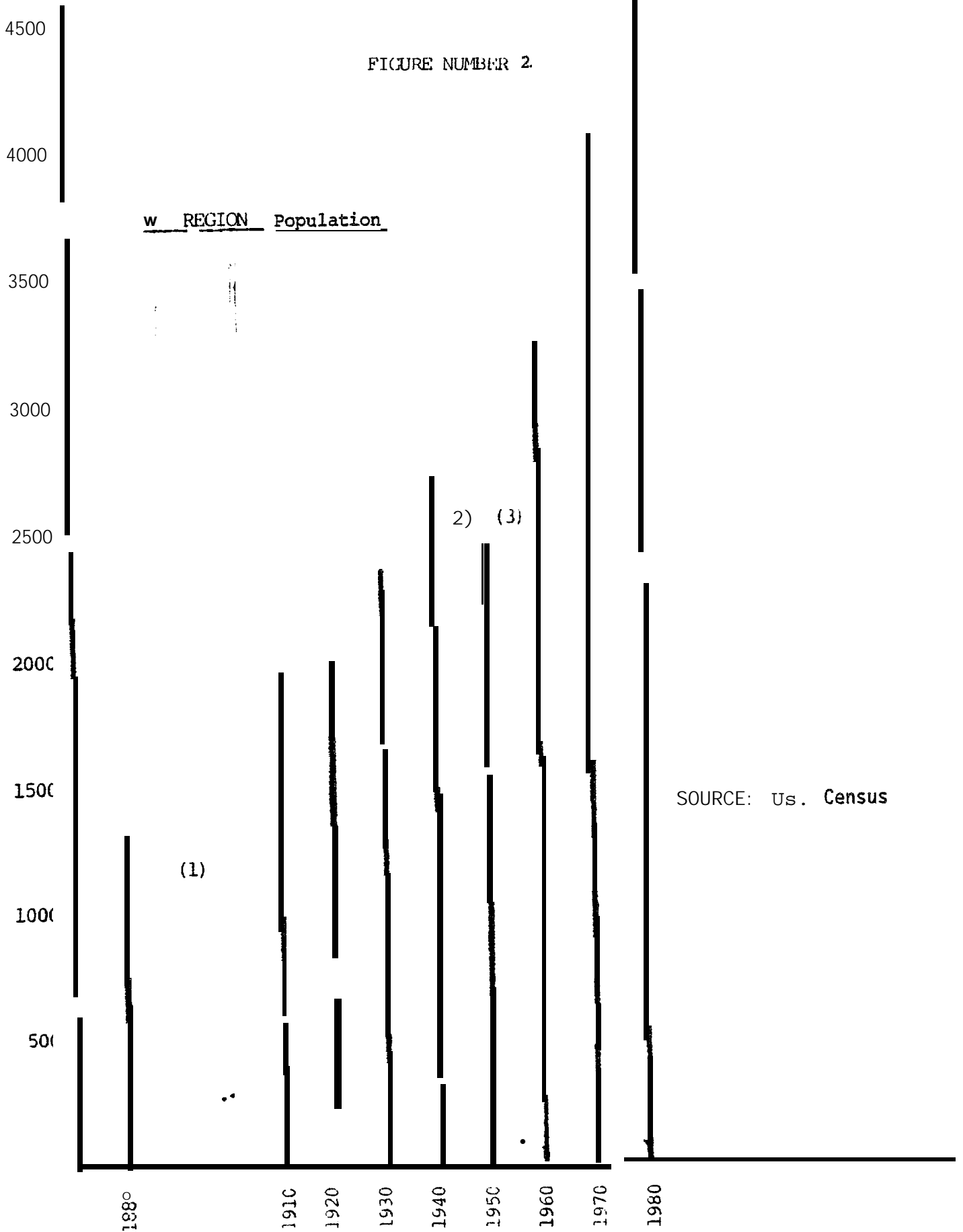
The whaling trade provided short term security for the **Inupiat** migrants, but security that was based on a fragile market. In addition, **high social** and economic costs were exacted by this adaptation. By the time the bottom dropped out of the whaling trade during the first decade of the 20th century, the Eskimos were **left with** a stronger **dependence on** imports and a depleted resource **base**. After **1906**, however, the fox **pelt market became** more lucrative while the whaling trade dropped off. The Canadian posts were **easily accessible**, and offered lower prices on goods than the interior posts due to water transport which was now possible (previously the posts were stocked by **overland** routes). The Mackenzie **delta**, as noted earlier, was also a population void and at the same time an area incredibly **rich in** fox and other resources. A movement into Canada began. Judging by current population figures for the Mackenzie delta and average birth rates, it is possible that over 200 **Kobuk** and **Noatak** Eskimos relocated to Canada during this period. This number represents **in excess of 15%** of the NANA region population at that time, and probably represents one-third of the **Kobuk** and **Noatak** populations during the same periods. **Stefansson (1913:71)** noted that the majority of the Eskimos at Cape Smythe during **this** time were from the upper **Colville**, **Noatak** and **Kobuk** Rivers. **Gubser (1965)** described a similar migration for many of the interior **Nunamiut** of the Brooks range and inland valleys. The point to be made from these movements **is that**, although disaster and hardship were powerful factors in changing the lives of **Inupiat** here, the picture one is left with is one of mobility, pragmatic thinking, and flexible **economic** adaptation on the part of these

people. It would be too pessimistic **to** look at history as a story of **people** always fleeing from calamities they have no control over. The history seems **to** be a chronicle **of** widespread, conscious adjustment and accommodation to rapid change. These people very quickly made fundamental changes **in their** lifestyles in order to maximize the things they wanted out of life. Conditions were dreadful, but they were not helplessly at the mercy of forces they could not understand. Judging by the course of history in **an** objective sense, it seems they understood these forces quite **well**.

Intra-regional population and demographic changes **are** summarized below. Figure 2 outlines the entire NANA region population for the last 100 years. Because census figures are nearly useless for 1890 and 1900, those decades are deleted entirely. The population as it was enumerated increased by 48% between 1880 and 1910, or just less than 15% per decade. Although this increase may be the result of **better** enumeration methods, it does give one a pause when we recall the assertions of exterminations of entire regional societies during this time period. (1) refers to this block of time. (2) indicates the first major documented drop in population. Occurring during the war, this drop is associated with & remigration (largely by Whites, most probably, from the Seward Peninsula mining districts) and the first effects of TB in the region. (3) marks the beginning of a recovery in population and rapid growth in the post-war period (cf. Alaska Planning **Council** 1940; Craig 1976).

While looking at the entire NANA region population, we should add that until the 1920's this doesn't **really** represent a village-based population at all. In 1910, well over half of the NANA population did not live in enumerated villages but instead in seasonal camps. By **1920** the proportion had dropped to one quarter, and by 1930 to one fifth. In **1950** only 4% of the population did not live in **formal** villages. The aggregation of the population in villages and away from traditional camps is a **very** recent phenomenon, one that has occurred **within living** memory (McNabb 1981). Map 6 illustrates the distribution of recognized semi-permanent settlements in the Kotzebue Sound Area in 1939 (Alaska Planning Council 1940). All of these sites are traditional. In 1880, **the small** coastal villages spread up the coast from Cape **Krusenstern** to **Kivalina** accounted for over 15% of the entire NANA population, and even in 1939 they are inhabited. **Sisualik, directly across** the Sound from Kotzebue to the .

FIGURE NUMBER 2.



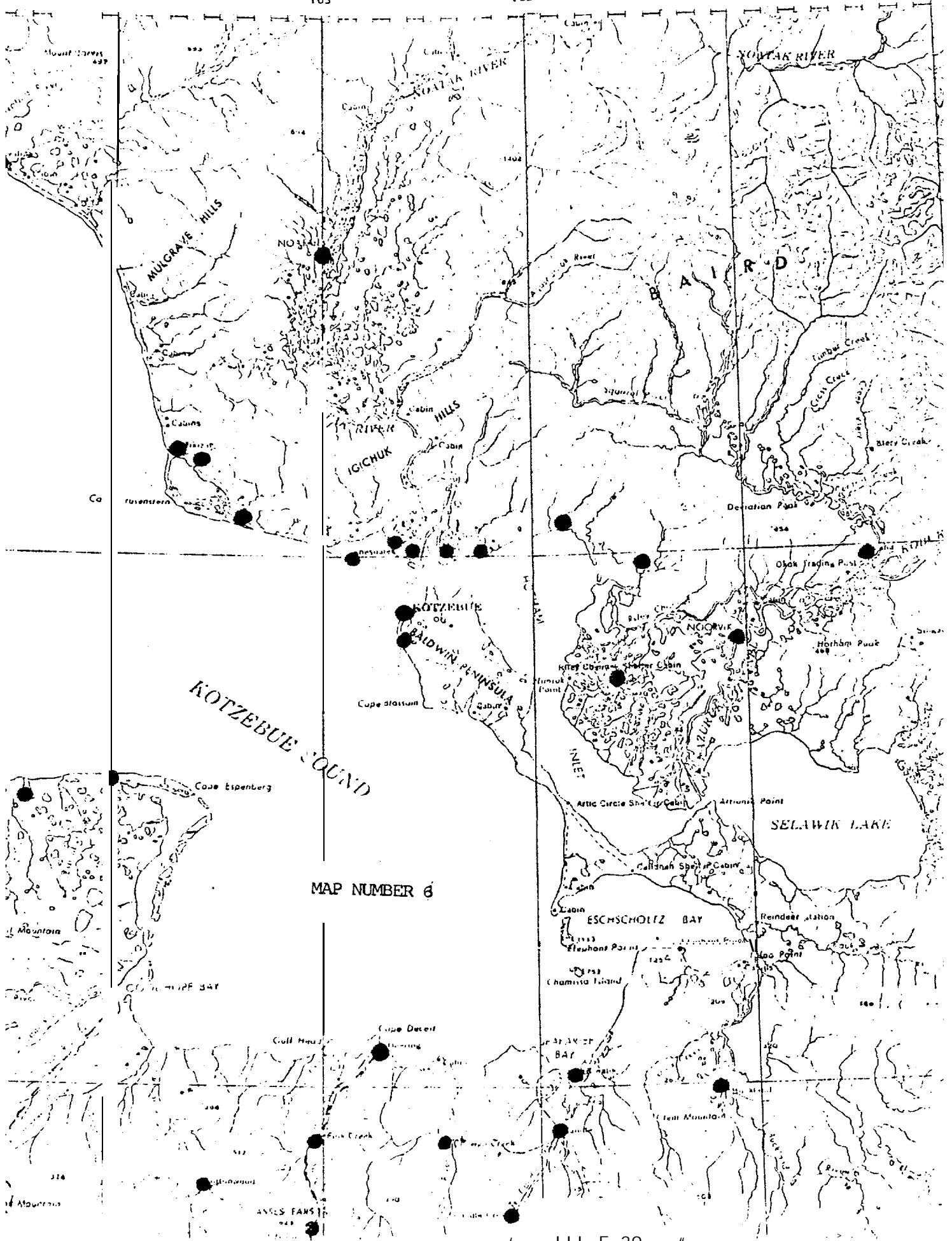
164°

163°

162°

161°

160°



MAP NUMBER 6

north, was in 1880 larger than **Kotzebue**; soon afterwards **Kotzebue** replaced that site as the **trade** fair rendezvous, and **Sisualik** reverted to a seasonal camp **alone**.

The growth of **Kotzebue** is shown in Figure 3. (1) marks the period of the **late-19th** century famines and migrations; (2) indicates the beginning of rapid growth associated with the war boom. (3) coincides with vast **immigration** from the villages, primarily **Noatak**, **Noorvik** and **Deering**, and Pt. Hope to the Northwest, **along** with improvement in health, transportation and **housing** facilities; growth in **this** decade is 211% (cf. **Mauneluk Assoc. 1974**).

Figure 4 illustrates population change in Noatak. Growth was rapid and consistent **until** the beginning of a sustained immigration to **Kotzebue**. The beginning of this drop was probably associated with the effects of **TB**, for immigration did not **begin in large numbers until after the war**. **Figure 5 documents the population of Selawik**. The drop **in** the the 1930's is associated with **health** complications (**TB**, influenza and **diphtheria**) that increased mortality and hospitalization **outside** the region, **and also** with reindeer **herding** activities that kept many **Selawik** families outside the village and thus away from **the** census enumerators (cf. **Skin, personal communication**)

Figure **6** shows the growth history of **Shungnak**, in **1910** the largest village **in** the entire region. As noted earlier, this upriver **Kobuk** area has a long history of dense population and **large** settlements. It also shows profound fluctuations in settlement **size**; the winter 1898 population at the mouth of the **Pah River** was 280, for instance, **while** during the very next summer it was 117 or more than **100%** variation in less than a year (**McNabb 1981**). This of course is a consequence of subsistence **cycles** and the movements associated with them. By **1920**, though, the population of **Shungnak** shows a steep drop unassociated with seasonal variations; this was due to migration, influenza and measles epidemics (1). The population then grew rapidly, dropping **after 1940** when **Kobuk** village fissioned off, and again in 1958 when **Ambler** village fissioned off (2) (cf. **Anderson et al. 1977**).

Figure 7 shows **Kobuk** village. **Figure 8** illustrates population change at **Ambler**. The rapid change between 1960 and 1970 is due largely to **immigration**

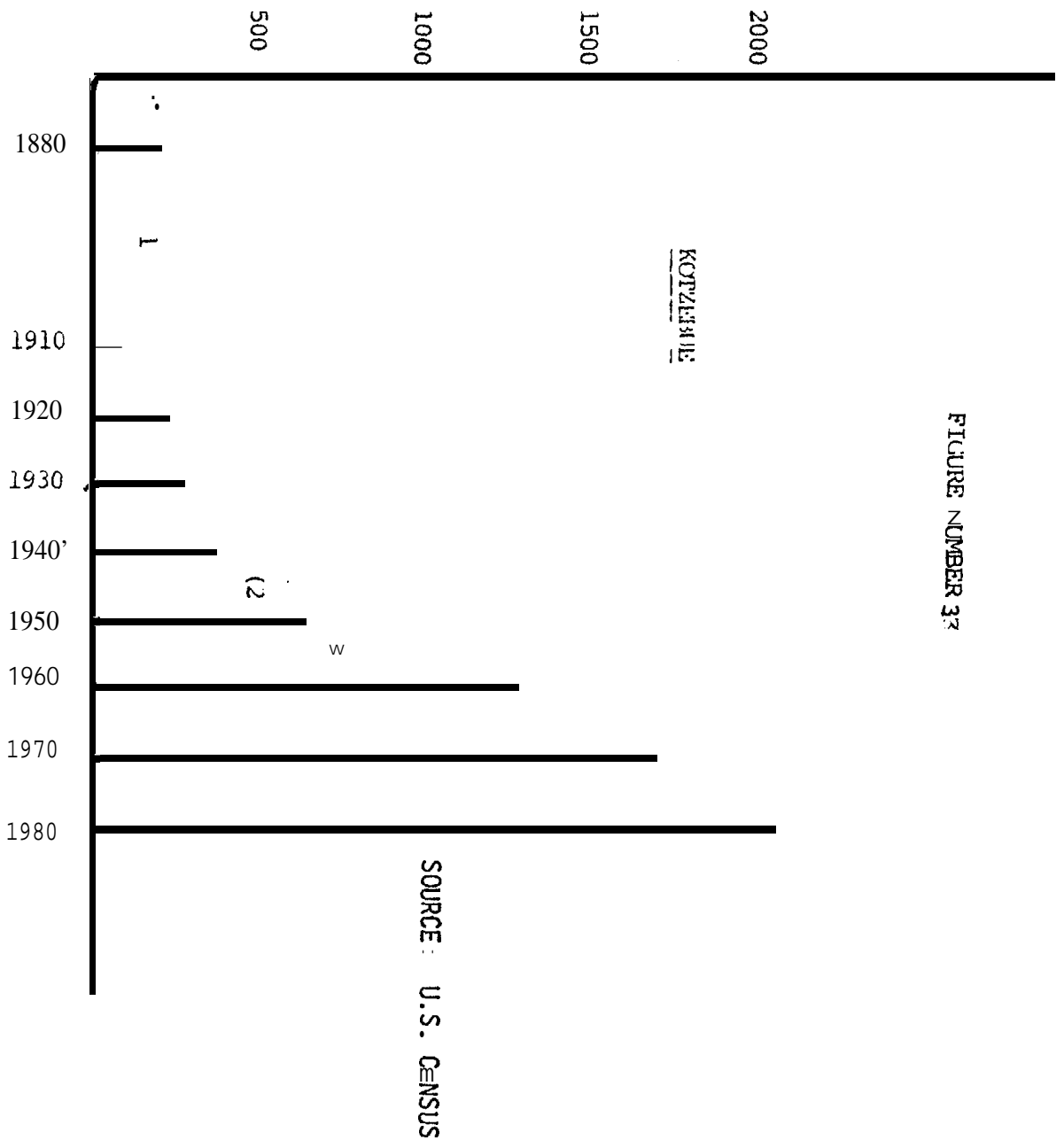


FIGURE NUMBER 33

FIGURE NUMBER 4

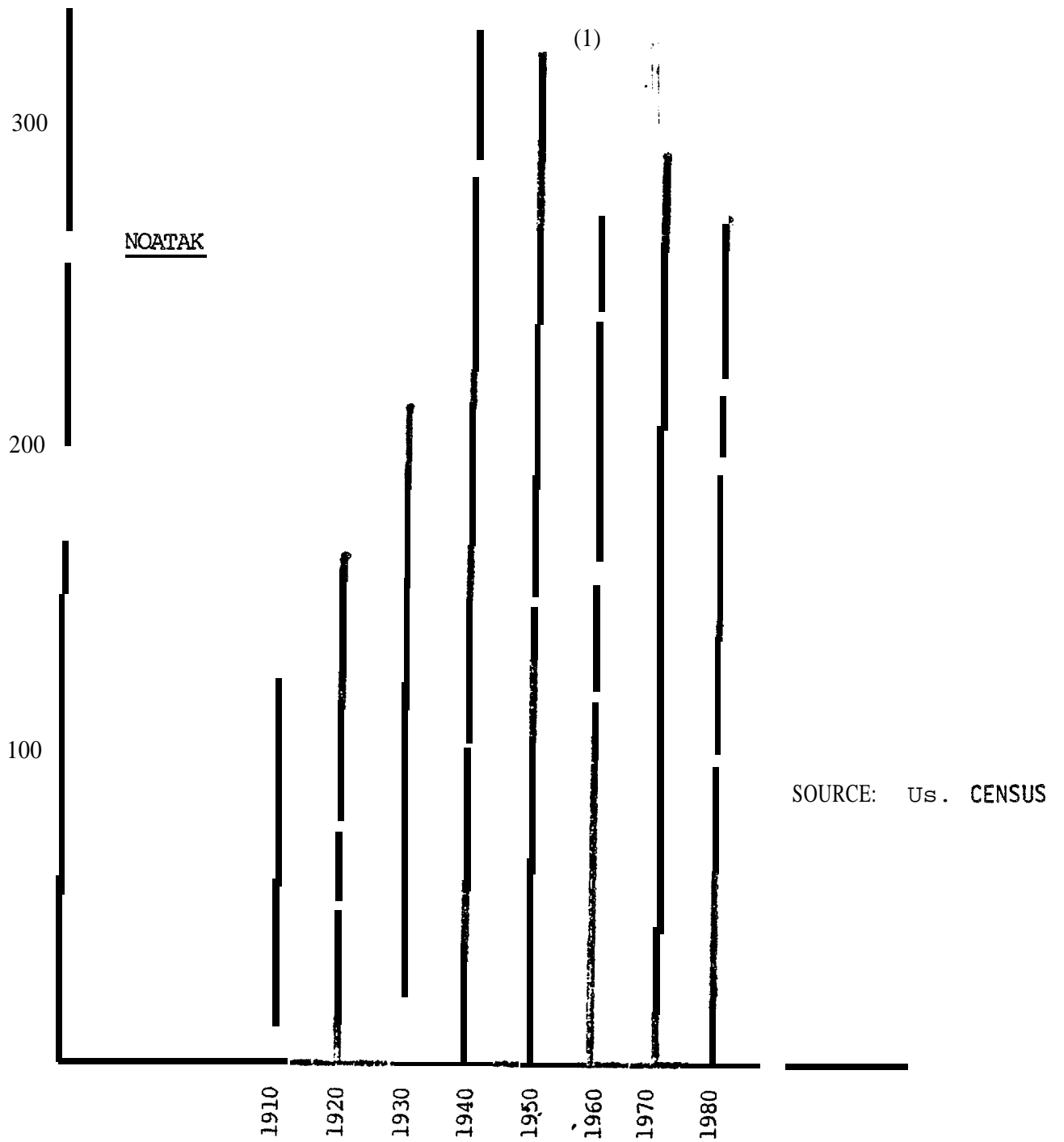
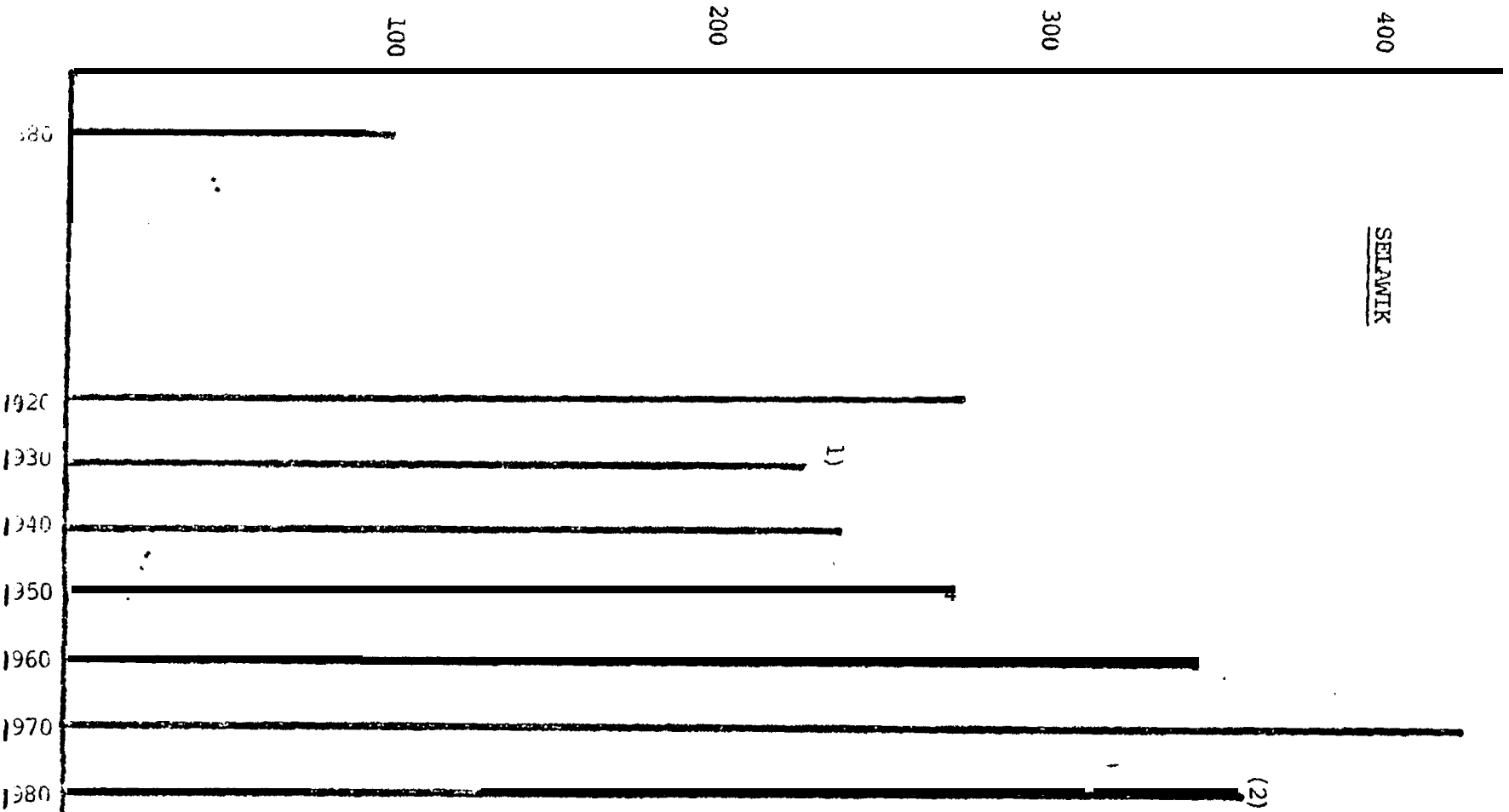


