OCS Study
MMS 90-0039

Subsistence Resource Harvest Patterns: Kaktovik

Social and Economic Studies

U.S. Department of the Interior
Minerals Management Service
Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region

Special Report No. 9

Contract No. 14-35-0004-60147
OCS Study No. MMS 90-0039

FINAL SPECIAL REPORT

Subsistence Resource Harvest Patterns: Kaktovik

Submitted to:

U.S. Department of the Interior
Minerals Management Service
Alaska OCS Region
Anchorage, Alaska

IMPACT ASSESSMENT, INC.

July 24, 1990

Notice

This document is disseminated under the sponsorship of the U.S. Department of the Interior, Minerals Management Service, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region, Leasing and Environment Office in the interest of information exchange. The United States Government assumes no liability for its content or use thereof.

Alaska OCS Environmental Studies Program

Subsistence Harvest Areas: Kaktovik

Impact Assessment, Inc.
La Jolla, California

Prepared by Michael Galginaitis. John S. Petterson served as principal investigator and project manager.

July 1990

Acknowledgments

There are many people who helped in different, yet important, ways in the course of this project. It would be impossible to list all of them by name. The success, if any, of this projects depended more on the good-will, cooperation, and participation of the residents of Kaktovik than upon the researcher. To all of those who helped in this work, I extend my gratitude. Nevertheless, I wish to risk the following thanks.

Phillip Tikluk Jr. allowed me to stay in his house, even though I arrived as a stranger. This made me feel more a part of the village than would have otherwise been possible. Herman Aishanna, the mayor of Kaktovik, went out of his way to discuss the object of the research with me and with Joe Kaleak talked with me for a long evening with the maps (after a dinner of caribou stew). For their hospitality and willingness to begin the community participation in the research I was (and am) very thankful Nolan Solomon, the Kaktovik representative to the NSB Wildlife Management Department also was very helpful. We had several fruitful discussions near the end of the research period which greatly enriched my understanding of the village. Harold and Eunice Snowball, known from previous work in Point Lay, assisted me in ways beyond the call of duty. Harold arranged for one of his sisters-in-law to assist me, let me use his printer at a critical time, and provided good advice and information on numerous occasions. Eunice was helpful in the same ways and oriented me to the school, where she is the secretary. Archie Brewer took time from his busy schedule to speak with me at some length, and made me feel welcome in church and around the village in general. Isaac Akoochook and the other village Elders also made me feel welcome there, and one of my only regrets is my inability to speak Inupiaq. Glen Chandler is to be thanked for the very long period of time he was willing to talk with me, which was still unfortunately all too brief. Marx Simms was the first Kaktovik resident I actually talked to upon arriving in Kaktovik. He did not impose his opinions (perhaps being, as usual, very busy and having several things on his mind) but showed an interest in the project and proved to be a rich source of information and advice, Boyd (and Dorcas) Lockwood were similarly helpful. Boyd helped arrange for me to stay at Philip Tikluk Jr.gs house, after orienting me to his view of the village. Dorcas made me feel welcome to visit at the store, where she is the manager and where villagers often go to pass some time in a sociable way.

The North Slope Borough was also quite cooperative. Carl Brewer and Dr. Michael Philo of the NSB Wildlife Management Department provided all the information that they could and arranged for me to present the research project to the full department advisory committee at one of its meetings. Chris Wooley, then of the NSB Commission on Language, Culture, and History allowed access to much of what the NSB had already done, which made an assessment of the Traditional Land Use Inventories easier than it would have otherwise been. Leona Okakok and Jana Harcharek were also helpful, but because of our time constraints we unfortunately could not take advantage of their offer to check the spelling of the many Inupiaq words and names used in the document.

To those individuals who should be listed here but are not, you have my apologies as well as my thanks. I hope to see all of you again and hope that you find this report informative, accurate, and beneficial.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION I

List of Acronyms Used

ADF&G	Alaska Department of Fish and Game
AEWC	Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission
ANCSA	Alaska Native Clasims Settlement Act
ANWR	Alaska National Wildlife Reserve
ARCO	Atlantic Richfield Company
ASRC	Arctic Slope Regional Corporation
BLM	Bureau of Land Management
DEW-Line	Distant Early Warning Line
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
KIC	Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation
NSB	North Slope Borough
POW-D	Abandoned DEW Line Station at Collison Point
TLUI	Traditional Land Use Inventory
USF&WS	United States Fish and Wildlife Service
USGS	United States Geological Service

PREFACE

The Minerals Management Service (MMS) had conducted a good deal of research on the North Slope prior to this study, much of it having a direct bearing on subsistence activity. Other than for the ongoing studies in Barrow and Wainwright, however, such research has taken a general approach to subsistence and has provided little information on the spatial dimensions of North Slope subsistence harvest activity. Non-MMS research has approached subsistence activity from this viewpoint, but is either relatively inaccessible or not oriented towards MMS concerns for EIS purposes. This project was to document such land use patterns for the community of Kaktovik for MMS, using the work that presently exists supplemented by a short (one month) period of field work.

The ultimate goal of the Kaktovik subsistence harvest areas study was to describe the pattern of harvests of wild resources by Kaktovik residents, emphasizing a geographical perspective. There were three explicit components to this ultimate goal. The first was to compile site-specific information on Kaktovik hunting sites, both from the literature and from field work in the village. The second was to contextualized this site-specific information by gathering information on several broader research questions concerning site use, changes in the pattern of use through time (potentially both for individuals and the community as a whole), and the role of subsistence in village life. The third component was to produce the actual report integrating the material from the first two components with the work partially completed for Part A of this project.

Organization of the Research

This component of the study was designed to emphasize field work and the collection of new information based on maps produced by Part A of the project. This maps, in turn, were based primarily upon the literature. The main source was apparently the Traditional Land Use Inventories (TLUI) produced by the North Slope Borough (NSB). The TLUIs have some inherent difficulties as a primary source of data. Locational information is often ambiguous or lacking altogether, Site numbers are not always unique. A complete map of TLUI site locations is not available, and those partial maps that have been published are too small to accurately reflect other than general locations and also contain several inconsistencies regarding the specific placement of various sites. Other sources, and especially the more useful and recent work done in the community, tends to be unpublished and relatively inaccessible. Perhaps for theses reasons, the maps prepared for Part A (by a separate contractor) contained both errors of commission and omission that required a great deal of time to unravel (both in the field and afterwards). It is still not certain that all sites are located with complete accuracy, as complete field verification of all sites was not possible -- many pieces of contradictory information only became apparent after the field portion of the work was over. This required that the field worker/analyst make the most informed decision that he could on the basis of the information available.

Organization of the Report

The report itself is organized into three sections. The first is a discussion of the history of wild resource use, the resources involved, seasonality and timing of harvest activities, changing resource and land use patterns, and factors affecting land use. A general discussion of the effects of industrial development, the Inupiat perception(s) of such development, and local attitudes toward development and resource management in general is also part of the first section of the report. References are made to specific sites inventoried in section two of the report when appropriate. This second section of the report is essentially an inventory of subsistence resource harvest sites and areas. Information on the use characteristics of the site or area (species involved, timing, location, and so on) are presented in a standardized format. This is the specific information that forms the basis for the more general discussion and analysis contained in section one. Section three of the report is the bibliography of references used and data sources available.

There are several types of maps produced for this report. The primary map product, as specified by the contract, is a set of acetate overlays for the USGS 1:250,000 maps for the study area. Each of the sites inventoried in section two of the report is mapped on the appropriate overlay, except for those which are on maps which for reasons discussed in the text are not considered to be in the present-day Kaktovik primary land use area (Barrow, Ikpikpuk River, Teshekpuk). In addition, it was felt that such point mapping potentially greatly misrepresented Inupiat subsistence activities, so that a similar set of acetates illustrating the areas exploited for certain resources was also constructed. This follows the discussion in the text of section one, so that the rationale should be found there. Because of the expense of producing the acetate overlays, and at the request of MMS, we agreed to try to produce a set of similar 8.5" by 11" maps for inclusion in the text volume. It proved impossible to reduce the specific site map to this size within our time and budget constraints and have it remain usable. The area maps were modified so that each small map depicts the area used for one species only on a regional study-wide basis (that is, information from all component 1:250,000 maps is shown on one map). This not only make logical sense, since it is the large regional pattern that is of interest anyway, but also was a practical necessity. The color coding on the large acetate overlays is too complex to reproduce in black-and-white, and the only option to presenting all species on one partial study area map was to present information on each species separately on a standard regional study area map. These ten maps can be found in Appendix A. They are intended to be informational only and are interpretable only in conjunction with the text from sections one and two, In no way should these maps be taken as definitive.

Community Sample

The use of survey instruments was expressly forbidden for this research, so there was no formal sampling strategy and no attempt was made to provide quantitative measures for harvest amounts or frequency of site use. Not only are these sensitive issues which are

difficult to investigate, but they would also have required far more time than was available. Similarly, any systematic investigation of sharing almost requires a formal interviewing instrument and a fair amount of time. The approach taken in this research was thus a pragmatic one of mapping sites and areas used with those identified by community members as active subsistence hunters, discussing those issues defined as most pertinent with those same individuals as well as with individuals identified as important for other reasons (community leaders, Elders, other knowledgeable persons), and attending the key public events occurring during the period of fieldwork (public hearings, council meetings, and so on).

The sample which resulted was far from a complete sample. For this reason the maps, and especially the area maps, can not be considered to be definitive. While it is probable that most sites of primary importance have been mapped, there are very likely some sites which are not on the maps. This is especially true for sites which have more importance in a cultural sense than for strict subsistence activities. Only areas of major significance which are also discussed in the text are mapped. It is extremely likely that Kaktovik hunters use areas outside of those mapped on a fairly regular basis.

While the sample is not a complete one, it is more than adequate for the purposes of this research. As stated above, the purpose was not to document the amount and frequency of subsistence activity (although such information was not ignored if it was readily available) but rather to map and document the sites (and areas) within which subsistence areas took place. Informants understood this distinction quite well and often asked who had already provided information. They would then tend not to talk about areas they perceived as already covered. A few direct questions on the part of the researcher was usually adequate to cross-check information in the areas of perceived informant overlap and almost invariably the information had a high degree of agreement. Hunters have very complete information about where others go to hunt, although seldom will they talk about the subsistence activity of others to the researcher, saying that they do not want to misrepresent what that person does. Villagers in general share a map of the land around Kaktovik that is quite similar (although the knowledge varies in detail from person to person).

Not as many Elders were part of the sample as had been hoped. This was partially due to the difficulty of finding translators on short notice within the village. Most Elders can communicate in English, but are much more comfortable and eloquent in Inupiaq, especially when discussing a topic of such cultural significance as subsistence. Several Elders also perceived the research as redundant of the NSB effort which produced the TLUIs and so did not want to participate. They did not want to answer the same sort of questions yet again. This is unfortunate, given the problems with the TLUIs, but understandable and their refusals were respected. This makes the information on TLUI sites used for subsistence in the past but not so much now weaker than it otherwise would have been, but the primary emphasis of this research was on contemporary subsistence sites.

Introduction

The research from which this report has resulted was oriented towards mapping subsistence resource harvest sites used by hunters from Kaktovik, and then collecting current information about the use of these sites. This inventory function was the primary task of the research and this information is presented in inventory form in section two of this report. Section one deals with more general treatments of broader questions related to subsistence in kaktovik -- a general description of the current yearly round, how that is different from the past, the effects of oil development upon subsistence activities, factors influencing who uses what sites or areas and at what times, and so on. The list of issues treated is not exhaustive, but is a product of the concerns that were expressed by informants during the field collection of site-specific information. A parallel study was also conducted in Nuiqsut (Special Report No. 8) and provides good comparative information, although the development of this comparison was not part of either project.

The focus of our portion of the research was on contemporary subsistence harvest site utilization, along with some concern for how this has changed from the past (and the effects of oil development in particular). The TLUI lists can be a potentially misleading starting point for such research for any of the NSB Native communities, because of the way in which they were compiled. Elders were asked where the productive subsistence resource harvest areas were and where they themselves had lived and hunted. Given the changing conditions of life on the North Slope (the consolidation and mixing of the population into a relatively few fixed communities, the increased importance of wage labor, scheduled activities, and so on) it is not surprising that the TLUI reflects a pattern of subsistence utilization very different from that of the present day. This question, as interesting as it is, was not a focus of this research and is treated only in a preliminary and mostly historical discussion (the present-day relation between subsistence, wage labor, and the cash economy is addressed by several sources -- see Kruse 1982, Kruse at al. 1983, Galginaitis et al. 1984, Worl and Smythe 1986, Impact Assessment 1989, 1990). The more limited goal of this research projects was to document current patterns of subsistence activity as they are related to specific harvest sites.

The TLUI as a list derived from a given number of informants is also associated with the community of residence of those informants. In many cases, however, the information actually does not relate directly to that community, as the informants were living somewhere else (or "many places else") at the time for which they are providing the information (anywhere from the early 1900s through the 1960s for the TLUI). Kaktovik, as is true of most other NSB villages, is a community made up of people drawn from a number of different regions. Many of the Beaufort Sea TLUI sites associated with Kaktovik on the Beechey Point map, for instance, reflect the mobile living patterns of Inupiat before the formation of the NSB. Kaktovik itself was not established as a fairly permanent village until the 1920s and served as more of a service center than as a residential community until the formation of the NSB (although the construction of the DEW-Line station also significantly "stabilized" the residential population, at least for a time). Thus, TLUI sites reflect a more

mobile, seasonal, and expansive use of the land to the west and east of Kaktovik than is evidenced currently. Part of this pattern dates back to the 1900s or earlier and so is also involved in the Elder recollection of earlier times and the previous residence issues. This will be discussed in a general historical section dealing with changing subsistence utilization patterns over time.