FIGURE NUMBER 5



SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS

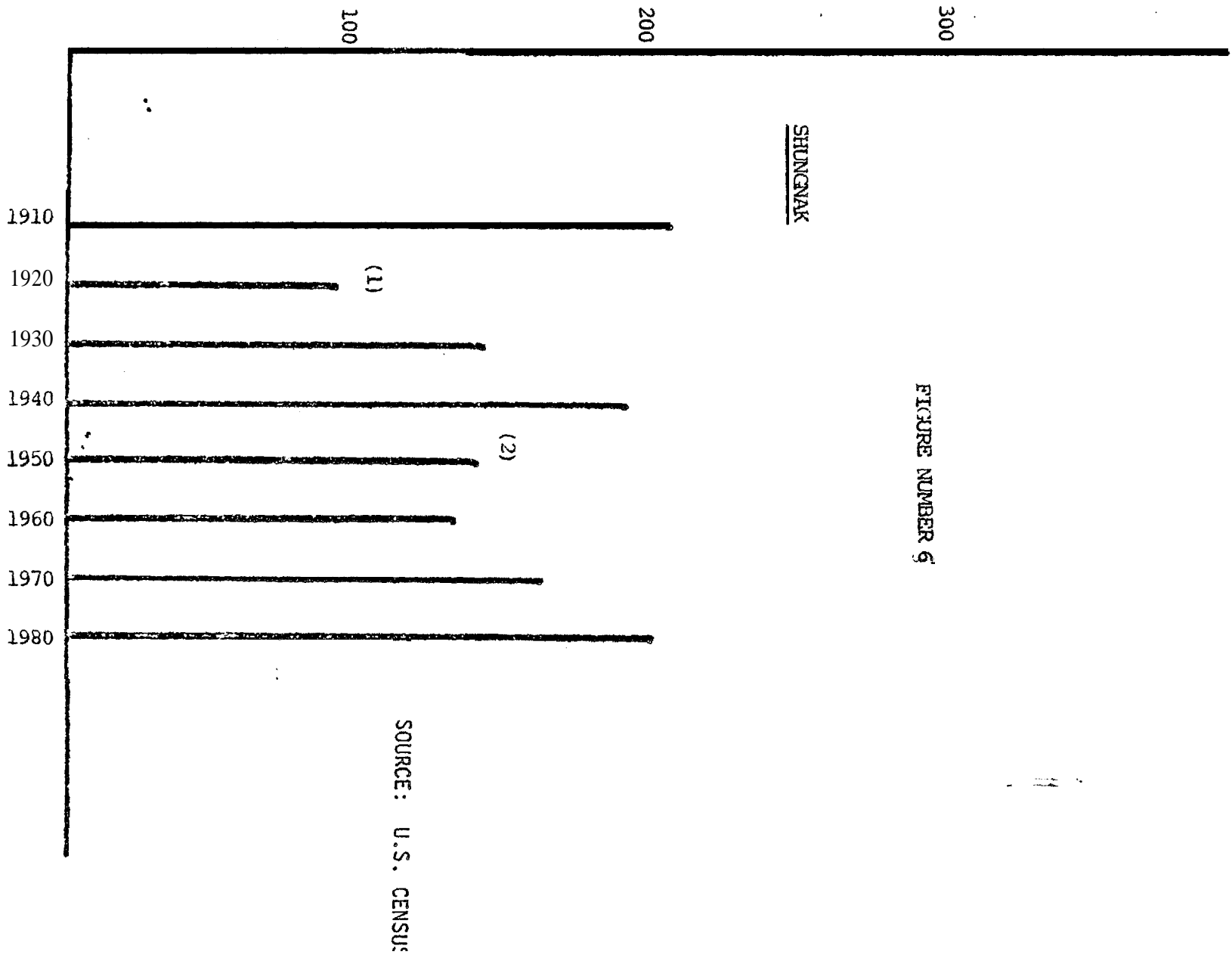
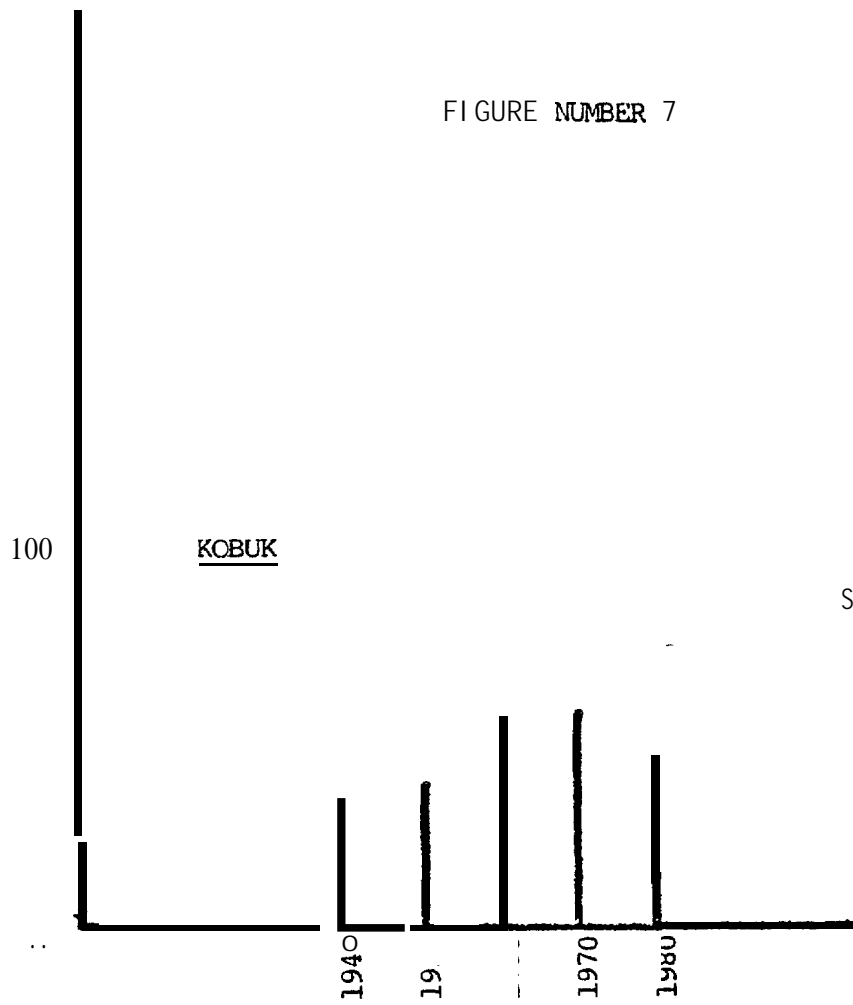


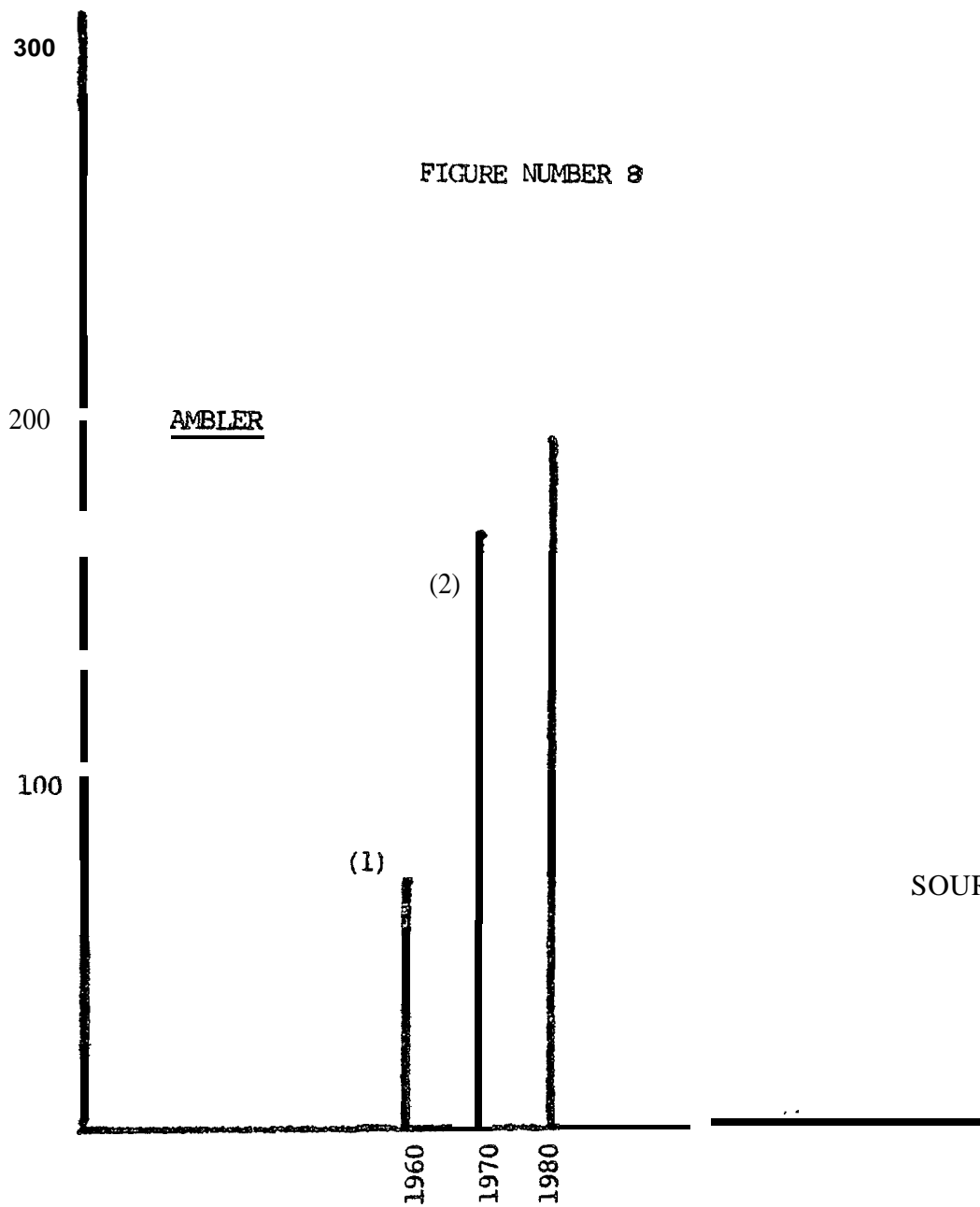
FIGURE NUMBER 6

SHONGNAK

FIGURE NUMBER 7



SOURCE : U. S. CENSUS



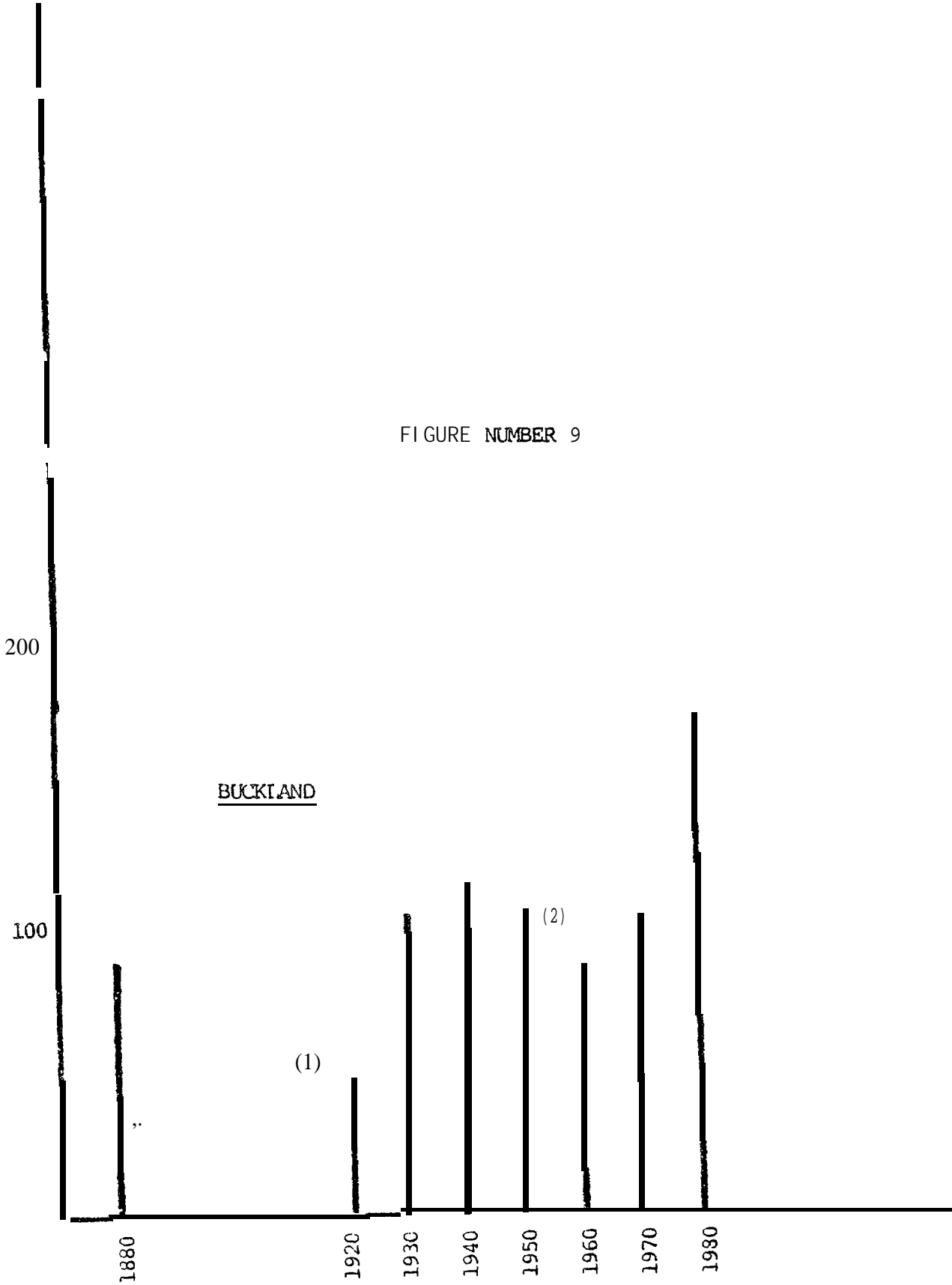
SOURCE: U.S.C

from Shungnak and elsewhere. The abrupt slowdown after 1970 may be due to the effects of birth control, a form of technology many villages adopted readily in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Figure 9 for **Buckland** shows some of the more erratic growth and change in the region. The general movement of people away from the Seward Peninsula at the turn of the century (associated with famine and other factors) reduced the population (1); the reduction in employment at nearby mining centers, as well as a measles epidemic in 1942 and general movement to Kotzebue and **Selawik areas** after the war brought the population down until **1960** when growth picked up again.

The population of Candle, since deserted by all but one miner, is shown in Figure 10. The termination of the **gold** rush brought a steep decline in population, although the mines in the Candle area continued to operate (1). Population picked up again and peaked by 1940, during a time in which tin and gold prices were on the rise and even diminished **volumes** of ore were cost effective. During the war years the population dropped again, even though prices were very good; most of the drop here consisted of **Whites**, however, who left the region entirely (cf. **Alaska** Planning Council, 1940). The population of Deering is sketched out in Figure 11. The population grew rapidly **due to** nearby mining opportunities in the **Imurk** Lake Area; Deering was the staging area for these operations. In 1914, many Deering residents left to move to , Noorvik and found a new village. Although reports are conflicting on this point, it appears that the combination of depleted resources and boom town atmosphere precipitated the move (1). Many of the migrants returned, however, before 1930 (2). After the 1940's, though, the mining boom evaporated and many Whites left; soon after, many Deering **Inupiat** **outmigrated** to **Kotzebue** (3). After 1970 it appears that many ex-Deering residents are returning (cf. Craig 1976; Karmun, Alfred and Manic 1981).

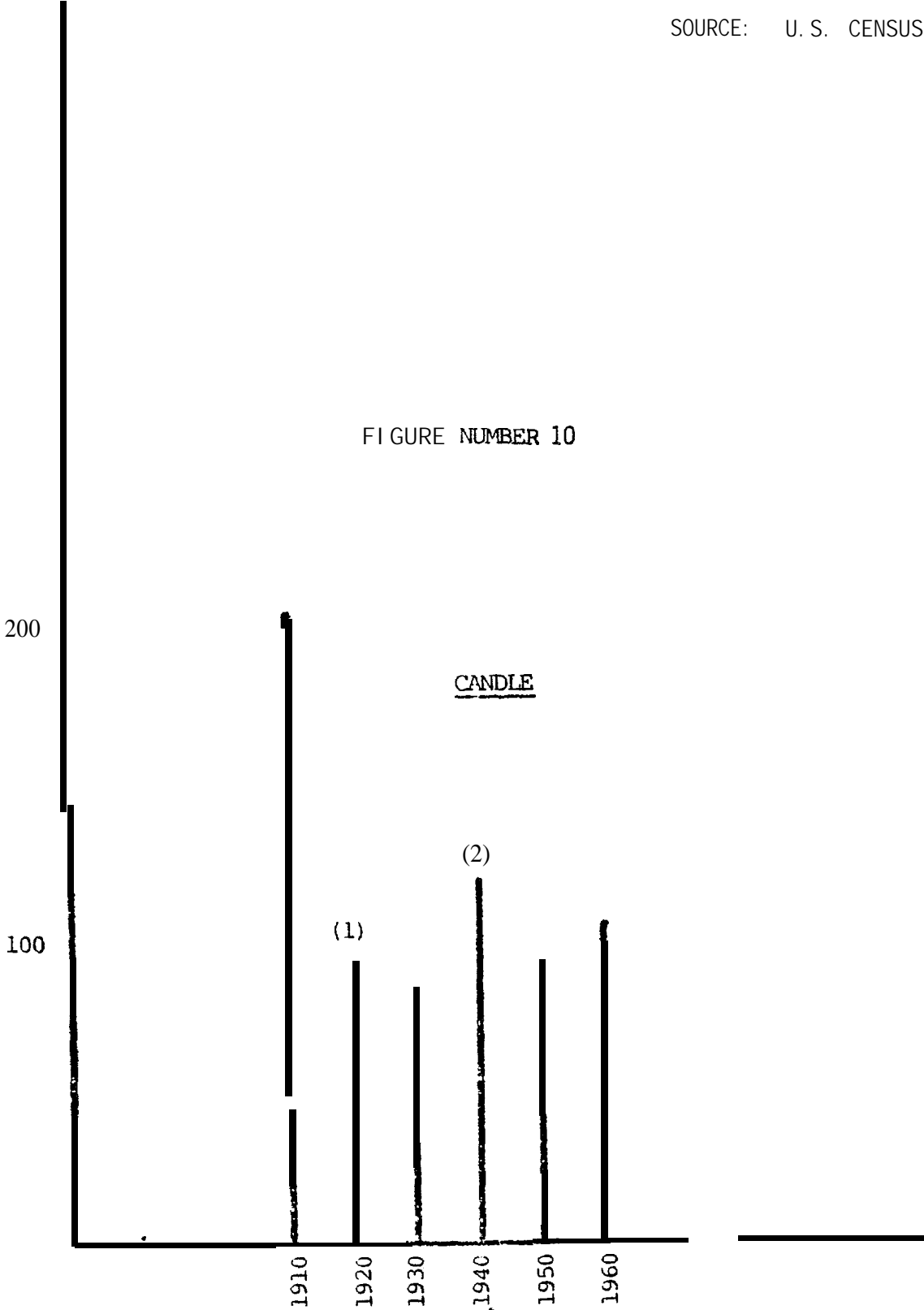
Figure 12 charts the growth of **Noorvik**. The initial move from **Deering**, **along** with some nearby **Kobuk** people, built the first population (1). Many migrants quickly returned to their old homes, however (2). Kiana population growth is shown in Figure 13. **Kiana** has grown consistently since its official founding about 1912, although **Inupiat** are documented at the site as early as 1880. **Figure** 14 presents the **population** of **Kivalina**. The population shows little growth during the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's; reindeer herding activities