The TLUI lists for the various communities have also tended to increase the overlap in the perceived land use areas of those communities. There is no doubt that there is overlap in the areas actively used by the hunters from the different North Slope communities, but it is just as clear that most North Slope hunters have an fairly clear cognitive idea of their community's "home territory" and that it is relatively well-defined and separate from that of the other communities. This is not to deny the reality of the value that any Inupiat is free to hunt anywhere, since the "home range" idea and the "freedom to roam" value are both held at the same time. This will also be discussed in a separate section. The TLUI, by setting down in permanent form the areas and sites used by a very mobile population, which later consolidated into several different permanent settlements, has made the question of "land use area" a very complicated one indeed.

For purposes of our reports on Nuiqsut and Kaktovik, we have made the pragmatic decision to define the land use areas of the communities pretty much where the active hunters do. This makes for minimal overlap (primarily in the Flaxman Island and Sagavanirktok map area) and does not misrepresent the current behavioral pattern to any large extent. The overlap is to a large extent a product of the subsistence utilization patterns of previous generations as reified by the NSB TLUIs.

The pattern of subsistence harvest site utilization can never actually be fully documented in any event, since it is a pattern in constant change and by necessity is a function of many variables interacting in a complex manner. The most that can be hoped for is as detailed an understanding of the concrete behavior as can be observed or documented, combined with an understanding for the values and perceptions that shape the hunters behavior within that pattern. This is-the task that had been set for out discussion.

Site Entry Format

Previous work has attempted to present the known information on the sites identified in a systematic way. Unfortunately, this work was rife with inconsistencies, incomplete entries, and inaccuracies. We have attempted to improve on this by using a similar approach with more attention to execution. The information for each site or areas is presented in the same format, using a standardized data template. Where information is missing or not known that area of the information grid is either left blank or annotated accordingly. Time did not allow for us to check which sites are included in Ed Hall's archaeological survey of the North Slope. Since this survey took place after the NSB TLUIs were compiled and has not as yet been incorporated into the TLUIs or the literature, this is potentially a rich

source for information on the cultural significance of sites. For this reason we have left a field for this information in our database.

The information fields we have used are:

Site Number
United States Geological Service (USGS) map the site is located on
Inupiat name if site
English name of site
Meaning of the Inupiat name
Alternate name(s) for the site
Descriptive location for the site
Coordinate location for the site (NSB TLUI, Orth 1967, Nielson 1977a)
Site number for the site in other references
General use of the site
Access to the site
Features of the site
Specific use of the site
History of use of the site (and origin of English name)
References

It will be noted that we have chosen to organize our primary list by site number and USGS map location. This reflects our guess that most users will be looking at the maps first and consulting the data rather than vice versa. Therefore, in section two we have grouped all the sites that appear on one map sheet together and list them in increasing numerical order. They are not in exact numerical order as we have tried to preserve some logical relation between our site numbers and those of the TLUI. This has not always proven to be possible due to the problems of the TLUIs themselves, but we have done our best.

Perhaps the most important point that we can make is that the information in this report and on the accompanying maps is far too easy to misuse or misinterpret, We have not compiled a complete site and area inventory, nor do the maps adequately represent the complex behavioral patterns that comprise the present subsistence pattern of Kaktovik. This system is in constant flux and no static description or single point in time can give an adequate understanding of mechanisms within the system which allow it to adapt to normal fluctuations, or to respond and change to new and different conditions. We have tried, in our narrative discussion, to contextualized the site and area information. This is especially important for the maps presently harvest areas, since they in no way represent total use areas. Rather, they are meant to emphasize certain portions of the total use area, which are discussed in the text. It is our hope that this will enable the users of these products to understand some of the complexities of subsistence in Kaktovik.

Subsistence Patterns

Any analysis of historical Inupiat settlements and settlement patterns must be considered on a regional or subregional basis, not on a strictly site-specific basis. Inupiat villages were not self-sufficient entities, but were conglomerations of people who could utilize individual mobility and shifting patterns of kinship and political alliance to respond to the vagaries of resource availability and changing economic and sociopolitical exigencies (and the same generalization can be supported for current villages). Villages might be situated at any of a number of sites, especially at places where different resources overlapped, and most especially near a reliable source of fresh water. Within an area, a village and its associated residents might move in response to changing conditions -- closer to or farther from the sea or the source of fresh water, onto higher ground or into the wind shadows of mounds and tussocks, upstream or downstream. Individuals might move outward from the centralized living area in a village into more peripheral area, and back again (a pattern most commonly associated in the modem period with fur trapping and reindeer herding in the 1920s through the 1930s). Different villages or sites would be used at different times of the year, mostly in response to the differential availability of subsistence resources. Most barrier island habitation sites, for instance, were primarily used in winter when marine mammals and in some localities (Tigvariak Island for one) were locally available, while resources inland were more sporadic, Most fishing locations were used in the fall and/or summer. If used for both seasons such sites could be used as a year-round habitation spot. Cross Island and some of the other barrier islands were used as seasonal habitation sites because of their proximity to bowhead whales. However, it was typical for people to move from one living site to another during the year and to settle in different villages, sometimes in widely divergent area, for widely variable periods of time over the course of their lifetimes. Inupiat life involved a cycle in which concentrated but temporally circumscribed activity within an intensively familiar hunting territory alternated with travel to widely dispersed and far more unfamiliar areas across the northwestern arctic (and beyond). Many of these same dynamics can be observed on the North Slope today, although sometimes only in attenuated forms.

1. Prehistoric and Contact Period

Any detailed treatment of this pattern is beyond the scope of this report. Anderson 1984 provides an introduction to the prehistory of northern Alaska, and VanStone 1984 provides a similarly brief treatment of the exploration and contact period (and into the "modem" period). The reader interested in more detail, especially in regard to the daily rhythms of life and how these may have changed over time, is referred to Amsden 1977, Gubser 1965, Murdoch 1892, Sonnenfeld 1957, and Spencer 1959 (these sources may not have this topic as their central concern, but certainly contain a good deal of information on the subject). There is no treatment of this period specifically oriented toward Kaktovik (but see Wentworth 1979 for a summary), but Bockstoce 1986 discusses in general the influence that whaling had on Inupiat population dynamics and the distribution of people over the landscape. For Kaktovik the most important aspects seemed to be the transportation of

many Inupiat from further west to the Kaktovik area and further east, and the attraction of many Canadian Inuit to Herschel Island and then areas farther west (around Barter Island). The current population of Kaktovik has been derived from this mixture. Impact Assessment 1989:17-20 discusses this pattern in a more general regional context.

After contact, the flux of group formation and reformation undoubtedly intensified, as demographic patterns were substantially affected by the availability of resources from Euro-Americans, the effects of these same Euro-Americans on the availability of subsistence resources, and the introduction of new disease vectors. During the postcontact period, Inupiat groups formed and reformed (often along kinship or proto-kinship lines) in reaction to sudden and unforeseeable population changes. The present population of Barrow, for instance, is descended for the most part from interior Inupiat who had replaced the original coastal population by about 1890, after they had succumbed to epidemic disease (Oswalt 1967:234-235). Kaktovik, after the decline of whaling, coalesced around a trading post established in the 1920s and attracted people from the MacKenzie to the Colville.

2. Postcontact Period

It is only from the early twentieth century on that reasonably good information on where people lived and hunted on the land is available, primarily through the NSB TLUIs, various NSB research programs which taped interviews with Elders, and the recollections of new informants. In as much as we will be concerned with historical patterns of land use, it will be this period from about 1900 that will be our primary concern.

In 1923 the Gordon family moved their store to Barter Island from Demarcation Point, where they had lived since 1917 (prior to that time Tom Gordon had worked with Charles Brewer in Barrow and other North Slope locations). Apparently this move was made because Tom Gordon's wife had relatives who had taken up residence on Barter Island because of its location in relation to fishing spots and the mountains (Kaveolook 1977, Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:3). The nascent settlement also was a more viable location for the trading post, which in turn increased the desirability of Barter Island as a place for families to live. People still lived on the land and traveled extensively, but Kaktovik had become much more of a central service center than before (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:3-4, Libbey 1983:15).

Later in the 1920s reindeer were brought into the Barter Island area. It is reported that reindeer herding combined with hunting kept people out on the land for most of the time, although their residential focus was Barter Island. Reindeer herding was a family business, with each family having a defined herding area. Taakpaq, the famous whaling captain from Barrow (but sometimes referred to as a Kaktovik whaling captain) herded in the area between Beechey Point and Brownlow Point. Richmond Ologak herded from Brownlow Point east to the Sadlerochit River, while the Akootchooks and Tiglooks herded between the Sadlerochit and Jago Rivers. Gallegher Arey and Mickey Gordon herded from the Jago

River to Demarcation Bay (Libbey 1983:15). Reindeer herding in the Kaktovik area ended in the late 1930s or early 1940s. A number of reasons are cited, such as excessive predation by wolves, competition of the increasing wild caribou herd for food and the difficulty of keeping the domestic reindeer herd separate from the wild stock, the slow (or non-existent) development of a market for reindeer meat and other products, and the decreased interest of the Inupiat herdsmen. The involvement of non-Natives in the industry, as government administrators, business managers, and (during certain periods) as herd owners certainly had a great effect upon Inupiat participation and interest in the industry. An assessment of the relative weights of these factors is hardly possible, since almost all studies of Alaskan reindeer have focused on the Seward Pennisula and seldom mention North Slope operations. The interested reader is referred to Andrews 1939, Grosvenor 1902, Jackson 1904, Koughan 1931, Miller 1935, Olson 1969, Ray 1983, and Stem 1980.

The areas used for reindeer herding were not "owned" in any formal sense, but because of the usufruct required for efficient herding, subsistence activities tended to follow the same boundaries. These family associations with specific land territories survived the demise of the reindeer industry in the Kaktovik area (late 1930s or early 1940s) only to a limited degree. Hunters tend to hunt the land they know best, and those people who grew up herding in a certain area tended to hunt there even after there were no more reindeer herds. Through time, however, those people with direct reindeer herding experience have passed on and the younger generation, for the most part, has learned to hunt mainly from a fixed residence in Kaktovik. This has had the effect of "standardizing" the areas used (and learned) for subsistence harvest activities. The exceptions to this generalization will be discussed in a later section.

Trapping also supported a dispersed population, although that population tended to focus itself on a supply center where furs were traded for consumer goods of various sorts. There was the trading post on Barter Island run by Tom Gordon (K-40 and K-41, then K-18), but also Jack Smith at Beechey Point (N-102 of the companion Nuiqsut study), Henry Chamberlain at Brownlow Point (K-42), John Olson at Imaignauraq (K-29), Old Man Store at Demarcation Bay (K-38), and others as well. These trading posts tended to change locations (and proprietors) depending on the productivity of the trapping territory surrounding them. The decline of the fur market in the mid-1930s caused many of these trading posts to close, and other traders died (Tom Gordon died in 1938, John Olson in 1942) or simply moved elsewhere. The net result was that by the 1930s and 1940 there were few trading posts left and people once again dispersed -- some to Canada (the MacKenzie, where a trading post remained open) or Barrow or other places. A core population remained in the area, maintaining a mobile subsistence lifestyle (Libbey 1983:16-18).

In the mid-1940s the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey began mapping the Beaufort seacoast, with their main base camp on Tigvariak Island. Several relatives of present-day Kaktovik residents worked on this project and spent time at Tigvariak Island. In 1947 the Air Force began construction of the airstrip in preparation for the construction of a DEW-Line station there. This required the relocation of. the village. A BIA school was opened in Kaktovik

in 1951. The combination of the school and the availability of local wage employment supported a population influx which stabilized at about 140 people. It remained pretty much at this level until the late 1970s, after the establishment of the NSB resulted in more local employment opportunities and an increased (and improved) housing supply (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:5).

3. Post-NSB Period

The period of time since the establishment of the NSB has been one of increased economic stability in Kaktovik, in terms of wage employment, and a modification of the schedule of subsistence activities to accommodate steady wage employment. This is not a static system, however, and it would be foolish to assert that any sort of equilibrium has been reached or that wage labor as a scheduling force will always remain as important as it is at present. There is currently (1990) only one subsistence specialist in Kaktovik -- that is, an active hunter who does not work for wages and supports himself by hunting and trading the game he procures for whatever he needs that he cannot harvest himself. Another individual in this household provides the cash income required to buy fuel, pay utility bills, and so on. All other hunters participate directly in the wage economy, and more than a few wage laborers do little or no hunting.

The Yearly Round in the Late 1970s

The "subsistence cycle" of today is not that of the distant, or even the not-so-distant, past, for reasons discussed above. Before examining the most recently collected data in detail we will first summarize the subsistence yearly cycle as constructed for the Kaktovik of the late 1970s (Wentworth 1979:98-105, Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:29-33). This should allow some comparative statements to be made, to the extent that the pattern described for the late 1970s represents actual behavior. Such comparisons are especially useful in discussing the role of wage activity in the scheduling of subsistence pursuits and perhaps for a discussion of attitudes toward development.

Kaktovik Harvest Cycle by Species in the Late 1970s

The main references for this section are Jacobson 1979:98-99,101-104 and Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:29-30,35-68. Kaktovik subsistence activities are for the most part determined by the type of transportation that is possible. During snow-free months, mid-June through September, subsistence activities are confined almost exclusively to the coast and ocean. Most rivers in the Kaktovik area are too shallow for boating. The other eight months of the year Kaktovik hunters use snow machines to hunt both the coast and the mountains. The mountains are considered the primary harvest area for this period for most

species. The preferred travel routes are along the frozen river beds, although some tundra travel does take place, especially in coastal areas.