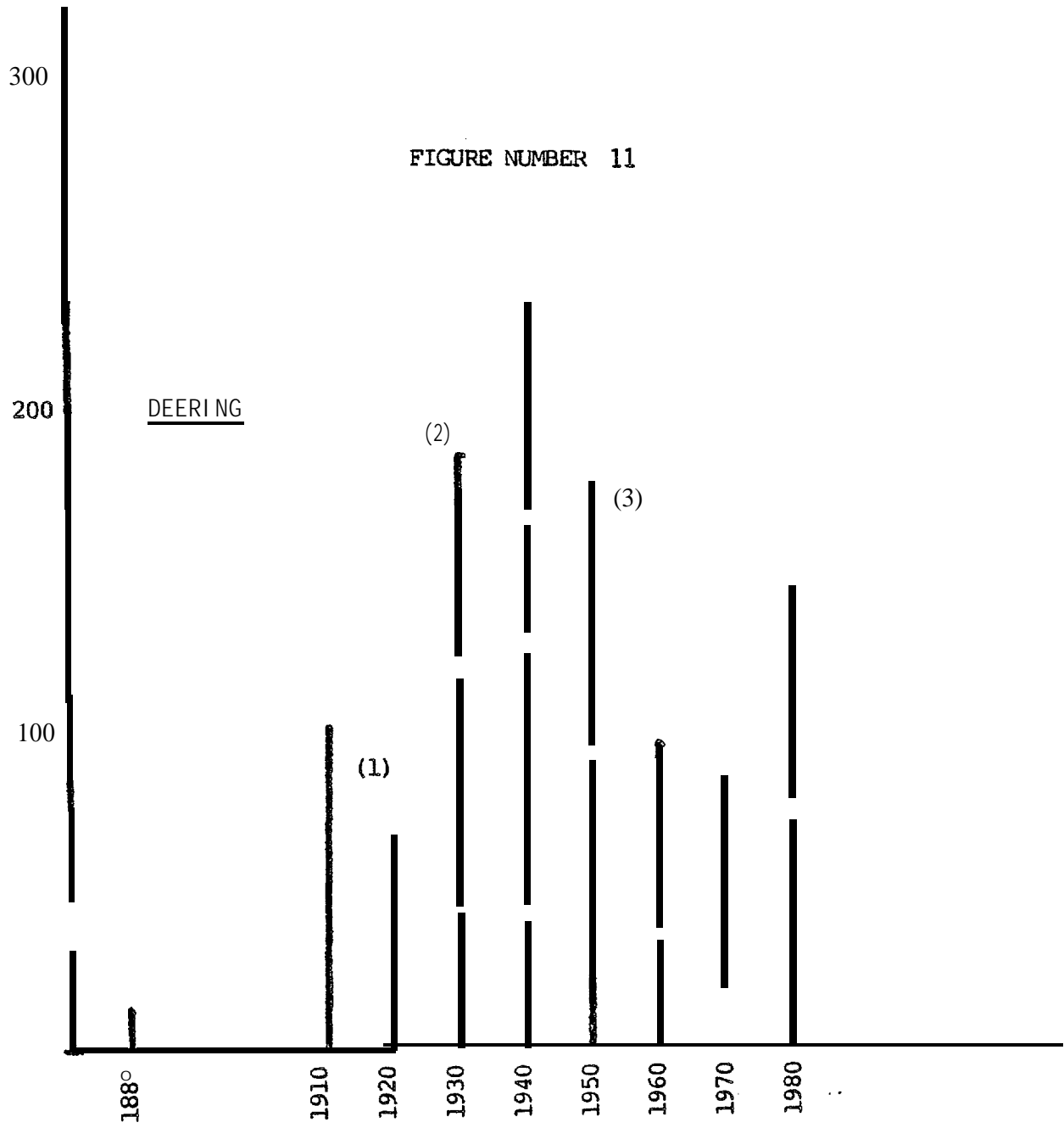
FIGURE NUMBER 9



SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS

FIGURE NUMBER 10





1980 population: 490

FIGURE NUMBER 12

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS

NOORVIK

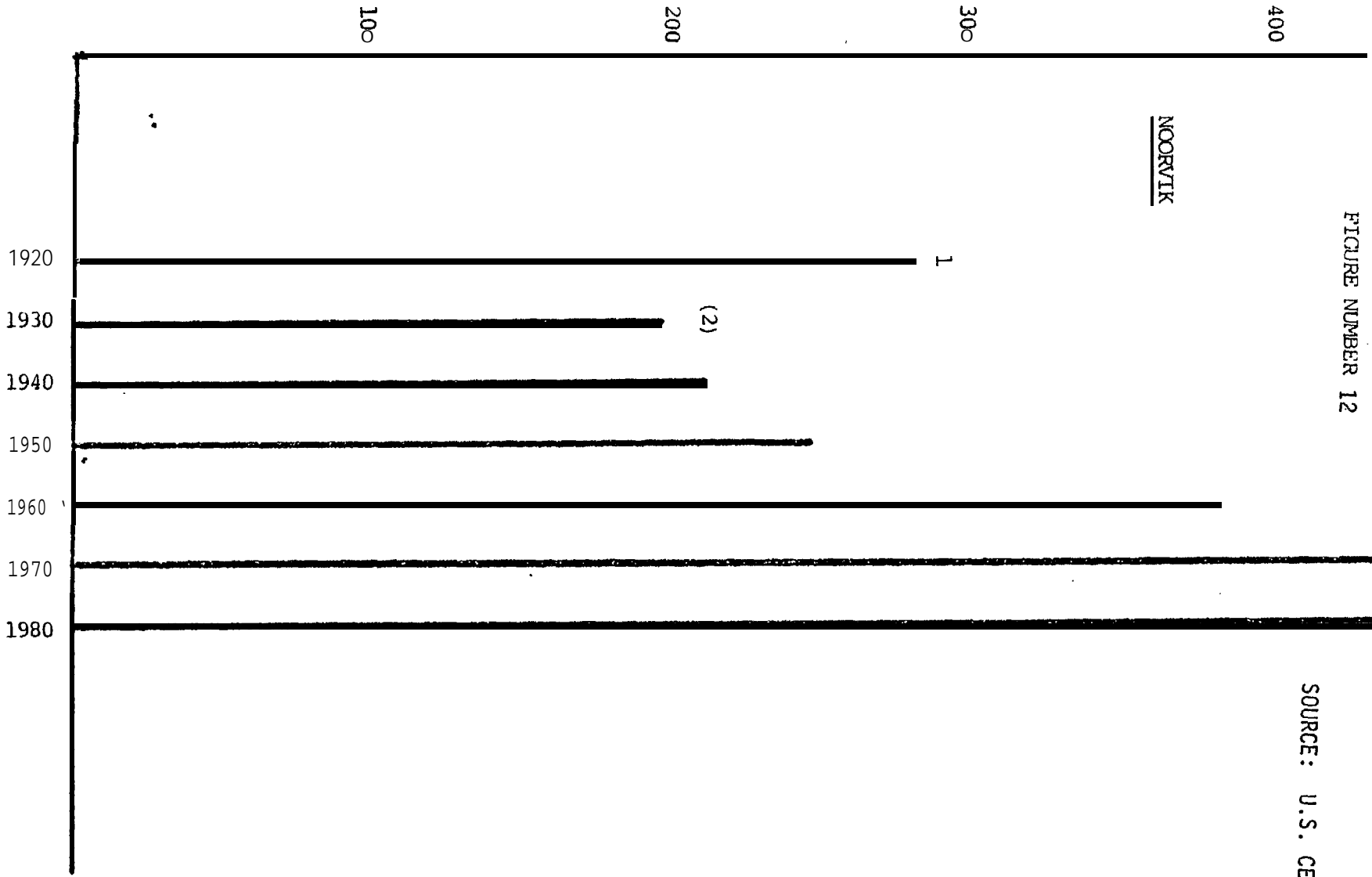
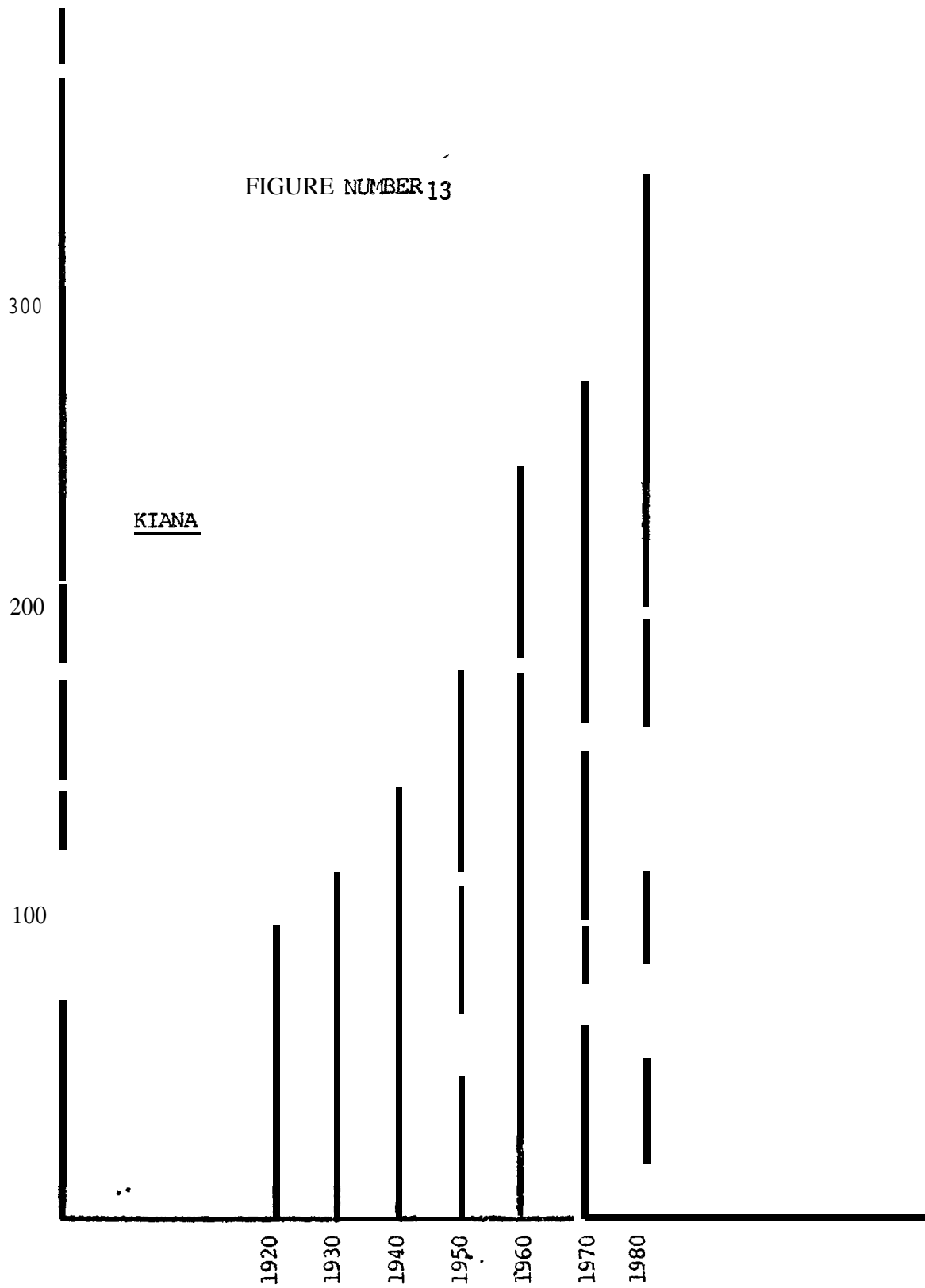
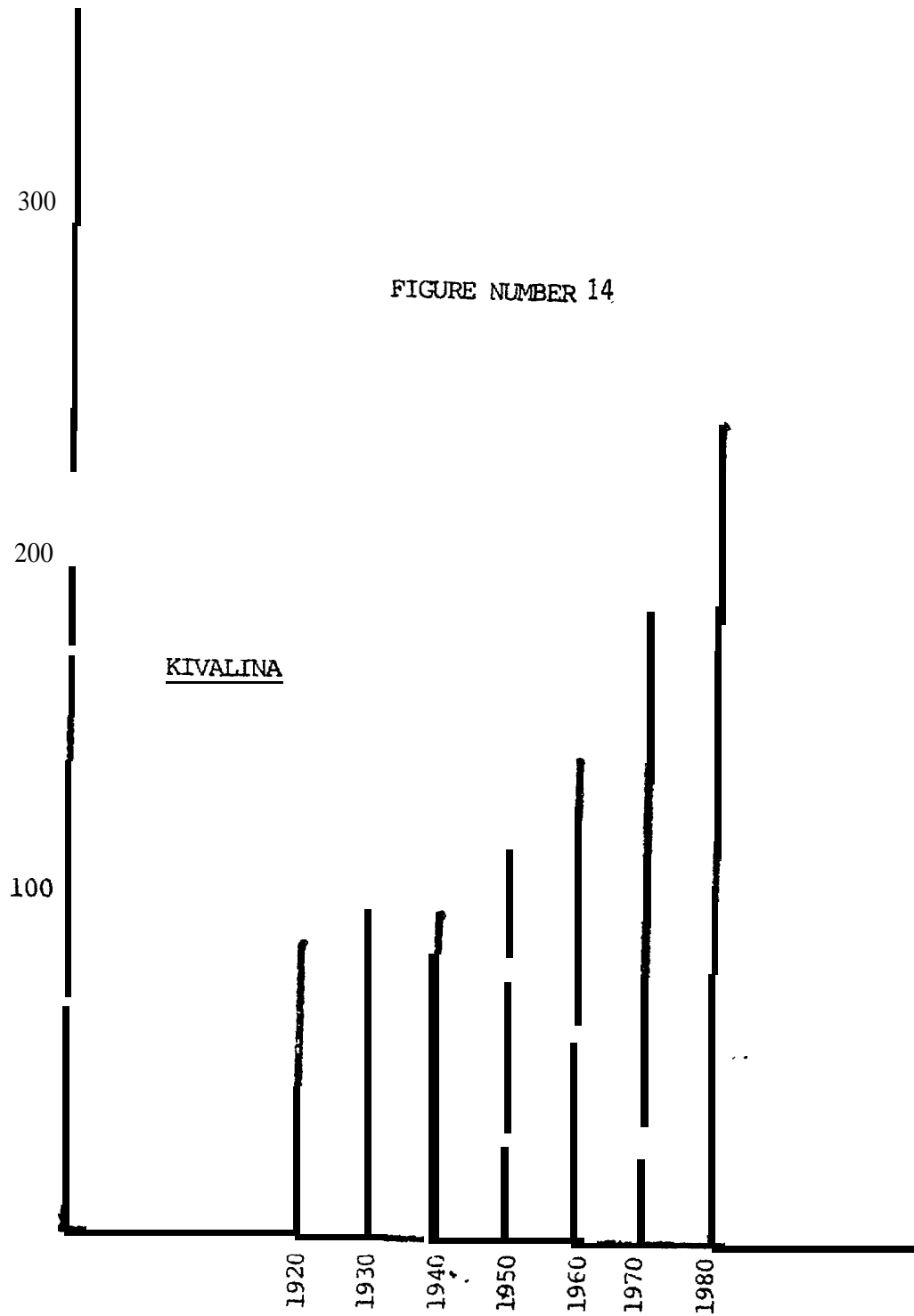


FIGURE NUMBER 13

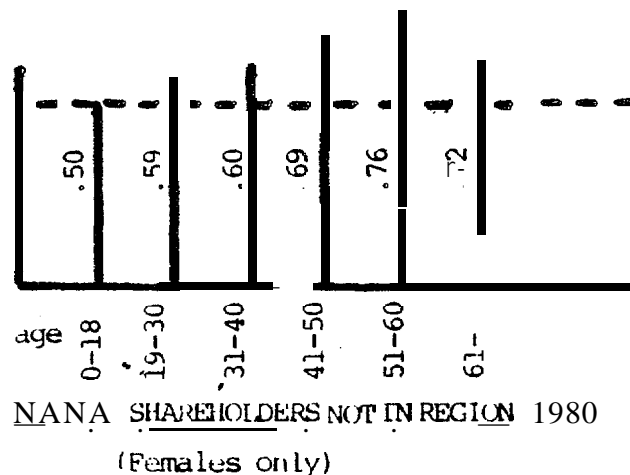




kept many people away from the village, and the effects of disease probably diminished the population or temporarily removed them during this period.

The conclusions to be drawn from this discussion are chiefly (1) the NANA region population is extremely mobile; village aggregation is a **recent** phenomenon, and fissioning **of** villages has **occurred** as recently as **1958**; (2) people in the region are apt to move long distances in order to maximize their economic opportunities, and remain **mobile** while **doing** so. NANA Inupiat have moved in large numbers into Canada, and within the region as opportunities appear here and fade there. Although unforeseen calamities and involuntary events play a large **role** in the history of the region, deliberate decision-making **looms** large as a significant factor in the population shifts that are documented. As in many other regions, NANA has experienced an **out-**migration during the **last** century, primarily to **other** regional centers, Fairbanks, Anchorage, and Seattle. Most of the outmigrants have been **women**, and a crucial question among corporation planners in the region now is, **will** these **people** return, or will their children who are or will **be** NANA shareholders? Figure 15 shows the age breakdown of NANA shareholders who are women and who are not in the NANA **region** now. **In the 51-60** age group the women outnumber the absent shareholder males by three **to** one. The overall numbers, **rather than** percentages by age **category**, are also **striking**: the females in the fertile **19-40** age group represent, over **half** the absent shareholder **women**, and represent one third of all absent shareholders, men and women. Absent shareholders represent over 20% of **all** shareholders, and so these numbers are significant. The movements **of** these persons, and the many children **they** are **likely** to be having, will be an important **factor** in NANA region growth and corporate policy in coming years.

FIGURE 15
SOURCE: SCANLON 1981



B. Centralization and Institutionalization

There has been a virtual explosion of organization in the NANA **region** during the last twenty years. The visible, immediate presence of large **institutions** and bureaucracies has never been greater. This fact leaves **the** impression that the scope and direction of social and political change has fundamentally shifted in the recent decades, and that this change has speeded up. Although in many ways this is true, this impression is strengthened by the fact that outside interests and institutions are now much less remote than they once were. From the days of the first whalers and missionaries the effects of distant political, social and economic concerns began to play a prominent role in the **lives** of the people in the region. Today these distant concerns are not so distant, and their presence is readily apparent in the office buildings, staffs, official . representatives, Boards, hearings, plans and agenda that have blossomed in the **region.** -

Today there is a staggering variety of organizations and representative bodies in the area that have an **Inupiaq** membership. They include:

- o Planning and advisory Task Forces in the areas of Health Education and **Social Services; lands; and facilities.**
- o Regional school board.
- o Fish and Game Advisory Committees.
- o Boards overseeing the operating of electrical utilities and telecommunications.
- o Governor's Advisory Boards.
- o Boards and Committees **setting** policy decisions in the areas of health, alcoholism and substance abuse, and other social welfare areas.

Still, this represents only a portion of the involvement, specifically that tied to established functions of State, Federal and other authorities. The organizations that local **Inupiat** have formed or participated in directed at specific Native issues include:

- o **The Inupiaq** Language Commission
- o The NANA Museum .
- o Reindeer Herders Association '

- o Bering Sea **Fisherman's** Association
- o The **Inupiaq** Spirit Committee
- o Elder's Committees
- o The Alaska Native Federation
- o The **Alaska** Federation of Natives

With a bit of poetic license, it is fair to say that the **underlying** weave of the entire texture of change in the region as summarized in population movements, sociopolitical change and the rest, represents the ongoing processes of centralization of authority and economic structures in hub communities and more so, outside the region; and institutionalization of **all** aspects of **Inupiaq life in forms** alien to tradition and embodied in specialists and bureaucracies operating along principles that are **seldom** sensitive or responsive to the people they control. A harsh assertion but entirely true.

Even the benign aspects of change **that** intersect with **Inupiaq** tradition have institutional aspects. Traditional healers, trained in the lore of past health practices, work in the region today on **IHS** and other contracts, filling in forms to ascertain accountability **and** submitting vouchers for payment for services while out in the **field** collecting **wild** herbs. The **Inupiaq** language is being fostered in the school, with specialists from outside telling **locals** how to speak the language and showing local Bilingual Aides how to write their language. **Local** elders prepare their stories for later **re-telling**, but imported technicians edit the work **on** word processors and polish the final drafts. **The local** Senior Center tries to prepare authentic **Inupiaq** food for the elders, but must go through elaborate procedures to **certify** hygienic measures and quality for outside authorities who control the purse strings.

Today it is not enough that articulate **local Inupiat** be available to speak their minds and participate politically. Chartered or incorporated Boards and Committees must form to take the message to leaders outside **the** region. The fishermen must organize Cooperatives or other official entities, and now deal directly with international marketing representatives from Japan and Scandinavia. At one time it seemed sufficient to have **local** liaisons or spokespersons to deal with authorities in the **village**; but then that was in-

adequate, and representatives were needed in Kotzebue. Now representatives from the region serve in the State legislature, and although they seem always on the verge of heading off another fiscal calamity in the region, the layers of institutionalization increase. A **local** representative is now needed **in** Washington **D.C.** in order to lobby for Alaska Federation of Natives needs as well as more localized demands closer to home.

By far the greatest number of these organizations with Eskimo membership do not represent new waves of change, new issues, nor new directions. For the most part the **vastly** increased **Inupiaq** representation is a claim to **local** control, equal rights, and enfranchisement with regard **to** old issues that previously had been handled by non-Natives. True, the kind of representation and many of the issues are fundamentally different. Chiefly, though, the new members are filling roles or kinds of roles that before were **filled** by whites in more or less remote locations. Now, as then, decisions are being made about educational policy, development options, economic plans, and regulations that represent **pieces** of a larger **Western** system. Memberships have changed considerably along with certain policies and programs, but the **underlying** system is largely intact. "

This has been a source of great frustration in the region, both for the leaders who have been working to engineer significant changes and for the residents they represent who want to see this change. Positions of leadership and representation seem too often to confer only responsibilities and obligations, while real power is vested far away as before. The limitations and constraints on these positions are best known by the people who fill them, but unfortunately most **Inupiat** residents in the region have only the most general understanding of what these organizations entail and what their operation requires. The majority of the people in the region, although **deeply** affected by these institutions, play no direct part in them. This responsibility is assumed by a very small proportion of the population, a core of leaders who serve in many different capacities at once or over time. Some leaders or representatives may simultaneously serve in a dozen different roles **locally**, regionally or statewide. A handful of overworked and underpaid people grasp the finer workings **of** these **local** and larger institutions. While most do not, This situation **is exaggerated** due to the extensive overlapping of this administrative core's responsibilities in this program and

that; the local population's perceptions of the boundaries between these policies, programs, plans and so on, are also blurred. **Naturally** they have a hard time interpreting the **roles** of these institutions. (McNabb, personal observation).

C. Values, Dissonance, and Acculturation

The traditional **ethos and** values of the NANA **Inupiat** have already been addressed in the subsection of **worldview (1c)**, and although this body of assumptions about **life** and **living** remains largely intact it is nonetheless eroding and vulnerable. The purpose of this subsection is to sketch out how this body of belief persists **and changes** in today's world, and discuss some of the other attitudes and expectations that are tied to the Eskimo **worldview**.

The transmission **of** these properties and values has been distorted and interrupted **in** past years, due not **only to** a new technology and form **of** administration that **only** outsiders can teach but also to two generations **of** young people who spent much of their **adolescent** years away from their parents' home communities. It is often thought that the people in the NANA **region** are suffering from the effects of **two generations (and more in some cases)** of students who never **really** grew up with parents; the other **side of the coin is** there are two generations of **parents** who have never **really** had to **deal** with adolescent children. Whereas before they had been outside at **Edgecumbe, Chemawa or Haskell** during their critical formative years, **now these** youngsters are back home in a community that had grown used **to their** absence. Both parents and youth have been suffering this transition, one that has just begun and **will** continue **into** the near future.

It is ironic that now, after pressing **for local village** schools for so **long**, parents are faced with adolescents they have difficulty understanding, while youngsters are **living** with **adults** they often **feel little in common with**. They, that is the parents **and** the adolescents, are the ones **in the middle** of a modern fray, and have resurrected a term that is new to their **local** dialects the generation gap. Certainly this **is nothing** new, and must **be part** of the human **condition** for them as for others. Past schooling practices however have insulated parents and youth alike from the necessary dialogue and personal growth that are needed to achieve **some inter-generational rapprochement**. A1-

though it is likely that reconciliation will come quickly enough, they are two spin-off effects that are worth mentioning.

In traditional times, **young men** and women were schooled informally by family members. For the young women, these adults were chiefly the mother and aunts on either side. For men, the **father** and **uncles** on **either** side supervised in this training, a very subtle training that exercised the youths **preceptual** capacity and a full range of observational skills. Village peers had little part in the process, if any at all, except in the capacity of peer groups anywhere. Cousins and nephew and nieces may be involved, either as passive sideline observers or active participants. But it was chiefly a family affair. Today the **role** of the adolescent peer group **has** been enhanced considerably. Youth away at school had nobody else to **look** to. Cousins, nephews and nieces if in another age bracket would be inaccessible much of the school year. Uncles and aunts, not to say parents, were totally inaccessible. The group of age mates with the youngster in school comprised the only substantial familiar group. Through the years the role of this group has assumed the roles traditionally held by others; today youngsters look to please their friends at the expense, often, of their relatives. **In modern Northwest Alaska**, even now with the **local** schools housed in home **villages**, the effects are apparent. Once a **young** man has reached his teens, it is very rare to see him hunting or fishing with an **older** male **relative**; **seldom will** a young man go out trapping, hunting or **travel-**
ling with his uncle as in the old days. The effects of this isolation are **less** apparent with the young women; they continue to fish, do chores, gather berries and the **like** with mothers, aunts and nieces. This is a legacy of past educational practices that is **felt** today, and it is unclear what the end result will be. Although the women seem now, as always, extremely resilient, the position of the men is uncertain. Reports of mental health and counseling personnel in the NANA region have pinpointed this peer-attachment syndrome, and some of the ramifications are ominous. Youth now appear to view themselves in a polarized system, in which their parents are worthy of respect but in which their parents don't know their own children; the warmth, respect, companionship, sharing and the like that once was at the center of the family is now focused on peers. It is as if an **accordian** effect has taken place,

collapsing all negative and positive, pejorative and **nurturant** elements of the normal social order into one horizontal layer that represents the peer network. Judging by recent research, **youth** attitudes toward the generations above and **below** them are curiously devoid of sentiment except stereotyped obligations (respect for **the** elders, **etc.**); but at the peer level, we **find** hate and friendship, respect and degradation, and in general extreme ambivalence. Youth want everything from their peers, but because nobody can deliver this order of sentiment and commitment, these **selfsame** peers are objects of derision. Youths commonly report that **their** friends are the only ones that understand them, but **later** will report that their friends represent the one main group they don't trust. These ambiguities abound, and assaults and other violence within this group is pronounced today (**McNabb, 1979, McNabb 1980**).

On the other hand today's form of traditional child-rearing may have a part to play in this cycle, although the type of role is unclear. It is now extremely common for infants to be raised, if not exclusively at least in large part, by grandparents. **With** so many young women having both babies and jobs, this form of **family** support is admirably suited to **local** circumstances. **It** has been **observed** that the most tradition?, **really** "Eskimo" **people** in the region are elders and babies, and this is an observation the author has made many times. The ideals and virtues discussed in section **1c** are **still** quite viable among the elders, and are **impressed** at a very early age on the majority of young children in the region. They **really** only have an opportunity to discover other **role** models, if that is the correct term at this tender age, when they begin interacting with large numbers of other toddlers, or when they enter kindergarten. This pattern is probably a mainstay of traditional culture in the region. But **it** is worth asking if later ambivalence and **un-**certainty regarding identify might be traced to such an early set of experiences of if on the **other** hand this is one of the few sources of **real** personal strength for young people?

Because people in the region have adopted Western technology and some habits **so readily**, there **is** a sense in many quarters that acculturation is a speedy process here. The young people, and old alike, listen to Pablo **Cruse** and Van Halen, **follow** the **Superbowl** and watch **B.J.** and the Bear on television.

Yet these same kids are thoroughly steeped in today's Eskimo culture, and often are unaware of it; certainly most White residents are unaware of this fact. The traditional attitudes and mores are strong. A young boy is congratulated by his teacher for excellent attendance in school; **he** then skips the next week for fear of "putting his head above others". The local basketball team reaches the regional finals, and then goes on a drinking spree and **can't** compete. A promising young **Inupiaq** executive administrator reaches the top and is given an important job, and then quits. A bright young woman is a city administrator, and is offered a scholarship to complete her dream: a college degree. Soon she is pregnant and quits both job and scholarship opportunity. These are pitiful, **dismal tales**, but they are not uncommon. There is an almost audible "clash" of cultures at times evident in individual stories, but these stories are representative of something beyond the individual. There is a deep seated confusion and ambivalence among many young people about their expectations and goals. These young people are not **at** the mercy of two powerful and indomitable cultures that are carrying them along; they are making conscious decisions that stem from real needs and desires. But there are too many ways of assessing these goals (**cf. McNabb 1979**).

If **we recall** the Eskimo ethos, we see that there is a premium on not dwelling on problems; you give them a portion of your time, and then withdraw as is wise by **Inupiaq** standards. But young people are taught to use their minds, **hone** and refine them. Youth with **social** and emotional problems are taught methods of penetrating their defenses, "dealing" with their own mental states, thinking and **mulling** over their internal processes and behavioral responses. All of this is inimicable to the Eskimo way of being, yet is crucial to a Western, adjusted accommodation. Such examples **could** be provided **for** most of the Eskimo ideals. So the youth are left with few **real** alternatives among the plethora of possibilities they are offered. They can respond as a **White** and thereby deny the Eskimo, or behave as an Eskimo **and repudiate** what is White and Western. Although this formula is extremely simplified, the gist of the argument represents the current story of acculturation in the region, a story marked by notable ambivalence and few workable answers.

3. Current Conditions, Policies, and Practices

A. Self-Determination and Control

In the NANA region, **local** control and self-determination are explicit cornerstones in the regional **policy** and planning sphere. More than a philosophy, these key elements are **two of** the main ingredients or regional planning **objectives** that are evident in **both** legislative **and** lobbying efforts at the statewide level as well as program **goals** within the region. The NANA Corporation and **Mauneluk** Association, the **not-for-profit** corporation, have embarked on an ambitious scheme to integrate **local** facilities and land use planning and health, education and **social** services provision. Known as the Regional Strategies Program, this plan involves a unified coordination of all **local** services with an eye toward cohesive planning with a limited set **of** objectives.

The Regional Strategy Program has, in conjunction with many **local** participants and through numerous public contacts, arrived at eight primary quality of life goals. They are:

- (1) Maintain freedom of choice in lifestyle - whether subsistence, cash economy or **both**.
- (2) Maintain distinct **Inupiat** culture.
- (3) Protect fish and game resources for **subsistence** use.
- (4) Maximize local control over decisions which affect **local** people.
- (5) Insure that the costs and benefits **of** community options are presented to the **community** before decisions are made.
- (6) Encourage the **full** development of the human potential of NANA residents.
- (7) Improve communication among **village** so that mutual problems and potential solutions can be shared.
- (8) Eliminate alcoholism **in** the region (NANA Regions]. Strategy **1979**).

As the Regional Strategy report points out, these **goals** in many ways would be appropriate everywhere, except for the emphasis on subsistence. **But** their **relevance** to **the** NANA region is especially pronounced. These goals emphasize flexibility and avoidance of long term **commitment**; the role of subsistence and

cultural values, the especially high costs in terms **of** social disruption and personal suffering that come with change; the need for broader understandings of the full costs and benefits of new ways and **innovations** and the dependencies they create and escalate, and so on.

The methods that have been identified for achieving these quality of life goals are extensive and imaginative. Plans for fur farms, marketing of **local** natural resources **like** fish and berries, **local** agricultural development, substitution of **local** resources like timber for fuel oil and lumber, developments in reindeer herding, mining, preservation of high priced commodities by the development of community freezers, economic adjustments that will produce multiplier effects in the region, educational and telecommunications innovations, are all on the drawing board or in progress now. Recommendations in the areas of health, education and social services alone call for the new development or expansion of literally dozens of organizations, advisory boards, committees, programs and so on. This fact shows the thin tightrope that people in the region walk. Expansions and proliferations of programs and official entities in the area have made local control and quality **life** even more precarious; these unwanted trends are to be **curtailed or** brought under control through the activities of yet more organizations. This paradox that began years ago is still evident; the most useful and powerful tools for **change** and **local self-**determination are the very systems that created the need in the first place.

The proliferation of programs and services is perhaps inevitable, but the Regional Strategy approaches this problem in a realistic manner; the plan aims not at curtailing trends that are difficult enough to deal with, but instead coordinate these proliferating programs so that the most local good, judged by Local standards, will obtain. In this respect the local approach to **self-**determination and control is unique in the State.

In simple terms it is possible to identify two major types of rural development in Alaska today: there is development aimed at extraction and maximum profits, and there is development aimed at human resources development (cf. **Gaffney** 1981). **The forms** of programs within each type can be quite similar, but the nature of planning and decision-making is quite different. In the NANA case, **explicit** corporate policy is aimed at **fostering** local skills and self-sufficiency,

developing local employment, maintaining the link between cultural tradition and **land** use (subsistence), and developing opportunities for shareholder participation in decision-making.

Although the NANA region **has** one **of** the **smallest** populations in Alaska compared **to** other corporation areas, the NANA Board of 23 members **is** the largest in the State. The practice of rotating Board meetings year to year between the NANA region villages is also unique. NANA is **fully** prepared to sacrifice profits in many program areas in order to assure that their objectives in the human sphere are met.

This fact is illustrated in Table 2. The Statewide operations normally show an overall profit, and it is in these areas that NANA's Statewide reputation as an aggressive, adroit, successful corporation **is** largely based. But **local** NANA operations within the NANA **region** usually show a net loss. Profits from Statewide operations sustain the **local** efforts and **lead to an overall** gain, but **a** marginal gain. Shareholder profit payments are **always** meager; but then the local NANA operations provide jobs and opportunities for future security and self-sufficiency. These patterns are not accidental; they have been careful **ly** thought **out** and engineered. (cf. Gaffney 1981).

Upcoming NANA operations, or operations that are just getting started, **are** consistent with the **local** pattern. **In 1980** NANA underwrote a commercial fish operation in Kotzebue that provided jobs **for** more than 20 people over their **normal** summer employment level. The fish **plant** consisted of a de-heading and gutting operation that was labor intensive and **allowed** the shipping weights of chum salmon to diminish to the point that retail prices for the superior product made the scheme worthwhile; NANA broke even. In the future NANA **will** be **working** with Kotzebue City and K.I.C. in developing a freezer **plant** that in summer **will** be used **in** conjunction **with** the fish operation and **at** other times of the year with their reindeer program. In past **years** NANA has concentrated on marketing only reindeer horns, an **extremely** **lucrative** market in Asia. **But** due to shareholder demands for **fresh** reindeer meat at low prices, NANA will now begin **a slaughtering** operation to provide meat locally and prices **will** be below those for beef or pork. **It is unlikely** that much profit if any will **be** realized, but NANA sees the eventual **profit** in import substitution for local consumers.

Table 3NANA Statewide Operations

	Revenue	Expenses	Divisio nal Profit (Loss)
NANA Construction	\$12,454,520	11,749,636	704,884
NANA Environmental Systems	5,837,937	5,711,029	126,908
NANA Oilfield Services	4,207,453	3,716,808	490,645
Purcell Services	3,188,429	2,666,861	521,568
Arctic Utilities	834,815	422,377	412,438
NDC/Commercial Catering	551,496	537,187	14,309
Great Northern Express	80,684	73,487	7,?97
NANA Jade Marketing	6,209	15,250	(9,041)
NANA Joint Ventures	<u>185,634</u>	<u>---</u>	<u>185,634</u>
	<u>\$27,347,177</u>	<u>24,892,635</u>	<u>2,454,542</u>

Table 4NANA REGIONAL OPERATIONS

	Revenue	Expenses	Divi si onal Profit (Loss)
Fue? Projects	\$ 298,815	300,326	(1,511)
Building and Maintenance	20,092	75,80?	(55,709)
Drift Inn Apartments	80,480	126,800	(46,320)
Jade Mountain Products	56,421	52,786	3,635
Kiana Hotel	2,218	20,169	(17,951)
Kivalina Housing	2,700	10,308	(7,608)
Nul-Luk-Vik Hotel	1,256,239	1,622,310	(366,071)
Tupik Building Supply	730,703	848,431-	(117,728)
Museum of the Arctic	148,914	214,703	(65,789)
Qungniq	<u>10,451</u>	<u>249,839</u>	<u>(239,388)</u>
	<u>\$2,607,033</u>	<u>3,521,473</u>	<u>(914,440)</u>

Source: NANA Annual Report, 1979.

B. Inter-ethnic Relations and Native Identity

Inter-ethnic relations within the NANA region often seem calm and harmonious on the surface, but there is a pronounced undercurrent of uncertainty and even hostility on the part of both Inupiat and Angles. Due in part to dissonance in values and cultural perspectives between the two groups as well as a traditional suspicion of outsiders (on the part of Inupiat) and an amalgamation of "White-man's burden" and covert colonialist attitudes (among Angles) in many cases, the situation we see today is frequently antagonistic and sometimes volatile (McNabb personal observation).

The situation here is not at all unique, and the NANA region does not suffer from special problems. What we see here is one version of cross-cultural communication and interaction dilemmas that occur all over the globe. Each ethnic group has over the years developed a set of elaborate stereotypes, a lore that is held to account for the behavior of other groups. These sets of stereotypes almost approach a body of myth, although they are far from uniform and are not transmitted as an oral tradition. They are highly inconsistent, both at the individual level and between individuals. These tattered and frayed behavioral models are nonetheless persistent, and for good reason. Since any individual's stereotypes are bound to be assaulted by numerous inconsistencies with time because they seldom apply to many, if any real people, this fact becomes proof for the assertion that the other group is unpredictable and capricious in behavior. Exceptions prove the rule, so to speak (McNabb 1979).

Inupiat suspicion of outsiders has been documented numerous times, and in part fueled Burch's (1980) characterization of Northwest Alaska Inupiat as haughty, aggressive, belligerent toughs who defended their territories by force of arms. Folklore bears him and his assertions out. But although it is clear that suspicions and the stereotypes they create are real and persist, behavior is another issue altogether. The Inupiat have long shown a distrust of Indians; even today children are warned to be on the look out for Itqillit (Indians) while out of the village; stories recounted today illustrate this profound suspicion. Yet our best data show that relations with interior Athabascans were normally calm and even genial. To this day descendants of Kobuk Eskimos live in Huslia, Alatna and other Athabascan villages to the

south of the **Kobuk** River in harmony with their neighbors. **Kobuk** Eskimos are invited to feasts there (hosted by Indians), and attend funerals of friends, grieving with the deceased's relatives. These patterns may be the product of massive change in the **last** century, but it seems more likely that they represent the persistence of patterns that were **at** least evident in the past.

Intra- and inter-village factions are another ingredient in the larger picture of ethnic relations in the region. Although these factions appear in the limelight from time to time in connection with recent issues of local power and authority, frequently these village factions are based on kinship alliances and feuds that hinge on events that occurred fifty or more years ago. **Many** villages have a "reputation", a reputation that is normally different in the eyes **of Anglos** as opposed to **Inupiat**. The **Buckland people** act like this and the **Shungnak** people are like that, whereas the Pt. Hope or **Shishmaref** people behave in another way. Although these reputations, or rather stereotypes, are part of a real folk tradition in the area, they have much less impact **on** day to day political and institutional operations than do the **Anglo-Inupiaq** stereotypes.

Intentions, motivations, and **actual** behavior have little to do with these stereotypes in the long run, although specific individuals and incidents, both **Inupiaq** and Anglo, serve to adjust and refine the stereotypes for both groups. Regardless of **real** behavior, each group has a set of working hypotheses or **models** with which to evaluate and **re-shuffle** their observations of the other group. Exceptions to the rule, as noted above, usually represent unpredictability; this unpredictability is a common denominator of Anglo attitudes about **Inupiat**, and **Inupiat** attitudes about Angles.

Inupiat frequently **focus** on the esoteric planning **and** technical habits of Angles, their abrupt and untactful style of interacting, their failure to recall past courtesies, their complicated language habits, their exploitative nature, and their generally bad manners. Angles on the other hand often **represent the Inupiat** as disrespectful, normally lazy and unmotivated, flighty, undignified, unsanitary, reckless wards of the State.

The ironic counterpoint to all of this is that both Angles and Inupiat do have good intentions and in fact for the most part do not fulfill these stereotypic prophecies. Most Angles do not set out to display bad manners, lack of tact, or forgetfulness regarding courtesies done them by Inupiat. Inupiat, too, are far from lazy, and normally try to manage an impression of dignity, wisdom, respect and concern in interactions with Angles. But each group is faced with the difficulty of knowing what "counts" for tact, courtesy, dignity and the like for the other ethnic groups. Inter-ethnic interactions therefore terminate with a sense of uncertainty, misapprehension and mystery for the participants. Hence both are left with more evidence of the unpredictability of the other group's behavior. This account, it should be added, covers the essential facts in the majority of cases, but should not be construed as an indictment of all inter-ethnic relations in the region. Harmony and understanding do exist in some quarters, but not in all and seldom is the understanding complete (cf. McNabb 1979).

The negative elements of relations seem to prevail, too, because the positive stereotypes that exist within each group are difficult if not impossible to fulfill. For the Angles, their positive stereotypes about Eskimos are romantic, even otherworldly in quality. For Eskimos, some positive stereotypes are essentially millenarian. Angles commonly conjure up a vision of the "true" Eskimo, a person who is utterly pragmatic and fearless, yet always nurturant, skillful, wise in the ways of nature and disdainful of modern ways. There are no "modern" Eskimos who fit the bill, naturally, and it is assumed that there aren't any real Eskimos left; they are part of history, never to be evident again. When someone, perhaps an elder, shows some of these qualities they are frequently and ironically classified as backward old-timers who don't have a grip on reality, preferring to live in the past.

The Inupiat on the other hand sometimes create a picture of Angles as technical genises who assuredly have all the answers. They can help, they can turn modern problems around and bring stability again. If we could just find the right Anglo (or more often, Anglo approach or idea), so the stereotype goes, we can get the funding we need, make our programs solvent again, cure alcoholism, and do away with poverty. There is on occasion a sense of a "cargo" vision; the future is bright, the Angles have the money

and knowhow, and the generosity of these mysterious strangers will set things to right. It should be added here that this stereotype is rare among young **Inupiat**, and probably even nonexistent anymore. Older **Inupiat** voice this expectation at times, however.

Neither stereotype, or set of stereotypes, will or can be fulfilled. Unfortunately these positive models then serve primarily as backdrops against which failure to abide by the model can be assessed.

There has been resurgence of **Inupiaq** pride in their heritage in recent years culminating in the NANA Spirit Committee Movement. Spear-headed by **Willie Hensley** and other local leaders, the movement seeks to provide a forum for dialogue in the **Inupiaq community**. But more than this, the dialogue is directed specifically and explicitly at fostering the leadership potential of the elders who have **been** neglected for some time. Moreover, this forum is looking at specific methods of adjustment and creating new programs in order to promote **Inupiaq** identity. The Committee recently received a direct appropriation from the State to investigate the possibilities of developing an **Inupiaq-style** retreat house in an isolated part of the region to be used as an alternative **residential** treatment site for **alcohol and** mental health treatment. Residents would be **re-schooled** in traditional subsistence techniques by elders and would then provide the food for the program; they would also build the log structures that would serve as the facility. This and many other ideas are circulating now, and the movement **is** gaining momentum. Pressure is being applied to the educational institutions, service programs and others in the attempt **to** create **Inupiaq** institutions in place of the Western ones.