Caribou are harvested year-round (except for breakup), with the greatest peak in early July through late August, and two secondary peaks from late October to late November and from late February through March or April. The latter two periods are dependent upon the amount of snow cover and the amount of light available. Sheep are usually taken from mid-October to mid-December, and a special Dan sheep hunting season was created in 1979 in recognition of this. Sheep have also been harvested from January through March or April, but only when hunters were short of meat. Moose are hunted by only a few hunters, and usually only on an opportunistic basis. If moose are seen and no other game has been encountered, a hunter may take one. The moose season is essentially the same as the sheep season. Brown bear are taken as the opportunity arises, usually inland in April or early May, or on the coast in July. Not many are harvested. Fox are trapped along the coast and on the coastal plain during the dark winter months through April or even May. Success is variable from year-to-year, but the village averaged over 100 foxes per year in the late 1970s. Wolves and wolverines are shot and trapped during this same period, but usually further inland. Ground squirrels are taken in March and April, probably in conjunction with fishing and hunting birds. Birds are taken mostly in the spring, May through early June, and continues at a lower level through September (although the chart shows substantial activity in April and harvest activity throughout the year). Most ptarmigan are taken in the spring when they are most concentrated, but can be hunted through out the year. Fresh-water fish are taken from mid-October through May, mostly by jigging through the ice and at two peak periods, mid-November and March through April. Ocean fishing, with nets, is much more productive and takes place in August through early September. Whaling takes place from late August (at the earliest) through early October. Beluga will sometimes be seen and taken during this same period. Seals are hunted throughout the year, but relatively few are taken. Most seal hunting takes place by boat when there is open water. Polar bear are taken on an opportunistic basis, mostly to eliminate nuisance bears near whale butchering sites or in the village.

Kaktovik Harvest Cycle by Month in the Late 1970s

The main sources for this section are Wentworth 1979:98-101 and Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:29-33. The year is divided into two main seasons, summer and winter. Summer is the time of open water, long days, mild weather (by North Slope standards), and relative species abundance. Subsistence activities are confined to the coast, for the most part, since the rivers are too shallow for boat travel and the tundra is too wet. The subsistence range is much greater in the winter, as the mountains become accessible. Fewer people are active in subsistence activities in winter, however, and trips tend to be shorter and more intensively focused on the actual harvest activities.

Snow usually begins to fall in August, although there is not usually enough snow cover for snow machine travel until mid-October. The last part of August or early September is when whaling can be expected to start. Preparations will have been underway for some time, but actual whaling will not start until the cooler weather and whales have actually been seen. August is also a prime time to harvest caribou in most North Slope villages. Kaktovik is no exception, except that they are not always as available as earlier in the summer. Once whaling starts, interest in harvesting caribou declines. Similarly, August is an important month for net fishing in the ocean. Good fishing will continue through September, but must be integrated into whaling activities. This is usually not too difficult to do, since fishing with nets does not require a great deal of time other than to check the nets (and process the catch), most nets are set close to the village, whaling itself is done from the village within an area not far from the village, and most households who fish have individuals who are not engaged in the day-to-day activities of whaling who can tend to the nets.

September is devoted mainly to whaling, although the yearly cycle chart also indicates that this is a peak period for the harvest of seals, that fishing continues, and that birds and caribou continue to be taken. Once whaling is completed (a matter of several weeks, although it can range from only a few days to six weeks or so) people will start preparing for the winter season. Travel inland is still usually difficult in September, so as long as the water is open coastal subsistence activities will continue.

Freeze-up usually occurs in September, but maybe delayed until October. Sufficient snow for travel inland usually accumulates by mid-October. This allows travel to the mountains, especially to the major subsistence sites along the Hulahula River. These sites will be used as base camps for the pursuit of multiple species -- fish (jigging through the ice), sheep, and caribou are the main ones. Sheep especially are the focus from mid-October to mid-December. Caribou are harvested as encountered, and fish are caught as a subsidiary activity. The yearly cycle chart indicates that sealing continues, as does polar bear hunting and birding.

These activities continue through November until mid-December, when the limited amount of daylight, the weather, and the holidays prompts hunters to stay in the village. Hunting and trapping furbearers begins sometime in late October or early November for fox, and early December for wolf and wolverine. This activity is reported to continue throughout the winter, except for the holiday season, Polar bear are also said to be hunted at this time.

In January and February people are said to begin making trips to the camps in the mountains again. They will harvest caribou and sheep if they need meat, but not otherwise as the animals are not in prime condition. Fishing can take place, as can hunting for moose. Polar bear, seals, and birds are also reported to be hunted in this period. Furbearers are also said to be sought in this period.

Trips to the mountains really start to increase in March and April, however, when the days begin to get longer and the weather begins to moderate. Winter fishing is best at the

Hulahula fish holes from late February through early April. Some caribou are taken in this period, as well as an occasional moose. Sheep may also be taken, but again only if there is a shortage of meat. Wolf and wolverine are still taken, as their fur is desirable until May. Seals, polar bear, birds, and moose are also said to be taken in this period.

April and May are reported as the most important months for ptarmigan and ground squirrel. The last trips to the mountains of the season are often made to hunt squirrel and ptarmigan. Hunting of migratory waterfowl begins along the coast in late May or early June. The last trips to the mountains maybe combined with the first trips for waterfowl hunting. People will go to the coast and set up camp, head inland to the mountains for squirrel (hunting ptarmigan along the way), and then return to the coast to hunt birds. Seal and caribou are still reported as being harvested in this period as well, as are sheep.

Waterfowl are harvested close to Barter Island in early June, since snow machine travel is increasingly difficult at this time of year because of lack of snow cover. Seals maybe taken, as well as some caribou. Later in June subsistence activity decreases as the snow cover is nearly gone but the coastal waters are still frozen. Breakup, in June or early July, is a period of no subsistence activity, as travel is not possible by either snow machine or boat.

Breakup is usually complete sometime in July, and subsistence activities increase markedly. This is a peak time for the harvest of caribou, since they are concentrated on the coast. This peak period can continue through August. July is also an important month for net fishing for arctic char. August and September are important for arctic cisco fishing.

Inupiat Whaling in the Historical and Post-NSB Periods

Definitive information on the antiquity of whaling in the regions of the North Slope east of Barrow does not really exist. Informants maintain that whaling took place at Barter Island in aboriginal times. Hall 1987 and Hall and Associates n.d. would provide information in this regard, but the efforts previous to ours neglected to incorporate them and there were insufficient resources (time and money) for this failing to be corrected (they are not easily available sources). In more of a summary publication, Hall states that the available archaeological evidence provides only the most meager cultural history (1981:48):

> Essentially, there is no unequivocable evidence of occupation in the area previous to 4,000 years ago, precious little data on the nature of human adaptation in Arctic Small Tool tradition times, and only enough information from the more recent sites to broadly outline a picture of human occupation in the past 600 years [the late prehistoric].

For the late prehistoric, there are only three well documented sites. One, Niglik, is a specialized activity site. The lack of systematic archaeological testing at this site has resulted in an inability to establish prehistoric roots for the Niglik trading fair. Little has been recovered at this site that would address the subsistence behavior of the people using the site. Thetis Island prehistoric remains have been dated to A.D. 1350-1500. There is evidence of whaling activity, but both the nature of the tools and faunal remains found there support a subsistence pattern oriented toward caribou (50 percent) and seal (25 percent), with the remainder representing birds, foxes, whales, and various small animals (25 percent, in that order, so that whales must have been a relatively infrequent catch, given their large size relative to the other resources being harvested). Pingok Island prehistoric remains have been dated to A.D. 1550-1700. Land subsistence activities are well represented in this archaeological assemblage as well, but common seals and whales are as well. Bearded seal and walrus are not well represented, but overall it appears that whaling was a significant activity form Pingok Island during this period. The interpretation of this information in terms of cultural history is far from clear (Hall 1981:4-49,71-73).