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II. THE ALEUTAINS-PRIBILOFS-ALASKA PENINSULA REGION

This section describes as in Section II, the traditional culture of the region, then cultural change and persistence and **finally** current conditions, policies **and** practices **that** condition **potential future** changes **with OCS** development.

1. Traditional Culture, Then and Now

A. Subsistence and the Local Economy

The marine waters adjacent to the, Peninsular mainland **and** islands have provided and continue **to provide the bulk** of the **locally** extracted subsistence resources for **the Aleuts**. "Although marine-oriented cultures abound in Alaska, once **would be** hard pressed **to** identify any that exceed the order of dependence and adaptation **to** the ocean that the **Aleuts** demonstrate. 'Although a **large** sea-mammal hunting orientation has been evident in the history of the **Aleut** people (notable in an elaborate bowhead **whale** hunting method utilizing charms, **secret** men's societies and **aconite poison**), **this hunting complex is diminished or absent today in** most **Aleut** communities. Sea lions are **still sought but** are **rare**, and require special hunting **skills to** procure. **When** they are obtained through hunting or by washing up on **the** shore after a storm, **it** is considered a fortunate but somewhat exceptional event.

Sea mammals (primarily seals), **fish, fowl**, reef foods (crustaceans and small fish found in intertidal pools) and caribou (chiefly on the **Alaska** Peninsula) represent the key subsistence species for the **Aleuts**. Vegetable products such as berries and **select** greens (wild celery, for instance) **are** important additions to the larder, but in most cases in the modern era these products are much overshadowed by the protein resources. **Other** than the vegetable products, certain species **of fowl** and **fish**, and sea lions, most subsistence resources are available **in variable** quantities year round. They are **fairly** accessible as well, a situation that is in stark contrast to **their** **Yupik** and Suk Eskimo neighbors' situations. The caribou, a marginal resource not **accessible** to most communities, are **also** restricted in availability due to both herd movements and **regulation** of hunting.

Pink salmon are available in most communities (save the **Pribilofs**), appearing in July and August. Silver salmon are accessible in some communities in August and September. Red and chum salmon are variably distributed in the region, and king **salmon** appear early in the summer only along the Alaska Peninsula; they are accessible **to** the coastal communities northeast of False Pass. The **Pribilofs** have access to no salmon. Cod, halibut, flounder and other lesser varieties of fish are **available** year round; other varieties, such as char (salmon trout) and herring, are available only during their runs (early and late spring respectively).

In traditional times fish were caught with hand lines and speared in pools behind dammed tributary creeks (the **latter** method is appropriate for **anadromous** spawning species). It is unclear when nets were introduced. **Jochelson** (1933: 1966) indicates that weirs and nets were introduced after Russian contact. But herring were a traditional resource, and it is difficult to determine how they were secured without nets, at least dip nets. Dip nets are used extensively in the Bristol Bay region and have been used there prior to Russian contact. Although seine and gill nets may be forms of technology adopted **fairly** recently in that area, fish traps were well known and were in fact the preferred method for fishing (VanStone 1967:122-130). It seems likely that the **Aleuts** knew of weir and fish trap technology before Russian contact, given that the material culture continuum from the Bristol **Bay-Naknek** area into the Aleutians is **so well** established (cf. **Dumond et al** 1976). It is even **questionable** that the **Aleuts** did not know of nets; notched pebble sinkers are common in archaeological assemblages in the **Chignik** region, *for instance, on the south Alaska Peninsula coast directly south of Port **Heiden**. (**Dumond et al**: 1976). Archaeological sites further to the west, however, are predominantly comprised of blades and blade industry detritus (cf. Laughlin et al 1975).

Fish weirs and dams were used well into the 20th **century**, and normally represented a community resource extraction technology that all shared freely (**Jochelson** 1933/1966: 52). Both species and **volume changes** are apparent in the last century. For **Nikolski**, a fairly remote community and one that would feel the **effects** of the commercial fishing industry less than its neighbors to the east, recent **OCS** research shows a preponderance of pink, and secondarily silver

salmon harvested in mid- to late-summer. Families with substantial needs might put up 200 to 300 salmon for the year (Reed 1981). But in 1910 **Joehelson** noted that **Nikolski** families would procure 50 to **100 salmon** per **day at** the community fish **wier**, and that the salmon were primarily reds. **It** is unclear how many days of intensive utilization were involved (although the estimate was developed **on** the basis **of July** usage specifically) in this example, and certainly the weir offers a superior form of extraction compared even to modern nets; these shifts over the past 70 years are suggestive of impacts of commercial fisheries on red salmon accessibility, but too few data **are** available to assess this hypothesis.

Joehelson also describes the char runs in March, which were harvested in volumes at the weir equivalent to the red salmon: 50-100 per day for **each family (at** this time there were 20 families at **Nikolski)** (**Joehelson 1933/1966:52**). The size of the char run is not described in the **OCS** documents, but from the available narrative description it seems that it **is** not as substantial as **it** once was, or at **least** is **utilized** less.

Reed (1981) notes that fish harvested in significant numbers, **by seining and the like, are still** shared **freely** with **all** who desire them. Seining in fact is a community enterprise **in** which **all**, women and children included, participate. This a **clear** continuation **of** community practices, noted **by Joehelson** in **1910 in** connection with the **Nikolski weir** and by others (**cf. Lantis 1970**) **in** many areas. **The** means **of** production were **typically community** property at least so **far as** large volume harvest are concerned (large boats, weirs, **dams**), not unnatural to communities that traditionally represented a **single** large family.

Spring (**April** and May) is typically the season of sea lion hunting, a practice that **has** diminished in the **last** centuries. These animals were **traditionally** hunted through a cautious combination of stealth and **skill** in sheltered bays during their migration, **but** would **be** hunted in open water as well. Harpoons, and darts propelled **by** throwing boards were used in sea mammal hunting. **Seals** were available for most of the year, although **judging** by **today's** dietary preferences sea lion **flesh** is preferred to **seal** (Reed 1981).

Sea lion meat is preserved with salt today; presumably both sea lion and seal meat were normally dried in the past. Sea? oil is still an important condiment used on **nearly** any occasion with foods, as in traditional times.

Bird species appear to be utilized in **small** quantities today compared to past usages. **At** the time **of** Russian contact and long after, dozens of varieties of birds were important ingredients in the Aleut **subsistence** scheme. The flesh, skins and eggs played a central role in the **Aleut** food economy (cf. **Jochelson 1933/1966--Hrdlicka 1945; Lantis 1970; Veniaminov 1840**). As in many parts of Alaska, during the hard early months of spring, or if stranded far from other resources, birds represented on many occasions the **only** reprieve from starvation. The reef foods (octopus, sea urchin, mussels, **pogie** cod, pinto abalone etc.) also provided emergency rations fairly consistently throughout the year. Recent research indicates that birds are used far less frequently today even for **a** break from a monotonous diet, although birds are hunted and eggs collected in spring and sometimes **fall** (some migratory waterfowl **follow** an east-west route and are thus accessible twice a year) (Reed **1981**).

The only caribou in the area are found on the Alaska Peninsula, and although these animals might be hunted during any permitted season they are normally procured in the fall when the animals are prime. Reindeer have been introduced on **Atka**, and today a herd of about 3500 animals grazes **freely** on the island. These animals are frequently hunted by Atkans, since they are not **commercially** herded anymore. These are the only representatives of the deer family west of the False Pass area.

There are very few data in the literature that would permit any accurate descriptions of current subsistence harvest volumes, or changes in underlying economic strategies tied to local resource extraction. **Recent** OCS work (Reed **1981**) indicates that one **half** of the **local** protein intake comes from subsistence products at King Cove; other sources (**AEIDC 1978**) indicate that subsistence is of minimal importance in King Cove. Similar difficulties emerge with most of the relevant literature.

The most pronounced shifts in the **local** economies and use of marine resources occurred with the coming of the Russians soon after Bering sighted the Aleutians **in 1741**, and have continued to this day. Soon after the Russians invaded the islands the tremendous open-water navigation and hunting **skills of the Aleuts** were **put** to work **in** the exploitation **of** marine fur **re-sources**. First sea otter and then seal **pelts** were the **goals of** the **new** enslaved-barter system imposed by the Russians, and the **lives** and society **of** the **Aleuts** were changed forever. With their families held as hostages, **Aleut** hunters were sent out to procure the pelts the European markets desired; in return the **Aleuts** were given trade goods to replace those they no **longer** had the time to produce credit at company stores, taxes, and debts if **their** **re-turns in pelts** did not balance with their family's expenses (cf. **Lantis 1970**; Jones 1976).

This vicious period of history has been **dealt** with at length in other documents, including the recent **OCS** reports, and so coverage **of** the Russian **era will** be brief and limited largely to a discussion of demographic changes (subsection 2a). The point here is that regardless of the calamities and misfortune that followed **on** the heels of the Russian entry into Alaska, a continuity or persistence **in** history is noteworthy: the **nearly** exclusive marine orientation. First it is food for **local** consumption, then sea otter **and** seal; **still later** it **will** become salmon, halibut, crab and **shrimp**. The magnitude of the enforced hunting effort under Russian rule that propelled nearly **all Aleuts** into a cash-credit Western economy within two or three generations at the most, is staggering. Even as early as the **1780's**, about forty years after Russian contact, **fleets of** hundreds of two-man **bidarkas** were cruising the islands and inter-island waterways in search of furbearers. Upwards of 600 **bidarkas** might **be** dispatched under orders at one time. **Aleut** hunters, with proven **skill in** open-water navigation superior to that of most **of** their neighbors, were the chosen personnel for hunting operations far from the Aleutians. **Aleuts** were transported on hunting expeditions as far as **Kamchatka** on the west, to Southeast Alaska and even to Fort Ross, **California**, on the east. Two shipments of pelts during a **single** year en route back to Russia in 1810 **yielded**: over 39,000 fur seal furs, over 5000 sea otters, over 2500 red fox, 2500 blue fox, over 900 cross fox, 700 silver fox, and more (**Lantis 1970:279**).

Until the end of the 19th century most of the **Aleuts'** cash income still came from the sea otter trade; but once the sea otter became scarce their economic base became extremely fragile. It is at this point, the end of the **19th** century, that a new economic phase begins and a new stage of village differentiation emerges. At this time the cod fisheries began to develop in the (eastern) Aleutians, and soon after the **salmon** industry took hold. By **World War I** canneries and other **local operations were** viable concerns (Jones **1976:23-24**). But only some villages could participate in these new developments. Most of the western villages were too remote, had too little fresh water for cannery operation, did not have deep enough water for port facilities, or simply did not enjoy good access to the fish. These **factors** and capricious changes in the markets prevented any stable planning or policies, much less family level stability. **Unalaska**, for instance, did not **enjoy** any real benefits of the **early** cod and **salmon** fisheries; but **suddenly** in the 1920's and 1930's, the local herring, brought recognition and outside interests - to **Unalaska**. Suddenly this community had some **local** opportunity. But by **World War II**, the herring industry was dead and never revived. The **boom-and-bust** cycle has always been very pronounced in the Aleutians.

The post-war years were grim economically, but slowly the king crab fishery began to grow. The **salmon** industry matched its growth, but largely in the east. In the late 1950's the industries began to expand, and commercial survival appeared to depend on diversification at plant sites, combining salmon processing and canning with crab operations. This is one more chapter in the centralization of resources and economic opportunities in the Aleutians; villages fortunate enough to be selected for the massive combined operations tend to be those with the strongest economic base today. By the mid-1960's the industries had expanded to the point that halibut, shrimp, crab and salmon operations were among the largest in the **world**, and they continue to **grow**. Between **1960** and **1971** the king crab catch rose from **just under** seven million pounds to 54 **million** pounds; halibut catches are fairly stable during **these** formative and growth years at about 4 million pounds per year. Tanner crab catches rise from three thousand pounds in 1967 to well over two million pounds **in 1971**. Salmon catches are very erratic, ranging from over two million fish one year (1962) **to** a mere 95,000 the next, and then up to nearly a **million** a few years later (Sekora **1973:318-321**).

Wherever there **is** a fishery operation in the Aleutians, **it is consis-**
tently the primary source of employment for the **local people** (cf. AEIDC 1978).
It is even difficult to say if the fisheries industries, or subsistence, is
ultimately more important **to** the day **to** day livelihood **of the** people. **These**
industries **in** many cases **(but not all)** provide **jobs for** whoever wishes **to**
work; although the wages are **low, the** work unskilled in **most cases, and the**
activity backbreaking **all too often,** these jobs are a crucial adjunct, even
a central element, **of the** Aleutian adaptation. A **strong** maritime tradition
persists, even if the changes that have created the picture we see **today** were
far from voluntary.

B. Polity and Social Organization

One of the problems we face in assessing traditional political and social forms in the Aleutians stems from the fact that the vast majority of observations of **Aleut** life come from one locale: **Unalaska** Island. Although on the surface this 'shouldn't present insurmountable difficulties for generalization, recent archaeological and **ethnohistorical work** urges caution in this regard. It seems that there was in past times a continuum of material, and probably intangible culture from the Nushagak-Naknek region all the way through the Aleutians. Each island filled an interstitial niche, and was much like its neighbors but much unlike the "foreigners" at one end or the other of the continuum (cf. **Dumon** 1974). Past documents, such as those relevant to the Russian period show uncertainty and confusion about the ethnic status of certain Natives, specifically the **Aglegmiut** of central Bristol Bay, the **Peninsular** Eskimos on their south border, and the **Aleuts proper**. This boundary zone has been inhabited by many ethnic groups over the years, and it is probable that the ebb and flow of peoples through the area has made the identification of clearly discrete cultures difficult.

The discussion to follow **will** summarize what the literature says about the institutions and social order of the peoples in the study area, but we should keep in mind **that** the literature reflects primarily (1) the situation of **Unalaska**, and (2) for the Peninsula northeast of Port Heiden, a blend of **direct** accounts and inferences based on Bristol Bay, Pacific, and **Koniag Eskimos**. Bear in mind that the "**Aleuts**" do not represent a single uniform society, nor **do** the "Bristol Bay" **Yupik** Eskimos. All evidence **points out** continuous, and sometimes discontinuous distributions of cultural elements in this area. Consider the following: among the Atkans:

"To **kill** a man for cause was considered **just...Such** causes (included) **..theft**" (in **Lantis** 1970:257).

Yet other accounts show that theft was a minor crime (cf. Jones **1976:14**). Observing **Unalaska Aleuts**, **Veniaminov** asserts that suicide was impossible among them; but among the Atkans, he says

1. (**they**) . . . did not know the value of their lives . . . Grief . . . often led to suicide" (in **Lantis** 1970:226).

These **dicontinuities** appear in many connections, and so any generalizations or assertions we develop should be restricted in scope and responsive to variations within **the** region.

Fairly rigid boundaries between families, communities and islands were recognized by **the Aleuts**, and both affinities and obligations pertaining to **social** relations were **neatly** fitted to these boundaries. The apparent contradiction between egalitarianism and cooperation on the one hand, and **out-group. anatagonisms** and internal stratification on the other, is resolved through an understanding of how these boundaries and **social** responsibilities articulate. Prior to Russian contact individual villages usually comprised one or two large extended families residing in individual dwellings fissioned **off** from the larger groups or more commonly one or two large **semisubterranean** structures that housed several couples and children along with unattached elders-and young adults. **It was** at this **level**, the community (or-rather extended kin group), the egalitarian **relations** and open cooperation **were** most conspicuous. Although individuals might retain use rights to the **pos-**sessions they produced or normally used, access was open to **all**, and the larger **tools** and means **of** production (**such** as the **large** sea **going** craft, or **baidars**) were community property. **This is entirely** reasonable **given** the kin structure of the community (**cf. Lantis 1970:191**).

The next level of organization was the regional domain which normally consisted **of the** island. **Each island** had numerous villages **and** perhaps dozens of recognized encampments that belonged to individual villages (**cf. Lantis 1970: 176-178**). The encampments were used seasonally, and formed a network of satellite villages clustered around the home **community**; these would often be coves, **hillsides** or watersheds that were **used** regularly **by** members of the extended village families for food gathering. Although **all** villages on **an** island **would** be connected **by** bonds of kinship, trespass on territories belonging to another village (**including** satellite camps, **even if** they were unoccupied] was an offense that might even be construed as invasion. Visitors from other island communities, lost travelers and others were expected to approach the main village openly and directly and reside there **for** the duration of **their** stay. The hosts at the central village were normally generous with their guests and supplied them **with** anything they needed. The accounts

in the literature abound with stories of these feasts and gatherings, and give the impression that no boundaries existed; **all** were welcome on friendly terms, so to speak. But this situation obtained it seems only when guests entered the home village directly and **conspicuously**. **One is left** with the impression that guests were invited into people's homes and feted so that the outsiders could remain under scrutiny and **so** that their motives **could** be assessed and whereabouts always known. No stranger, regardless of their hunger or exhaustion, is allowed to hunt or fish within the recognized boundaries of another village; in cases of need or mere friendship, they are expected to go directly to the village (**Lantis** 1970:191).

Relations between domains, islands in most cases, were much more constrained. Kinship bonds were much diminished or even non-existent, and in most cases residents of other domains were considered outright **enemies** until other motives were displayed. Extreme **suspicion** was typical, **and warfare** and feuds common. Although some domains were well known for their hostile temperament and warfare within the local domain, in most cases warfare occurred between islands, or between **Aleuts** and **Yupik** and **Koniag** Eskimos to the east. **Genial** contacts between domains are **not unknown**, but the literature is vague concerning the mechanisms for carrying it out. Neighboring domains, or villages in different domains would gather at one **or** the other **locales** for feasts and ceremonies. The event was highly formalized, with rank accented by certain ritualized roles in greetings and food distribution, but it is unclear what the function of the event was. Records show that games were played, so possibly the events were forms of rivalry couched as sport and entertainment (cf. **Lantis** 1970:193). Although inter-village trade was common, and was also formalized with **go-betweens** and agents, there are no descriptions of actual trading interactions between domains; there are, however, accounts of **Aleuts** going to Kodiak and the **Kenai** Peninsula on trading expeditions (**Lantis** 1970:272-275). Because **Aleuts** took captives in war and retained them as **slaves** and concubines, and because the children of the concubines were free citizens, it is possible that a number of vicarious kinship links could have existed between many different domains; these marginal kinship connections may have **permitted** the creation of trade links to other domains and mediated the contact between them, but this is conjecture and **unprovable** by available data.

•

Inter-village ties **within** the domain were further strengthened by the **avunculate** and **matrilineal** kinship orientation. **Cross-cousin marriage** was preferred. The mother's brothers, and after them the father's brothers, were the tutors of their nephews and nieces and exercised primary authority over them. The **children** of a man by different women were considered unrelated, **while** those of one woman and different men were considered brothers and sisters and hence could not intermarry. **A young man**, even before puberty, **would** commonly be promised in marriage to a **girl**, the arrangement being settled by parents but primarily the maternal uncles. The betrothed girl's father might in fact be the young man's maternal uncle. Soon after puberty the young man would **travel** to the girl's village and begin some years (often three) of **bride-service** to the **girl's** family. After **the** official betrothal that concluded the period of bride-service, the young man **would** reside with the girl's family until **after** the birth **of** the first child, at which time, the man, his wife and **child would** return to **live in** the village of the man's **family**. Residence, then, could be **called matri-patrilocal** (cf. Lantis 1970:205-208, 227-232).

Both polyandry and **polygyny** existed. **In cases of polygyny** the offspring **were subject to** the same practices **as** described **above**, and children within a **single** residential **unit** (the father's household) would be responsible to their maternal uncles' families in what might be several villages. **In cases of polyandry**, **all children** of the union were considered sisters and brothers, and in the event the union broke up the children **would** remain with the mother or the maternal uncle's family (cf Lantis 1970:231).

The available documents indicate that three classes were recognized in **Aleut** society: honorable, common people, and slaves. Although common sense might suggest that the honorable were a **small** and highly restricted group, it seems more **likely** that this group comprised **all** those within a community who were closely **related** to the core extended families. **In fact** the honorable **class** was the **largest single class** in a community, suggesting that **the** "common people" were the marginal citizens or free slaves that did not have a history of continuity and kin affiliation in that particular community. Rank and **class did** depend in part on wealth, however, and it is **possible** that members of the honorable stratum might disgrace themselves as "black sheep", or **per-**

haps perform poorly **in** war or material acquisition, and therefore precipitate their removal to a lower class (cf. **Lantis 1970:243**). Class and position, though, were most strongly associated with kinship and wealth, which in turn hinged on kinship because of the recruitment, mutual support and acquisition mechanisms that came with kinship, and so it is unlikely that class was **really** a product of individual merit.

Leadership and political authority **at the** village and domain levels represents a recapitulation of the same practices and principles operant **at** the family level. Although available evidence suggests that chieftainship **with-** in the village or larger domain was not hereditary in principle, it usually was in fact. Leaders were chosen by virtue of their **skills** and influence, but influence was clearly the single most important quality; those with the largest families were normally chiefs and the chieftainship in most cases passed to male relatives **matrilineally**. Strictly speaking the chief **had little author-** i-ty, especially to coerce or order villagers to perform involuntary tasks or provide services for himself. The chief was an organizer in events or affairs that touched on the common good, but hunted and tended for his own family without assistance from others. His power came with his prestige and kinship ties. Community decisions were made with the assistance of the elders, and the **elders** and chief reached decisions through consensus and mutual **ratifica-** ti on. Just as **all** in the community received equal shares of subsistence products, so did the chief in quantities equal to the others (although he might receive choice portions). Chiefs of the domain were chosen from **all** island villages, but it is unclear if this office was hereditary. These chiefs were in a position to accumulate significant wealth, for these chiefs received a portion of subsistence goods, driftwood and the like from each of the villages in the domain. Thus although their shares were equal, they received shares from many more sources than did the local chiefs. They too had no coercive authority and led, with the assistance of all domain elders and chiefs, in affairs that affected the entire domain. There is no evidence of political office beyond the boundaries of the domain (**Lantis 1970:250-255**).