Cross Island has been reported by Inupiat informants to have been the site of whaling activities for hundreds of years, and so could date back at least to the late prehistoric period. It is known that Taaqpak, a whaling captain Spencer (1959:154) places in Barrow, whaled from Cross Island from the 1920s to 1940 or so (Carnahan 1979:25-31). Taaqpak was one of several Inupiat who bought boats from whalers or traders in the 1920s, and a history of such transactions, especially as they affected Inupiat whaling, would be very informative. Such a history has not been written, however, and would likely require extensive research with no guarantee of ultimate success. In any event, Taaqpak also had a reindeer herd in the area and many of the men on his whaling crew worked for him, and some of those with reindeer herds to the east of him also whaled with him. It is not known for sure if Taaqpak ever lived in Kaktovik or had that community as his center of orientation, but many of those who served on his crew did. It is certain that many of those people now whaling in Kaktovik (and Nuiqsut) received their training while whaling in the Cross Island area with Taaqpak (or from someone who had learned from such a person). Thus, although whaling in the Kaktovik area proper is not documented prior to 1964, Kaktovik people did have whaling experience (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:52-53).

It is not altogether clear why whaling was suspended in this area. It is probable that the decline of the reindeer industry prompted most of the people who had been in the area to relocate to Barrow or Kaktovik. Certainly, this made the area effectively more distant for the purposes of whaling, since there were not even semi-permanent residents in the immediate area. The Colville River area was also experiencing depopulation at this same time, Schools and wage labor jobs were serving to attract people off the land and into central communities.

It is also not quite clear what prompted people to start whaling out of Kaktovik in 1964. Information is not complete, but it appears that whaling has taken place out of Kaktovik for most years since then, with a high degree of success (Braund et al. 1988:Appendix 1, page

14). After the formation of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC), Kaktovik received a formal quota and has taken an average of between one and two whales a year since then.

4. The Yearly Round in Present-Day Kaktovik

We do not claim to possess complete knowledge about subsistence activities in Kaktovik, so that the following discussion is nor definitive. What is intended is an update of the Jacobson and Wentworth information and an examination of the areas where there appear to have been interesting changes (or where the 1970s information may have been more normative than behavioral). We will start with a species-by-species description in terms of harvest and sites (or areas) utilized.

A. *Caribou*

Jacobson and Wentworth (1982:35) state that caribou "is the staple and most preferred land mammal in Kaktovik's subsistence diet." Informants would not dispute that caribou is the most frequently harvested and most commonly eaten land mammal (and perhaps overall) and that it is a much desired food. Most, however, seemed to have a definite dietary preference for sheep. Sheep, being far less accessible than are caribou, are not harvested nearly as frequently, so that caribou certainly contribute more to the food supplies of the village.

The limited information available indicates that somewhat over half of the caribou harvested by Kaktovik hunters are taken in the ice-bee "summer" period of June through September. All of these animals are taken at or near coastal sites, and since a significant number of "winter" harvested caribou are taken at these same sites, well over half of all harvested caribou have been historically taken at coastal sites (Pedersen and Coffing 1984, Coiling and Pedersen 1985, Pedersen 1990, and more generally, Wentworth 1979:99). Village informants have the impression that the harvest pattern for the last several years may have been significantly different from the historically documented one. We were not able to collect quantitative information in this regard and so can only report on what informants related to us in a qualitative way.

The Summer Harvest of Caribou by Kaktovik Hunters

Caribou are perceived as a species that is normally abundant and reasonably available, although this has not been true the last several years. This is especially true of the summer (late June through August) when informants say that there are normally caribou all along the coast. Kaktovik hunters harvest caribou in the summer using boats for transportation and the normal Kaktovik summer use area is from the Canadian border to Tigvariak Island. In most cases hunters seldom use, or expect to use, this entire area. To the west some

hunters refer to the Canning River as their "Berlin wall" because of the oil exploration and drilling which restricts and/or deters their crossing it, while to the east the area beyond Griffin Point/Pokok Lagoon is usually avoided because of the lack of safe anchorages in the event of sudden bad weather (see the discussion of "use areas" below). Also, caribou are normally expected to be so common in summer that few informants would anticipate a long trip before harvesting what they needed, and few informants pointed out specific summer harvest sites until prompted to do so. Travel is so extensive and caribou so numerous that they can almost be taken anywhere along the coast. The only exceptions are those areas where the water is too shallow near the coast for boating. Caribou frequent these areas, but are not easily accessible to hunters.

The above notwithstanding, certain areas were pointed out as areas that were normally especially productive in summer, or at least as areas where caribou harvests most frequently took place (this could be a function of hunters simply using the same areas most of the time). Since most of these locations correspond to similarly defined areas in recent work on caribou done in Kaktovik (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:35-39, Pedersen and Coffing 1984, Coffing and Pedersen 1985, Pedersen 1990), it is possible that this mode of presenting the data is a result of the informants' knowledge of this previous work. In any event, there is strong agreement with this previous work. The areas identified as especially productive in the summer are KA-803 (just east of Bullen Point), K-1 (the Canning River delta), K-3 and several other areas on Camden Bay (K-5, K-6, K-59), K-16 (the mouth of the Okpilak and Hulahula Rivers), K-805 and K-806 (the area on the mainland south of Barter Island), KA-807 (the mouth of the Jago, even though it is shallow), KA-808, K-27 and KA-809 (Griffin Point and Pokok Lagoon), and the area around K-32 (the west side of the Aichilik River delta). It is interesting that this list does reveal a disposition to hunt caribou west of Barter Island rather than east of it, It seems that boating conditions beyond Griffin Point (K-27) and certainly beyond Nuvagapak (K-32) are more unpredictable and generally worse than to the west. This holds true for whaling as well. Thus, it appears that most caribou harvested east of K-32 are taken on trips to and from Canada to visit relatives.

Most of these summer coastal harvest areas for caribou are also harvest sites for other species, most commonly fish and/or birds. Seals may also be taken in some of these areas. The nature of these "multiple use" sites will become clearer as this discussion progresses, but many of these harvest areas are used as camps where people will sometimes stay for extended periods of time. At other times, of course, hunters will simply harvest caribou as quickly as possible and return to the village. To paraphrase one informant, hunters go until they see caribou, harvest what they need or want, and return. In most cases they do not have to go far nor stay out long, unless they desire to do so for some other reason (a break from the village, scout the area for other available resources, or whatever).

The Winter Harvest of Caribou by Kaktovik Hunters

Most informants draw a distinction between "fat" summer caribou (harvested July-November) and "lean" winter caribou (harvested January-April). Most Inupiat informants report a difference in taste, which most non-Inupiat informants say they are not sensitive too. Most Inupiat prefer summer harvested caribou, but find both to be good. Since few people harvest a year's supply of caribou in the summer (preservation being one problem, availability of the caribou another, and time to hunt a third), it is often necessary to hunt in the winter for fresh meat. In most cases this will be a caribou, although it could be a sheep if there were no caribou to be found (or even a muskox if one of the few permits allocated annually had been obtained).