There is very little documentation concerning the Peninsular Eskimos who **inhabited the** Alaska Peninsula northeast of **Aleut** territory and bordering on the **Alegmiut** and **Togiagmiut** territories in central Bristol Bay and the **Nush-**

agak drainage. Even their **original** dialect affiliations are 'unknown. Their population density was extremely low at the time **of** Russian contact, less **than about** one twentieth that of **the Aleut**, suggesting that they were in **midst** of some **major** readjustment at **the** time (cf. **Oswalt 1967:253**). Judging **by** the cultural practices **of their** neighbors in the area, it is possible that they had **matrilocal** residence and bilateral descent, **but this** is a generalized presupposition. The **Nushagak** area Bristol Bay Eskimos practiced intensive salmon fishing during the summer, extensive ice 'fishing at other times of the year, and caribou hunting inland as far as the **Muĭchatna** and other rivers during **fall** and winter, but it is unclear how **close** a tie can be developed between them and the Peninsular Eskimos. It is possible that the **salmon** fishery was important, exploited perhaps by trap (a Bristol Bay custom) or weir, dam and **dip** net (Aleutian custom); but **if** the major **readjustment** we see at contact was related to **local** hostilities and expansion **of** many **of** the nearby groups, salmon fishing may have been avoided **as** a seasonal commitment, except on a **small** scale, owing to the defensive needs of communities that precluded seasonal residence at unprotected tributary mouths. For the **Aleuts**, for instance, residence was usually established on spits with numerous access points from the sea, **or other** protected points usually **dis-**tant from prime **salmon** fishing locations. **It is also impossible to** collect ethnographic data from the present day concerning these people, for reasons that **will** be discussed **in** subsection 2a (demography). **If** the continuous distribution hypothesis derived from archaeological evidence **holds water**, we might surmise that the Peninsular Eskimos had hierarchical social forms similar to the **Aleut** and **Koniag**, some of the important ceremonials (such as the Bladder Feast and Feast of the Dead) shared by their neighbors to the northeast, technology consistent with their neighbors and perhaps including fish traps, less emphasis **on salmon** fisheries and more on sea **mammal hunting**, **and small residential** units (consistent with the Peninsular **Koniag** to the south on the coast, but different from the **Aleuts**, and probably somewhat smaller and more nomadic than the **Aglegmiut** and others **to** the northeast). These are **little** more than informed hunches, however, **and should** be reviewed in that context.

Today some of the organizational forms persist among the Aleuts, but in large part they eroded or began to erode during the Russian period. Although the Russians did not meddle in all aspects of Aleut social life and left relative autonomy in some spheres, they quickly tried to subvert the office of the village and regional chiefs by supplanting them with a three tiered chieftainship designed to mediate the Russians' demands for regulation and control. Orthodox Church representatives proselytized the Aleuts, offering Russification and three year's relief from tax tribute for conversion to the faith, and attacking the Aleut social order in areas of supernatural belief, healing hygiene and the domestic family. The pelit trade commercialized Aleut life and disintegrated the networks of intra- and inter-village ties, breaking up families and aggregating village populations at centralized locations for ease of administration. By the close of the Russian period the die had been cast, and although the actors changed after the American purchase of Alaska most of these trends persisted.

Today Aleut villages are highly variable with respect to the types of traditional orientations that they display. Although the Russian Orthodox tradition is one of the stronger heritages that they still retain (and even though it is an imported overlay) some villages have discarded it along with much else. Other villages maintain, though a very strong Orthodox tradition. Some villages retain the "banya" steam baths (another import), while others do not. The village chieftainship is viable still (remaining hereditary), but has vanished in some areas. Informal and community sanctioned polygynous and polyandrous unions may still exist, the literature reports (cf. Jones 1976; Lanits 1970), but they are undoubtedly rare and circumspect.

C. Worldview

The Aleuts highly valued the personal qualities of generosity, cooperation, endurance, bravery, self-sufficiency, self-effacement and humility, and excellence of performance. Other qualities could be added, but the major thrust of the Aleut personal and community ethos is conveyed by these concepts. This litany of idealized, valued qualities is remarkably similar to that of other nearby societies, a not unlikely situation.

Many of these traits were of course reserved for expression within the family or community group, and an entirely different face might be shown to outsiders and particularly enemies. As is usually the case, etiquette and propriety norms apply in certain settings but are irrelevant in situations involving foreigners **to** whom they need not **apply**. **Aleut** interaction with other peoples might **well** involve a display of bravery and **skill**, as is fitting to their way of thinking, but the humility, cooperation and **mutual** support. one owes friends and family have no necessary place here. **Aleuts** had seemingly well-defined in-group and out-group boundaries, and codes of conduct and belief **coterminous** with each.

From a very **early age** children are taught to endure a rugged life; children go barefoot over ice and snow, and are washed in **icy** seawater in **order** to toughen them, much as the case on the Northwest Coast (*i.e.* less for cleanliness than for strength and endurance). Endurance, **skill**, strength, and excellence of performance were linked traits that followed **children** from their early training through adulthood. So great were these expectations and values that those **failing** to display them were disgraced. **For** instance, a man on a visit to another community who **fails** to make a **graceful** and perfect landing on shore with the tricky **baidarka**, or if he **capsizes** in doing so, **would** be permanently shamed and might take his own **life** (cf. Lantis 1970). **It was** particularly in **social** activities (especially warfare) that a person of even high **class could** be disgraced and shamed for **life**, if the public performance was not superior.

Aleut self-esteem and personal attitudes seemed to have centered on one's social image and shame. One's word, so to speak, was one's bond, and until the coming of the Russians **an Aleut's** oath, with witnesses, was **a solemn** statement of truth. **To utter a lie** was a great disgrace, upon which one's relatives **would** disown and speak badly of in the **future**; **given** the strength of kin bonds here, this is an extreme punishment (cf. **Lantis 1970:260**). A reprimand, even slight, was considered a grievous injury. Veniminov and others (cf. Lantis 1970; Jones 1976) noted that an act such as a slap to the face **was a** terminal injury for the recipient, who might take his life in shame, or prefer death to such a **public** display in the first place.

An elaborate set of **rules concerning bodily and ceremonial purity** and pollution were central elements of the traditional **Aleut worldview**. Depending on one's class and office, numerous death and burial practices and rules attended the entombment. Well known for their mummification practices, the **Aleuts attached** different dangers and **pollutant** qualities to **different** parts of the body, and the bodies of different classes of people. Pollution, ritual dangers," and sacred meanings **inhere** in many **Aleut customs** and in practices surrounding all life crises: birth, puberty, pregnancy, death and so on.

Some of these **beliefs or transformations of them persist, but the available literature is very weak on this point. Some attitudes about pollution, child-bearing and pregnancy appear to remain with altered meanings, but this is unclear** (Jones 1976). As noted in the preceding subsection, **a number** of **social** customs involving traditional institutions are alive, but variably so and in **only** some locations. The ethic of rigorous training and **endurance** for young **children** seems **to** have survived, but where **it is** reported **it is** unclear if this is **in** fact the traditional ethic or an instance of benign child-neglect (cf. Banks 1971).

The Russian stratum in modern **Aleut** culture is perhaps the strongest persisting complex of **beliefs**. Although it is by no means traditional in a technical sense, it is now a part of **Aleut** tradition and provides one of the **only** threads of continuity in their communities. It is part of the **Aleut** identity now, one that keeps them apart from others and provides a sense of uniqueness. Even though the Orthodox Church is not conspicuous in every community, it is **clear** that today, the Church is part of **Aleut** heritage.

2. Cultural Change and Persistence

A. Demographic Shifts and Mobility

The **movement** of the **Aleut** population through time is tightly associated with the trends of centralization and institutionalization that began **with the**

Russian entry **and** accelerated quickly after that **time**. During the first fifty years of Russian contact, three inter-related processes backed up by Russian **commercial** agenda **exerted** tremendous effects on the **Aleut** population, effects that are conspicuous today. They are **(1)** the massive regrouping and centralization of regional populations at central administrative sites; **(2)** the mobilization of **Aleut** hunters in the fur trade, which dispersed these men over immense distances; and **(3)** wholesale murder of thousands of **Aleuts**. Thus Russian contact brought both centrifugal and **centripetal** trends in population movements, as **well** as new population control and mortality mechanisms. After fifty years of contact, the **Aleut** population had **fallen** from an estimate of 12,000 to 15,000 to about 2,000 (**cf.** Stein 1977; Federova 1973; Jones 1970, 1973, 1976; Lantis 1970).

At the time of Russian contact the **Aleuts** inhabited **nearly every island** from Attu **on** the west to the **Shumagins** on the east; **only** after Russian contact however, did they inhabit the **Pribilofs** which were **unknown to** the **Aleuts** at that time. They **did** inhabit the tip of the **Alaska** Peninsula and were apparent in the process of expanding into Peninsular Eskimo territory, **but it is unknown** how far they had penetrated. Even for dates as **late** as the end of the **19th** century, historians and **social** scientists are unsure how far the **Aleuts** proper ascended the Peninsula at the time (**cf** Dumon 1974). Evidence points to a **late 19th century** boundary at between **Izembek** Lagoon and Port **Moller**.

Early in the **Russian period**, the **Aleuts** were **forcibly** removed from many villages and aggregated at central " locations. The patterns of relocation followed natural geographical considerations as the main rationale, and subsequent to these moves **later** patterns of relocation, distribution of **employment opportunities**, **commercialization**, and regional migration have followed much the same patterns. Many contact villages **on Unalaska** Island, which numbered about **12**, were abandoned and the population was moved to **Unalaska**. The **Unalaska** villages of **Chernovsky**, **Kashega** and **Biorka** have been residential villages in the last century, but the early effort was to congregate the **population at Unalaska** or nearby. Because these complexes are so visible even to day, the village complexes of **existant**, recent and marginal settlements will simply be enumerated on the next **page** :

Unalaska Complex:	Unalaska Biorka Kashega Chernovsky
Unimak Complex:	False Pass Ikatan Company Harbor Pauloff Harbor
South Peninsula Complex:	Morzhovoi Thin Point Cold Bay King Cove Belkovski
North Peninsula Complex:	Nelson Lagoon Port Moller Herendeen Bay
Shumagin Complex:	Korovin Sand Point Coal Harbor Private Cove Unga Squaw Harbor Semenovsky

The settlements of Attu, **Nikolski**, Akutan, and Atka, and those on the **Alaska** Peninsula northeast of Port **Moller** from earlier times do not appear to have been integrated into such complexes. The links or affinities established by these complexes are **still** operant today, as people from one village in a complex are more apt to relocate to, marry into, or seek jobs within another community in the complex (cf. **AEIDC** 1978).

The **Aleuts** show a history of extreme mobility in the current century. Figure 16 shows the aggregate Aleutian population for the last century. Although these figures are doubtless inaccurate due **primarily** to **Aleut** mobility (as well as miscounting), they are especially useful to compare to individual village populations during the same period. Although military population fluctuations in the Aleutians make generalizations about the Native population **difficult**, the census counts give us a least a baseline for **intra-regional** comparison.

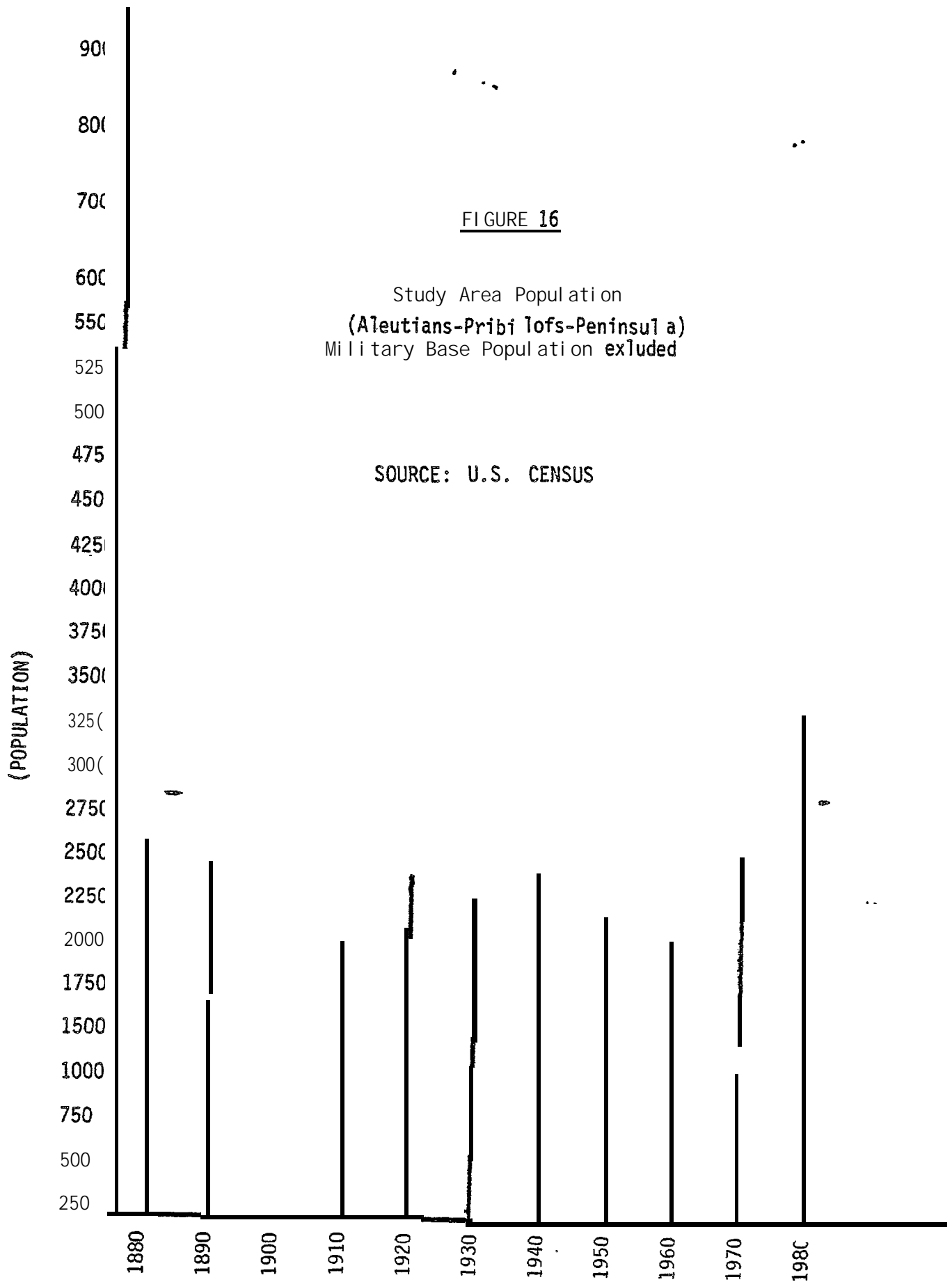


FIGURE 16

Study Area Population
 (Aleutians-Pribilof-Peninsula)
 Military Base Population excluded

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS

Many census years are deleted from the following Figures, either because the counts are **extremley** suspect or because they are simply not enumerated in official records. Figure 17 shows the population for St. George in the **Pribilofs**. This village shows some of the more pronounced stability in the region, even though there is very **little** growth until the 1920's. The drop after the 1950's is probably due to **outmigration**. Figure 18 shows the population of **Unalaska**; recall that **Unalaska** was a military base during World **War 11**, so the war **year** population was not civilian. The capricious **slides** up and down are related **directly to** the waxing and waning **of** economic opportunities (commercial fisheries) in the community.

Figure 19 charts out the population of King Cove, a new and vigorous community. Fortunate to capitalize on the fisheries and crabbing booms of the **1950's and** 1960's, King Cove has built an economic base more **stable for** the moment than most other Aleutian region communities. Here the fisheries industry is heavily centralized, with **local** fleets, permanent employees, combined crab and fish operations, and a more elaborate economic infrastructure overall. The population of **Nikolski** is outlined in Figure 20. Never able to attract fisheries development due to its shallow harbor, **Nikolski** has had a limited economic base for more than a century. Sheep herding is practiced, but is a marginal industry employing at most nine village people during the main season. Sheep herding has been attempted in the area a number of times, starting with the Russians, but has seldom shown much success. Today **Nikolskiites** are dependent on wages from other villages or processing centers on a seasonal basis, and practice subsistence in order to make a living. The story of their population inclines and declines is probably best associated with the **variable** distribution of opportunities outside the village, rather than within it.

The examples above are a sample of **Aleutian** villages discussed here in order to (1) illuminate the Aleutian population history generally; and (2) document the populations of some villages that later stages of field work **will** address, specifically. Below the discussion **will** continue with a selection of Alaska **Peninsula** villages, provided for comparative purposes.

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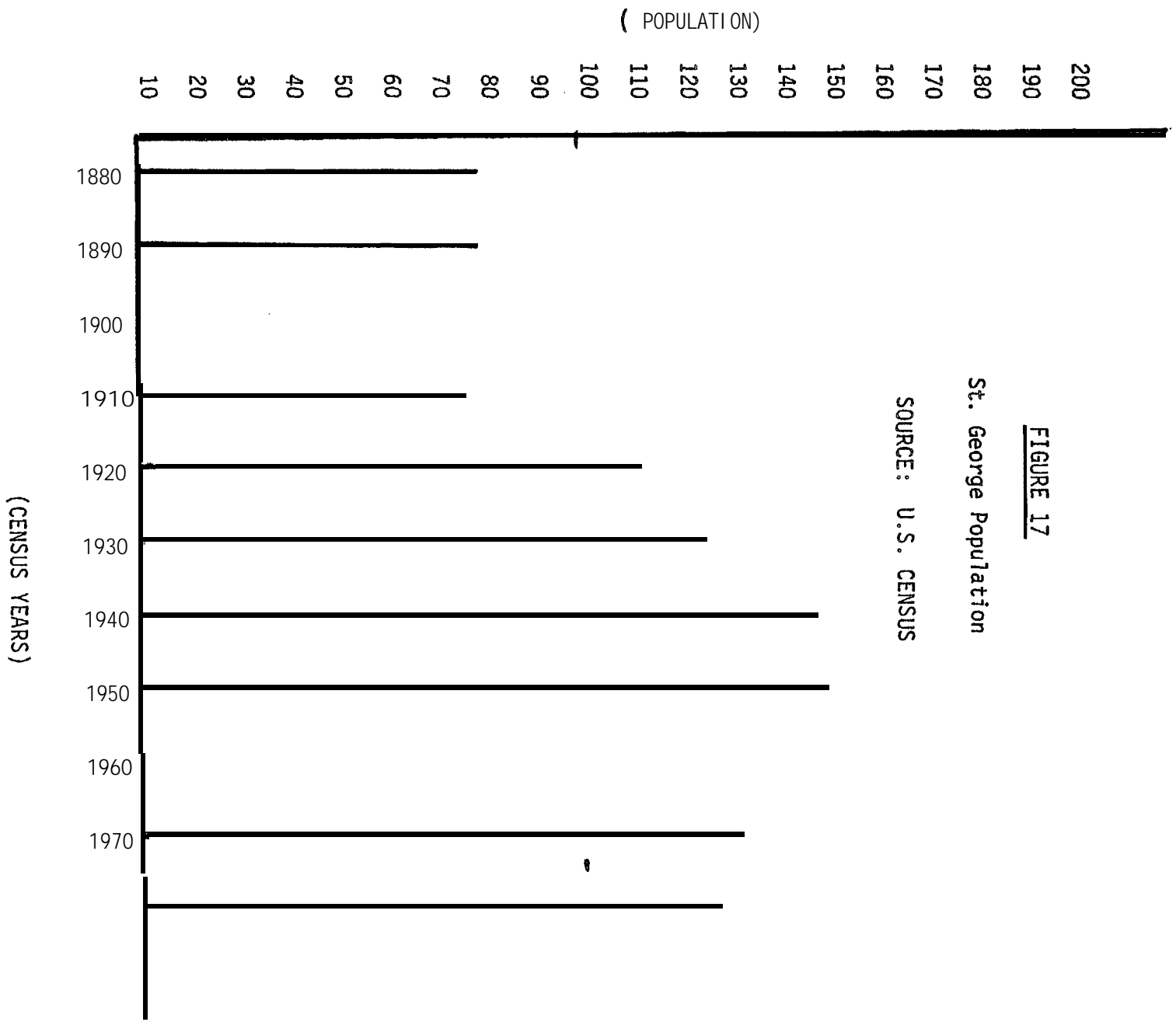
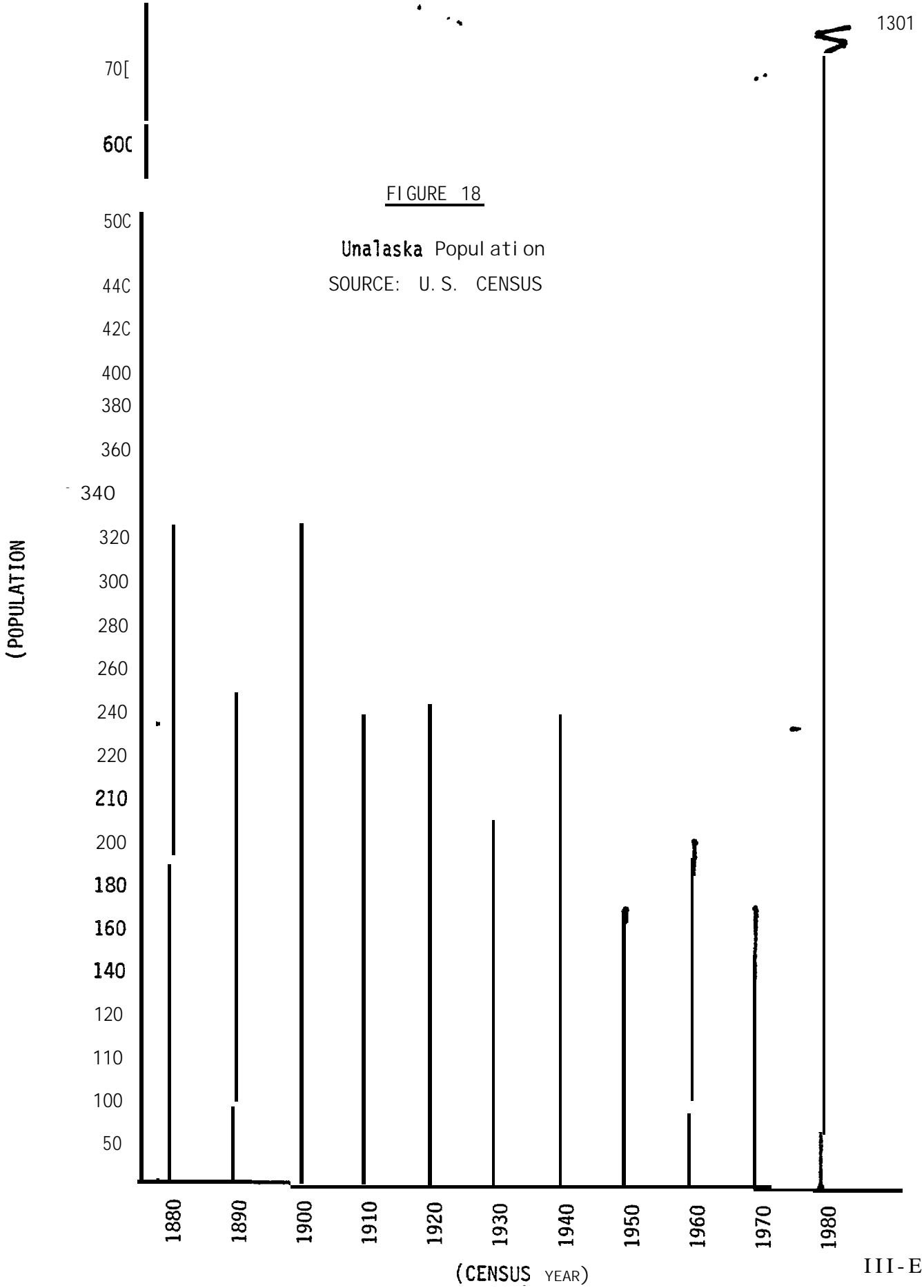
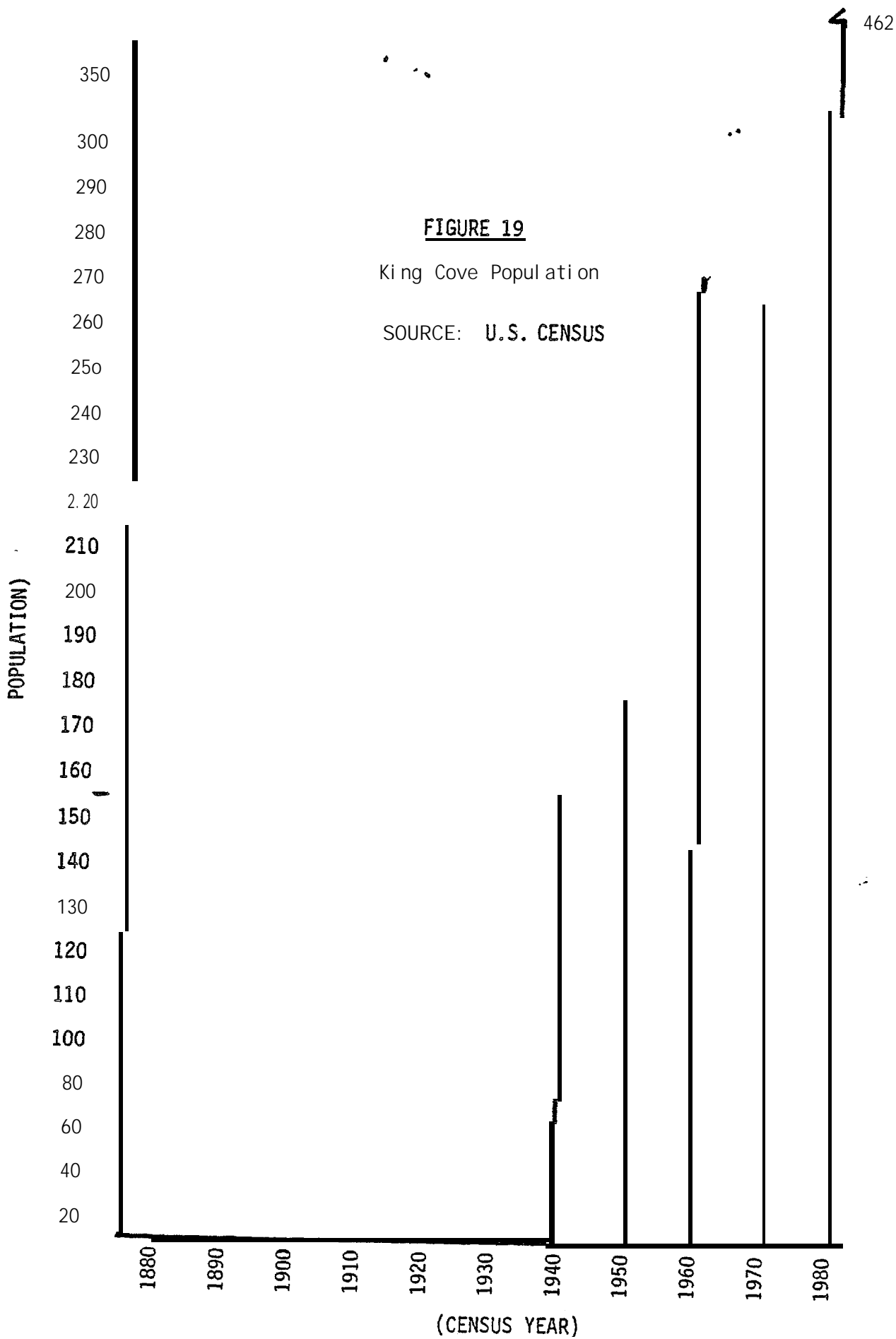


FIGURE 17

St. George Population

SOURCE : U.S. CENSUS





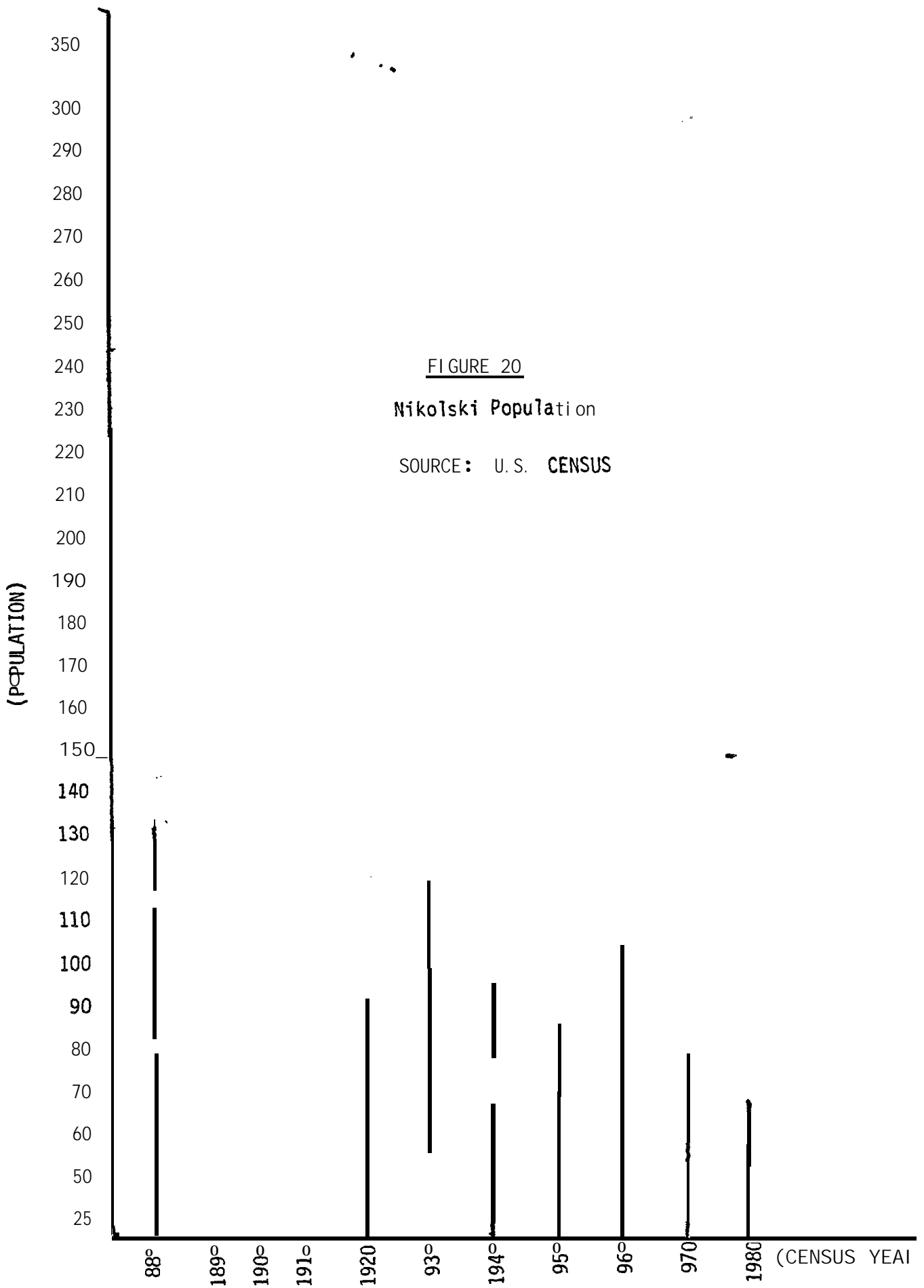


FIGURE 20

Nikolski Population

SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS

Figure 21 presents the population history of **Egegik** for the last 100 years. Before discussing this one, turn to Figure 22 for **Ugashik**, Figure 23 for **Unangashik**, and Figure 24 for **Meshik**. The erratic changes that are notable for the Alaska Peninsula are quite evident. Most if not **all** of these **wild shifts** are associated with fisheries opportunities; note the 1890-1900 peaks, just at **the** time that the fisheries were beginning to develop **in** the area. The quick drops after that point, and slow recovery in only marginal **cases**, points to a probable relocation to commercial fisheries operation centers that were more **promising** than these.

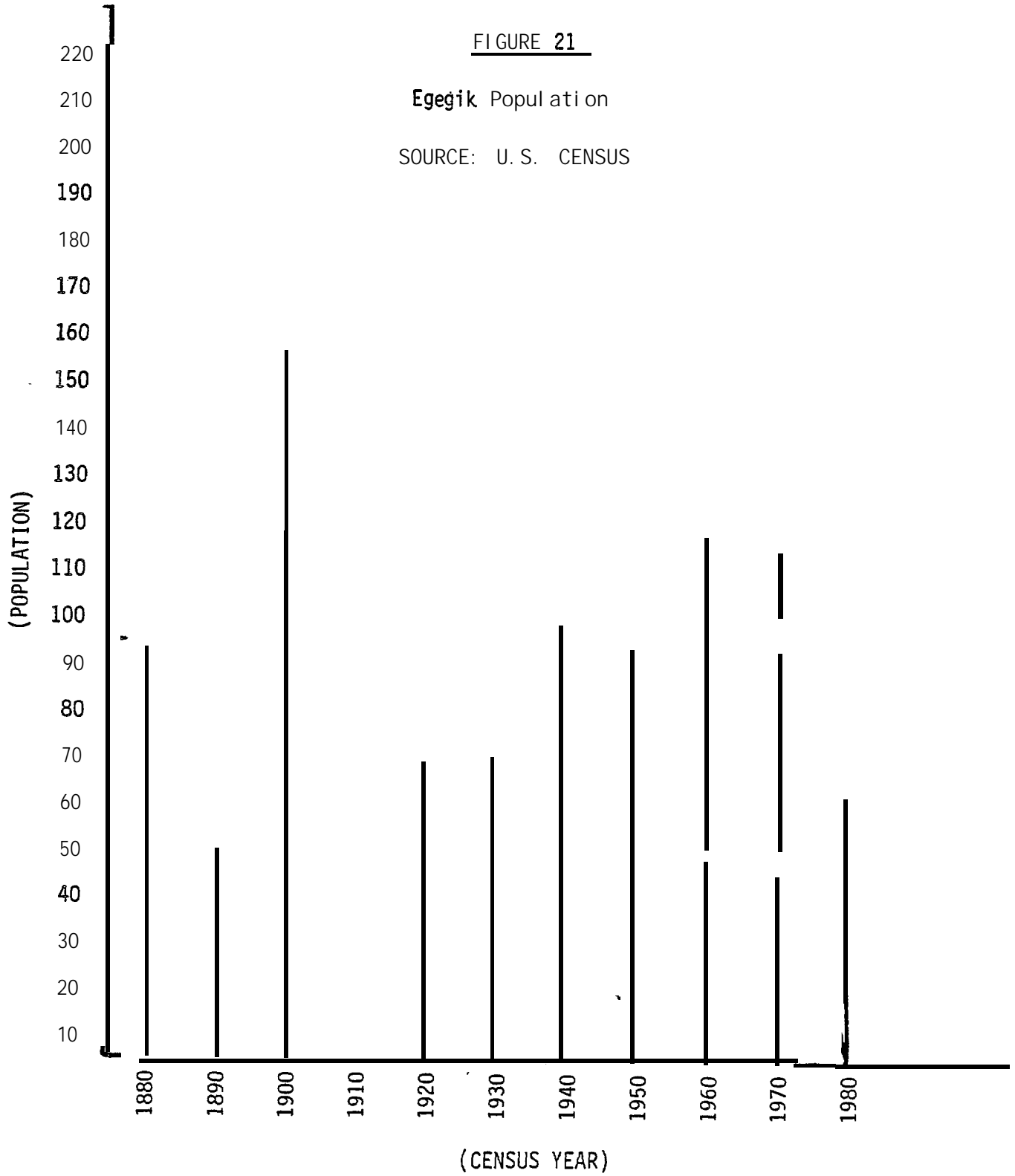
Although we have no solid records to refer to in order to support that assertion, it seems **likely** looking at the population distributions in other nearby areas. As of 1970, there were more **Aleuts living** in South **Naknek** **than either Whites or** Eskimos. **Aleuts** are the second largest **ethnic** group in **the** entire Bristol **Bay census** division. There are more **Aleuts** living in **Dillingham, Levelock**, and even **Newhalen** on Lake **Iliamna**, than either Whites, Eskimos, or Indians. On the other hand more Whites now live in **Egegik** than do **Aleuts** (cf. Dresge et al 1974: 2-12 - 2-13). The **Alaska** Peninsula area remains a **border** zone that is **till undergoing** tremendous adjustment. Given the demographic make-up of the region today, it **is hardly** possible to return to do ethnographic research and compare Peninsular Eskimos with **Aleuts**; both are too hard to **locate** and have spread too far.

Permanent or temporary **outmigration** is typical in the area, and although the former may be slacking off the **latter** is not. **People still** speak of going outside to work for some years and then returning to the village in middle age (**or earlier**) to "retire" (cf. Reed 1981). Recent analyses comparing Aleutian population structure at the turn of the century with **1970** clearly shows that not only are **more children** being born, but young adults **in** the vigorous **child-rearing** years are absent, probably temporarily in many cases. Although the author submits that **outmigration** of a permanent variety combined with lower infant mortality rates explains the pattern we see now, it is entirely possible that the **adults** absent are **in** transit for extended periods and may return; **the** local **perceptions** in the villages tend to support this suggestion. Figure 25 compares four villages at two points in time and illustrates the **effects** of **out-**migration **in** the 20-40 year age **range**, ,