Just as for the summer, caribou are perceived normally to be relatively abundant and available in the winter/spring (October through April) season, when they are harvested using snow machines for travel. A significant difference from the summer is that informants spontaneously volunteered information on where the most productive winter caribou harvest areas were. Evidently in winter caribou are not as widely or evenly spread over the land as in the summer, and hunters are more constrained in their travel routes, although they have access to a larger total area. The differences in these two factors of distribution of the target species and mode of transportation would seem to account for the difference in talking about where the animals are harvested. There is also the possible effect of informant awareness of previous research, mentioned above. Also, the importance of the winter harvest of caribou has increased in the past several years as the summer harvest has declined, due to the caribou spending little time on the coast in the summer. Inupiat perceptions of the cause for this, the effects it has had, and possible ways to respond to the situation, will be developed below. One effect that such a shift may have is an increased sensitivity to where caribou are in the winter, since this has been when they have been most reliably harvested the last several years.

There are clearly two sorts of areas for the winter harvest of caribou by Kaktovik hunters. One group of sites or areas is along the coast or on the coastal plain (K-3 and KA-822 by Camden Bay). The other is in the mountains (KA-832), and overlaps with the area used to hunt for sheep (and moose and muskoxen on the few occasions when they are hunted). An adequate understanding of caribou hunting is not possible in the absence of a consideration of the sites used as base camps, and such a consideration will not be possible until after a more general discussion of each individual species (see "Base Camps and Hunting Strategies"). These "mountain caribou" are said to be most often found in the lower elevations between what are considered the "real" mountains, which is a good typification of the area around the Kekiktuk which comprises most of KA-832, the primary caribou harvest area in the mountains. Sheep can be found in this same area, but not as regularly and spend a good deal of time in higher elevations. Moose tend to stay closer to the rivers in denser vegetative cover. Informants say that coastal winter caribou harvest areas have also been fairly unreliable in the last few years and that most hunters now go to the

mountains as a first choice unless they have information that caribou are available on the coast.

B. Moose

Kaktovik hunters do not hunt moose very much, although most hunters know where to go to find one if they do wish to harvest one. There are only a very few hunters who will go out with the purpose of taking a moose, and a few more who will shoot one if the chance arises. Most hunters are indifferent to moose, however, and will not shoot one except under the most extreme circumstances. The reasons given for this are various. Some say that moose does not taste that good (although those who are willing to hunt it say that they like the taste). Some say that the time when moose can be harvested from Kaktovik, Mid-October through December, is a time when they are not in prime condition. It is also the primary hunting period for sheep and a period when caribou are also usually readily available. Both sheep and caribou are much preferred to moose. Hunters also say, in what to a non-hunter appears to be a paradox, that moose are too big. It simply takes too long to skin and process a moose, and a moose maybe too heavy a load for some snow machine-hauled sleds (especially if the terrain is somewhat rough). Informants estimate the processing time for a moose as two to three hours, and say that it is really too much work for one hunter to do alone. If the meat has to be carried any distance to the snow machine this is even more true. They compare this to the estimated twenty minutes that they say it takes to process a caribou, which is easily dealt with by a single hunter. Sheep are said to very similar to caribou in this regard. It is interesting to compare this to Nuiqsut, where moose is a preferred species. In Nuiqsut, moose are hunted in August from boats, since the rivers are deeper in the Nuiqsut area. Usually there are at least two hunters per boat, so the processing chores can be shared. This is a sharp contrast to Kaktovik, where the harvest must be accomplished with snow machines and sleds, and where when hunters go out as a group they still do not actually hunt together for the most part (although they cooperate on processing the harvest and often divide the meat equally). Harvesting moose from Kaktovik may well be more work, putting more wear on both hunters and machines, than does harvesting other species.

Hunters have no difficulty pointing out where moose can be found, as moose prefer to stay near the rivers that Kaktovik hunters use as their main transportation routes. Informants seemed to point out only a limited number of these areas as potential harvest areas, perhaps because these are the actual areas where the few moose actually harvested are taken from. KA-827 (Sadlerochit River) and KA-831 (Karen Creek) are both within the larger winter caribou harvest area. K-813 is along the Canning River and is anchored by what one informant called a moose hunting base camp. Other informants reported using this camp as a base camp for hunting furbearers and it is in a logical location to support the sorts of trips Kaktovik hunters report they typically take in pursuit of furbearers. It thus appears that the major moose hunting areas are also areas that are used for other, more primary,

subsistence activities, and that the harvest of a moose is in most instances not the focus of many subsistence trips.

C. Fish

The information we collected on fishing in Kaktovik agrees for the most part with the results of previous studies (Wentworth 1979, Jacobson and Wentworth 1982, Craig 1987, Pedersen 1989a). Fishing can take place year-round, but summer fishing with gill nets (of various mesh size) is the most productive of the year and most of the fishing effort is directed to this activity. Jigging is done through a hole chopped in the ice, generally with an unbaited lure on the end of a stout line. Winter/spring ice fishing at inland sites is combined with sheep and caribou hunting, especially if family units camp out for any period of time for these activities. The sites and areas we have mapped correspond remarkably with those reported in Craig 1987 and Pedersen 1989a, demonstrating that this activity has been well documented. We collected no information on the size of the catch other than in relative seasonal terms, so that there can be comparison with previous work in this regard.

Jigging

Only a few sites were identified as ice fishing locations, and most of these few sites were identified consistently by all informants. These common sites are all located on the Hulahula River and serve as either stopover places or base camps for multiple subsistence harvest activities. First Fish Hole (K-12) is in the foothills rather than the mountains, and is used mainly for fish and caribou, and as a camping place while on the way further up the river. Second Fish Hole (K-13) is perhaps the most used base camp site in the Kaktovik land use area. Access to sites further up the river is often hindered by lack of snow cover or overflows on the river. Third Fish Hole (K-14) is the furthest of the most commonly used fishing locations and is at the margins of the identified caribou hunting area. Paqta (K-60, "Fourth Fish Hole") is a good fishing location because of the creeks entering the river at this site, but access is often difficult and family groups tend to stop at one of the base camp locations nearer the village. Kangich (K-15) is the furthest base camp on the Hulahula from Kaktovik and is still more difficult to reach. No informant mentioned fishing here, with sheep being the resource sought from this site. Another commonly mentioned "site" was the Lake Schrader/Lake Peters region. Informants say that the entirety of these lakes are good for fishing, that several Native allotments are located on the lakes, and that caribou and sheep hunting is very productive in this area. It is thus likely that family units camp in this area as well. Informants say that these lakes would be productive for summer fishing as well if they were accessible, but they are not (except by plane, which is too expensive).