FIGURE 21

Egegik Population

SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS



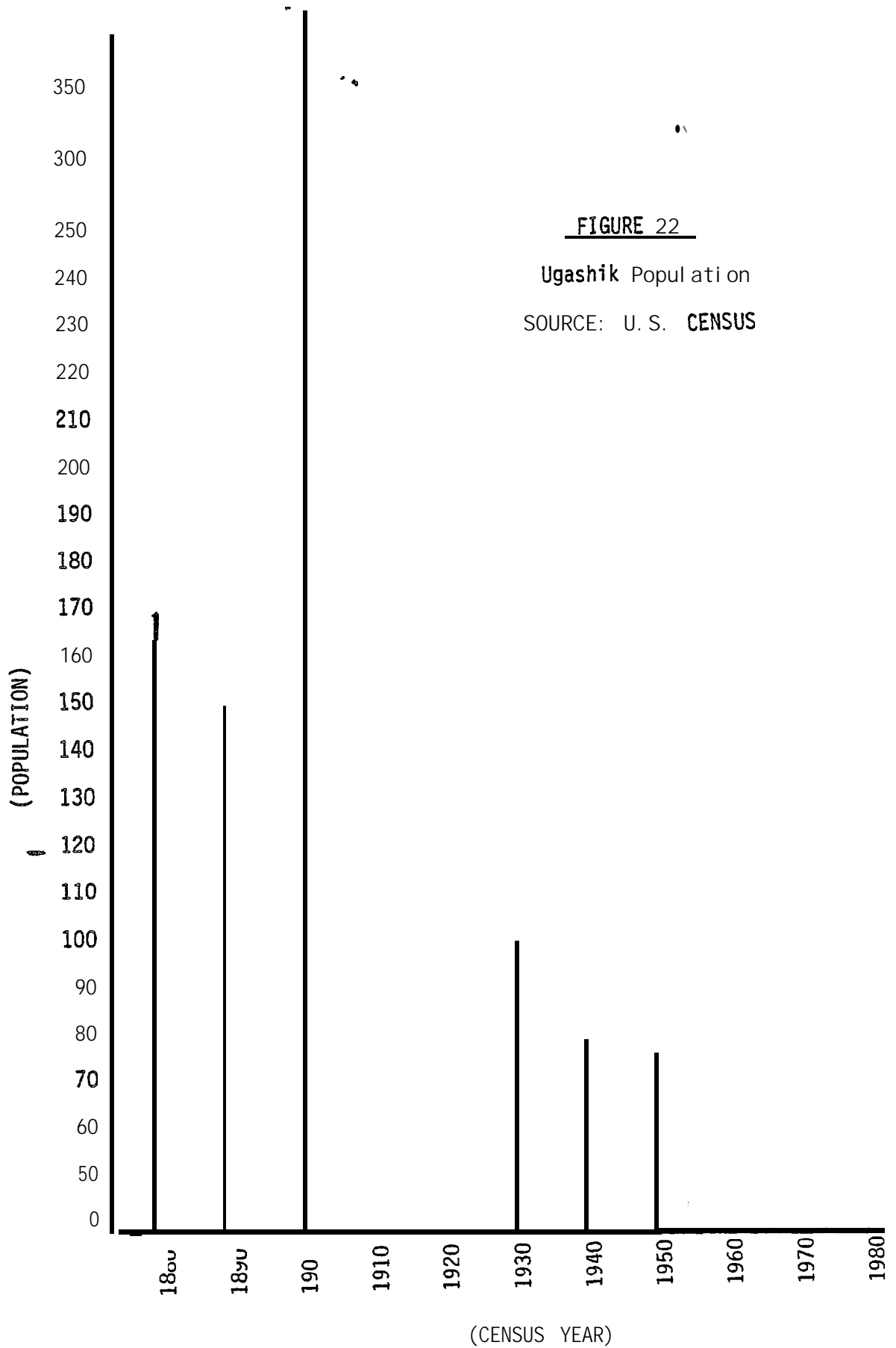


FIGURE 22

Ugashik Populati on

SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS

FIGURE 23

Ugangashik Population

SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS

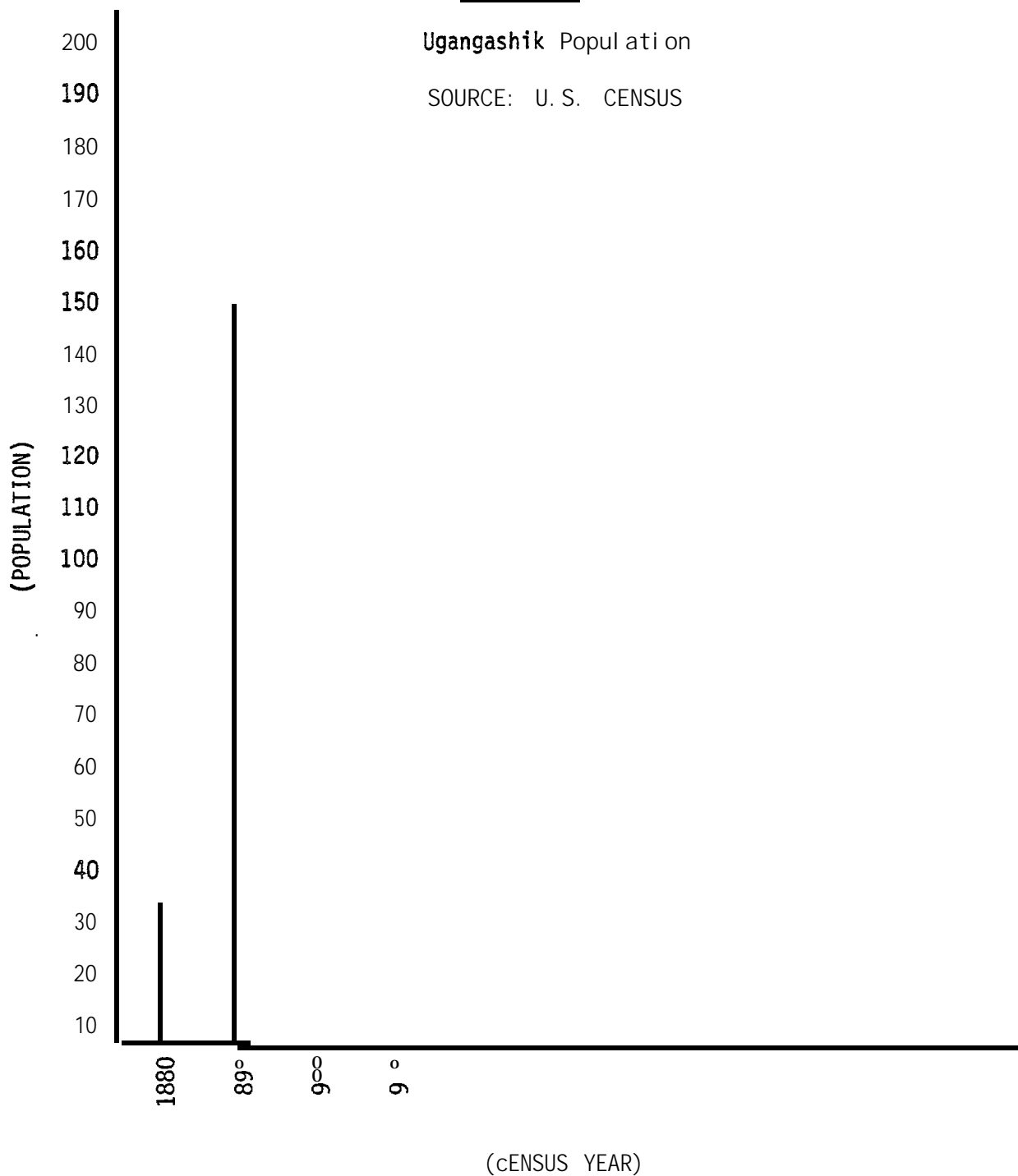


FIGURE 24

Meshik Popul ati on

SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS

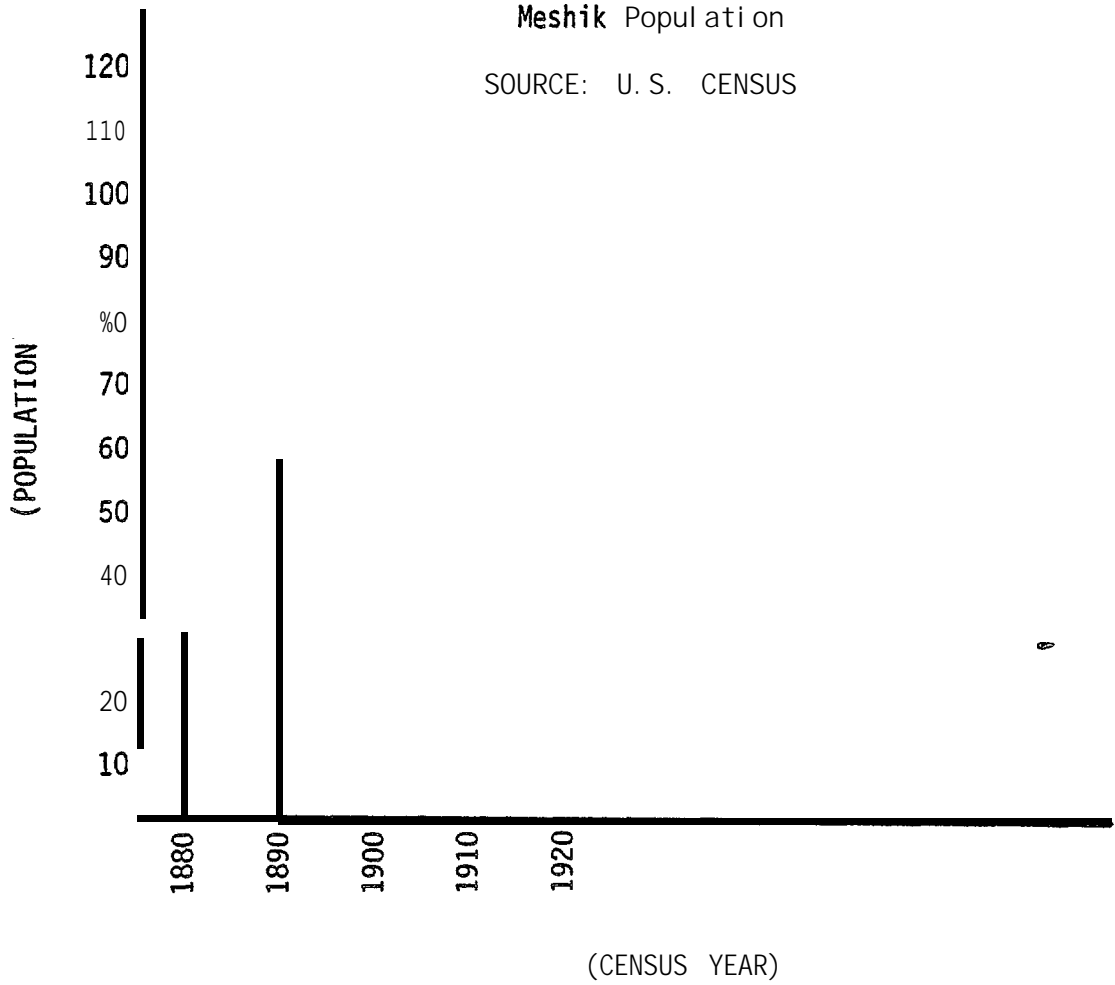
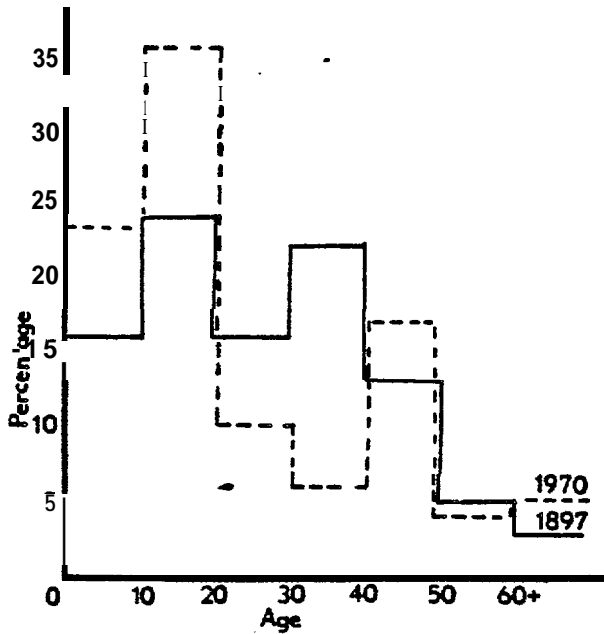
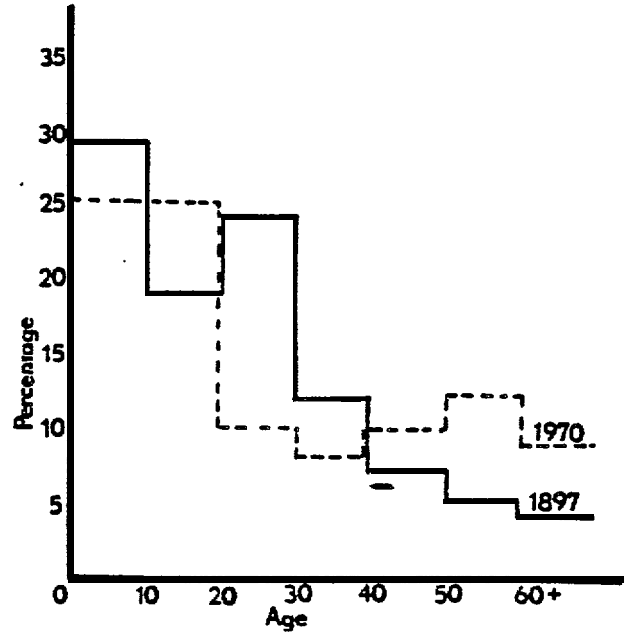


FIGURE 25
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE
IN FOUR ALEUT VILLAGES, 1897 and 1970

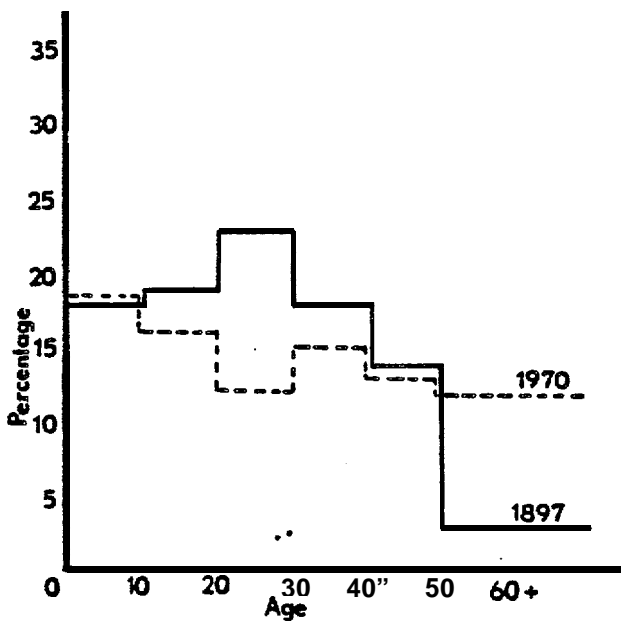
SOURCE: JONES 1973



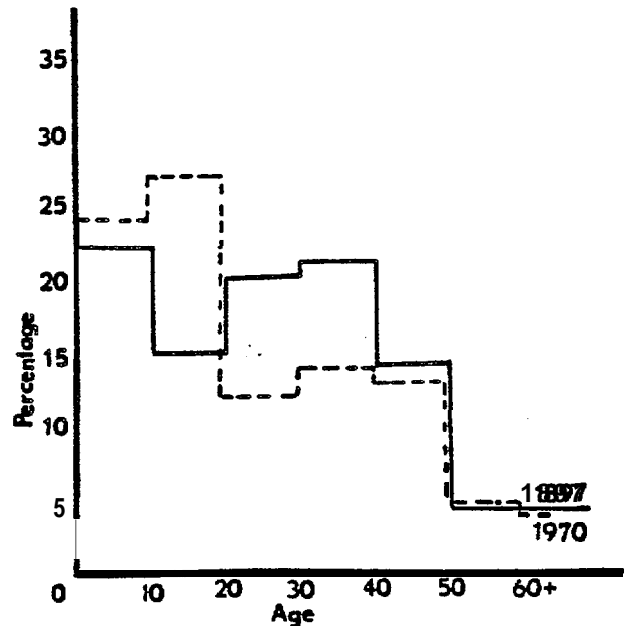
ATKAN



AKUTAN



NIKOLSKI



UNALASKA

8. Centralization and Institutionalization

The Russian period characterizes in clear detail the joint processes of centralization and institutionalization that have been the dominant themes of **Aleut** culture change during the last 200 years. From the beginning, **Aleuts** were forcibly relocated **in alien** settings, and thrown abruptly into a **cash-barter** system that **drew** them into institutional relationships with Western economics and politics. Some small relief from onerous tax tribute was **afforded** those who converted to Orthodox **religion, but** this again drew **the Aleuts** into new and different institutional relations, and for those who **followed** these beliefs and doctrines in an active manner it introduced another element of centralization: those inspired and motivated **Aleuts** who wanted to **assimilate or at least** gain access to better jobs had to attend Church school in order to **learn** trades **and become literate**. **Their** dependence on the facilities **and services in the** centralized communities **grew**.

Even **while literally enslaved** by the Russians and transported immense distances **on** hunting expeditions, the dependency on the Russian institutions grew. Everywhere, they were met with hostility **by** neighboring tribes, **since** they were **by** outward appearances agents of the **feared** Russians. The Russians were their only source of protection in many parts of the State, a fact **full** of irony.

After the close of the Russian period the **Aleut** dependence on outside economies seems to have increased. The American trading posts stocked far more goods than did the Russian ones, **and** the **Aleuts** latched onto these new material goods rapidly. The **debt** and dependency that **ensued** **locked** them **still** tighter into the pelt trade, a dependency that **would** soon prove fruitless and **exasperating**. By the turn of the 19th century the **pelt** trade was in ruins, but the **Aleuts** managed to quickly adapt to a different marine pursuit: commercial fishing. **Sources and sites of opportunity** shifted rapidly, **some villages gaining** a strategic edge over others while some were isolated **out** of the mainstream. Nonetheless **all** villages transferred their dependency to this new market, and the key question seemed to be, was the industry local (and thus **accessible without relocation**) or was it remote (necessitating at least seasonal moves from the home community)?

These trends are strong even **in** 1981, and the concentration of resources at communities such as Cold Bay, Dutch Harbor/Unalaska, King Cove, St. Paul and others provides some sense of security **for** the **Aleuts**, but one that has never been consistent in the past. A recent survey in the area asked "Who controls your village?"; an extremely common answer was "The companies" (cf. **McNabb, M.** 1981). There is no **real** hub community in the Aleutians. Corporate headquarters are in Anchorage, and although this fact may seem only natural on the surface due to conditions **and** distances in the Aleutians, it remains a commentary on the centers of power and authority in the Aleutians; the center is outside. The newest layers of institutionalization have come during the American period. The regulated fur seal harvest in the **Pribilofs**, the commercialization and militarization of the Islands, new layers of government (the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, city council forms of government), the recent-categorical and **block** grant funding schemes, and most recently the Alaska Native Lands Claims Settlement Act and the Native Corporations; all **have** served to maintain and create an enormous variety of organizations, agencies, and institutions that serve the region but that are essentially foreign to it. In this respect the Aleutian case is similar to most other rural examples in Alaska.

C Values, Dissonance, and Acculturation

What **little** is available on Aleutian values and the conspicuous changes in them in past years has already been summarized. Unfortunately the literature tell us very **little** about **values** and acculturation in the modern era.

Berreman (1964) some years ago discussed what he saw as an alienation from one's own peer and **role** model groups in the Aleutians. He discovered what amounted to an ambivalence among **Aleut** youngsters regarding their own communities, their friends, their relatives, and their status as **Aleuts**. This accounted **to** his way of thinking, for hostility against others in the village, an uncertainty about the future and life **goals**, and a sense of constant dilemma among **Aleut** youth. In some cases **Aleut** villages and **their** inhabitants seem to have meshed **successfully** with modern demands and needs. In Jones' (1976) comparative study of two villages, fictionally termed "**Iliaka**" and "New Harbor", she finds

that the newer village of New Harbor had adopted and adjusted the values of their first Anglo neighbors, hardy Scandinavian fishing **families**, and integrated them in an **accommodating blend** fitted to **the Aleut outlook**. Because certain **Aleut** values like:

"...**industry**, self-sufficiency, and **family** responsibility - mesh with **Western** ones seems to strengthen New **Harbor Aleuts'** commitment to them" (Jones 1976:69).

Jones unearths many other instances of what we might **call** discontinuous acculturation on a regional **scale**; **Iliaka** is uniformly the pathological, distressed, backward, powerless underdog, **while** New Harbor is forward looking, preserving a **blend** of **old** and new, **and** **healthy**. Yet **in** this analysis **Iliaka** **is the** traditional village that preserved **the banyas**, the chieftainship, the **Russian** Orthodox Church and other elements of **Aleut** heritage; New Harbor does **without** them. Although there are many untold pieces of the story relevant to their current adaptation, it is fair to say that in Jones' analysis the assimilating village is successful while the traditional one is not. **What** does this say about **the** viability of **Aleut** culture?

The picture certainly isn't so thoroughly **black and white**. **Iliaka** and New Harbor are transparently **Unalaska** and King Cove in **real** life. **Unalaska** and King Cove are indeed quite different, but **by** no stretch of the imagination represent the **polar** opposites that are portrayed in this comparison. **Political** and economic histories that are different **in** each village have enfranchised the King Cove **people** but denied the **Unalaskans**; the King Cove residents are more acculturated, but in the long run this seems to have less to do with community well-being and "success" than do the oblivious actions of largely invisible political and economic factors that have never been responsive to **local** needs. Perhaps it is most fair to say **that** the King Cove residents have **just** been more **lucky**.

The **Aleut** language is spoken **by** a mere handful of people today and shows **little** sign of reviving unless the future brings unexpected changes in attitude among **both Aleuts** and Anglo educators. The Russian Orthodox Church remains strong in many villages, and the Orthodox practice today of non-centralization lends more of a community identity **to the** local churches? But it is unclear

*cf. Smith 1980

what the Church role **will** be in the future. Complaints surface now and again among Orthodox Church **goers** that the Church is discouraging Native languages. The Orthodox Church has never been known for such a **practice in** the past, but the presence of **such a perception** among the congregation may show that ambivalence toward traditional elements of heritage exists; **on** the other hand the allegations may be perfectly true. The **acculturative** processes in the Aleutians are cloudy at best, and most of **what we** can say now is speculation.

3. Current Conditions, Policies, and Practices

A. Self-determination and **Control**

' Judging by the business ventures and service programs **deveToped** by the **Aleut** profit and non-profit corporations, it seems that a key policy and planning concept is preparation for involuntary events, events that the **Aleuts** have little or no control over. The dependencies that have developed over the years on capricious industries and **fickle** government agencies and programs are consciously realized, perhaps, and deep concern about the future of these relationships emerges in a number of program areas. **A** recent corporation **news-**letter makes this clear. In a discussion of alternative energy sources and **economic options** for the future, the newsletter asks the questions:

"King Cove...Sand Point - **What** do we have **that** we can use if the cannery decides to **pull** out and our generators go? Do we have other resources that we can use?"

and,

"St. Paul and St. George - If the **govern-**ment moves out and the **generator** breaks down, what can we do?" ' (APIA 1979: 3).

There are other examples as well. The sense one gains reading over these plans and ideas is that an accurate, objective appraisal of these outside dependencies have been made. The government and the companies **are** unpredictable and have **seldom** shown themselves responsive **to human** needs. There is also a fear

of imminent abandonment that can be interpreted from the plans, a fear that is undoubtedly real in some quarters. It is **a fear well** founded **in** history.

The Aleutians' modern programs and projects contain their share of social **service** and educational activities, as is the case nearly everywhere in Alaska. Government usually vies **closely** with commercial fisheries for the **major** share of the local economies. **But** many **of** the other projected plans for the region focus on "back-up" systems, "life boat" programs to protect the villages from the uncertainties of future events. The alternative energy discussions **illus-**trate this **point**. Looking over the current programs, which include musk ox textile programs, dental and educational services, employment services, EMS and CHA training programs and the like, it is notable that there are also many new programs aiming at resource development. The corporation's reindeer **herding** program has been enhanced, fisheries programs are **rapidly gaining** momentum (in the form of training programs, **saltery** development, **flash** freezing operations), **and other** resources are being investigated (APIA 1978, 1979). -

The approach **to** corporate **investment** and regional development seems to be a combination of human resources development and extraction, with emphasis relatively balanced between them. Because of the immense distances and shipping difficulties in the area, it is unlikely that localized developments **will** have a direct impact on other *villages* except insofar as they draw population away or reduce the incentive for **locals** to leave. This is in standing with **longterm** historical trends in the region. The **Aleut** corporations are in the difficult position of having **to** plan regionally **while** developing plans on a **localized** basis; a **saltery** for this village, a flash freezer for the other. **Aleut** corporate and **local agitation** for better **ocean** transport, **and their** constant battles with Reeve Airways for better air service, show that they are **well** aware **of** the deficits they inherit with such a **large** region. But although they share many things in common with, **for** instance, the NANA **region in** terms of general trends toward centralization and the **like**, their current position and perspectives **on** the future seem to be divergent.

B. Inter-ethnic Relations and **Native** Identity

Enough has been said about relations between the Russians and the **Aleuts**. In the past, however, the **Aleuts** had their share of antagonistic relations with neighbors. The **Koniag** were their hated enemies, and the **Aglegmiut** were little better; at **least** one could negotiate with them. They felt an affinity for the **Chugach**, though, and considered themselves to be brethren, descended from the same **people** (cf. **Lantis** 1970).

But other than the calamitous relations with Russians and neighbors at the time of contact, we have few data to review about inter-ethnic relations. The **Aleuts** were **drawn** into hostile relations with many other ethnic groups, notably on the Alaskan Peninsula and in Southeast Alaska, due to the mistaken impression that they were the agents of the Russians. But **soon after** the period of greatest hostilities drew to a close, **Aleuts** were encamped with **Aglegmiut, Ingalik, Togiagmiut, Tanaina**, and even **Koniag** at Russian trading posts, apparently **in** peace albeit an enforced one.

In more modern times the **Aleuts** have faced the same misapprehensions and slanders that all Alaska Natives have. Banks writes of an incident he witnessed: strolling along the beach, he sees some **Aleut** women gathering **reef** food. He shouts hello, and they discard their food and retreat. Later he speaks to one of the principals:

“They ashamed. Attu peoples gather **old-time** foods still, just like we did on Attu, but Atka shamed and **tell** us not to do that’ He explained that some of the white teachers **had** laughed at the Atkans for using native foods such as seal oil, seaweed, mussels, and reef crawlers. Now they were afraid others would laugh at them too, and so they had stopped using them”. (Banks 1971:41).

Later, **interviewing** an **Aleut** woman and speaking to her about her failure to be invited into people’s homes, she hears:

“Sometimes white people think our things dirty’ Clara said quietly”. (Banks 1971: 48).

Passages like this, and many others, show that the Aleut experiences with Whites has been consistent with most other Alaska Natives'. The sense of profound shame at reproaches and injuries to their esteem are a strong carry-over from the past, and the prejudice and misunderstanding of the new dominant society is in keeping with what we should be able to predict.

These similarities to other Alaska Native experiences are tantalizing but generalizations about the Aleuts based on what we know about the Inupiat, or the Tlingit for that matter, are not necessarily valid. There are strong, very conspicuous underlying threads, but our literature on the Aleut is too sparse and available ethnographic accounts too unfocused in most cases to tell us more. Even generalizations about current Aleut concepts of Native identity are difficult to tease out. The APIA newsletters and other sources make peripheral references to such issues on many occasions, but what can we make of them? Published Aleut poetry often emphasizes the elders, the Aleuts who are gone, the inner strength of the people, the lovely land they inhabit; but these show us little more than we already knew. Aleut identity today displays ambivalence, but a clear kinship loyalty and pride, and hope. The Aleut endurance is still present.

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