Two areas on the Canning River were also identified as ice fishing locations, KA-818 and KA-819. The frequency of use of these sites was not reported, but such use seems to be in

conjunction with the infrequent trips for moose to the area, and the somewhat more frequent pursuit of furbearers. The latter is especially true of spouses and families accompany the hunters, since they usually do not participate in the wide-ranging travel necessary to find and harvest the furbearers once the area to be hunted is reached. They would stay in or near camp, fishing or hunting small mammals. These areas were certainly used more for fishing in the past than they have been recently. One informant also located an area on the Aichilik River (KA-837) where he reported his parents spent some winters. He says that few people from Kaktovik use this area much any more, but that the fish are still there. He or his family may fish here on occasion since he is one of the few hunters who uses this area to hunt sheep, and the two activities are easily combined. He does not take trips to this area as frequently as other hunters will go to the mountains up the Hulahula, however, and when people say that they are "going to the mountains" it is understood that they are going up the Hulahula. These reports agree pretty much with Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:66-68 (although perhaps with a somewhat different emphasis).

Summer Net Fishing

Summer net fishing is clearly the most productive fishing activity engaged in by Kaktovik people, and a good deal of effort is devoted to it. There are several area very close to the village where nets are regularly set (K-17, K-18, K-24, and K-25). People may camp at these sites or commute from the village to check the nets. There are other areas farther from the village where people establish fish camps and will stay for a while. To the west is the Canning River delta (K-l), Kanginniivik (K-3), several areas along Camden Bay (K-5, K-6, and K-59), and the mouth of the Okpilik and Hulahula Rivers (K-16). To the east is the mouth of the Jago Rive (KA-807), an area to the west centered on Griffin Point (Brewers' fish camp, K-27), the mouth of the Aichilik River (K-33), and the mouth of the Kongakut River (K-34). In addition, people will take nets with them whenever they take boat trips and if they will be in an area for some time (camping, hunting for caribou or birds) they will set the net in a likely place. That way, even if they fail to shoot any game they are likely to at least catch some fish for little additional effort. Demarcation Bay is said to be a productive location which is used in this way on trips to and from Canada. Most other locations along the coast can also be used in this way, especially to the west of Barter Island where people tend to boat more than to the east (except for trips to Canada), Again, this for the most part confirms the information in Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:64-65, although they report that the Jago has no fish in it, except for some smelt at its mouth, and that it is so shallow there that catching them is difficult. Pedersen 1989a and village informants would seem to indicate that at least some fish are caught in this area.

One informant also pointed out an inland area on the Kongakut River (KA-838) where he reports good summer fishing. The frequency of such use is not clear, since access would be difficult. This may be a site used more in the past than presently.

D. Birds (Geese and Ducks)

As in Nuiqsut, when waterfowl are in season they are very abundant and can be hunted in almost any number of locations. In the spring, overland travel has become more difficult by the time that birds are available, and most people prefer to stay relatively close to Barter Island. This is especially important for the trip back to the village, since if breakup occurs while people are out at camp it can take them many hours of tedious and hard work to make this return journey. This has apparently been one factor in a recent shift away from using "POW-D," an abandoned Distant Early Warning Line (DEW Line) site at Point Collinson -- K-5 and K-6, for the harvest of spring waterfowl. Informants say that many families from Kaktovik used to go and camp there for the spring bird season, but that. for the last few years they have been using closer locations and making more day trips. The fact that more hunters are involved in wage activity which makes it more difficult for them to take time off to go camping for a week or more also is a factor in this shift.

The main sites and areas that were identified for spring birds were, from west to east, Kanginniivik (K-3), Collison Point (K-5 and K-6), Arey Island (on the lagoon side, K-17), a site on the high side of a curve on the Okpilak River (K-804), the base of the Manning Point spit (K-806), Griffin Point (K-27) and Pokok Bay (K-28). Bird hunting is commonly a family activity and may be done in conjunction with other activities. Spring is the peak time for the harvest of waterfowl, although some hunting will continue through the summer and there is another, smaller, peak in the fall (August). The main sites mentioned for the fall harvest of birds were Griffin Point and Pokok Bay (and Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:58-59 discuss other possible sites).

E. Furbearers (Wolf, Wolverine, Fox)

Information on the number of people operating traplines is uncertain. It appears that there is no great demand for fox skins in Kaktovik, although if people trap it is usually more for fox than for wolf or wolverine. Hunters in Kaktovik are experiencing the same sort of time pressures as are hunters in other NSB villages, and checking a trapline on a regular basis is a time consuming task. It is likely, therefore, that little trapping occurs in the Kaktovik area. It is possible that some trapping occurs, but it is not likely to be a significant activity. Not all active Kaktovik hunters were contacted, but those who were agreed that trapping is no longer economical except perhaps for people in Anaktuvuk Pass, and that trapping as an activity in Kaktovik has decreased with time.

Hunters still avidly pursue wolf arid wolverine, however, by searching extensive areas for them and shooting them. This is the same pattern as is exhibited in Nuiqsut and seems to be a combination of a lack of time to check a trapline as regularly as the hunter would desire and an unwillingness to let a "strong" animal such as a wolf or wolverine linger and suffer in an unchecked trap. Shooting such an animal is a quicker and kinder death, and the activity of hunting in such a manner is more active and enjoyable than the more passive

operation of a trapline. Hunting furbearers can be more extemporaneous than trapping and does not require as large a block of time or as rigid a schedule as does trapping. The two activities require quite different skills, as a trapper must know how to disguise traps and works a relatively small area, while a hunter has to know how to best search a wide expanse of territory. A trapper has to think about how to best entice the animal into his trap, or how to place the trap so that the animal will encounter it. The hunter has to actively try and predict where the animal is now. Both need to understand the behavior of the animal they are seeking, but operationalize it in a different way.

The primary areas for the harvest of furbearers are in the foothills and valleys near the mountains. The most defined such area lies between the Sadlerochit and Shublik Mountains (KA-820), while a less-defined area is west of the Canning and north of the mountains (K-812) and extends west at least to the Sagavanirktok River (KA-811). Hunters say that there are sheep in the Sadlerochit Mountains, but that they do not hunt them in this area as yet. One informant also said that he hunted furbearers east of Barter Island from a base camp located on the upper Aichilak River (K-836). He did not further define this area, but it is likely that the foothills and lower lands are more accessible and productive than the mountains to the south. He hunts this area in March and April, but does not bother shooting any of the sheep in the area as they are not in prime condition in the spring. Hunters who want to harvest furbearers also tend to ignore caribou as targets of opportunity. For the most part, Kaktovik hunters only plan a trip for furbearers after they have laid in a reasonable store of meat. Once this is done, they can afford the relative luxury of hunting for fur. This involves extensive travel, often at high speed. Harvesting and transporting large amounts of meat would defeat the central purpose of the hunt, especially as the best territory to hunt is relatively distant from Kaktovik.

Few base camps were identified for furbearer hunting activities, so it appears that most such camps are more transitory and ad hoc than for other types of hunting. Given the nature of the hunt, and the dispersed characteristic of the quarry, this in understandable. K-813 is a base camp which is located in a key place in relation to the territory searched by Kaktovik hunters for furbearers. K-812 is an old oil exploration site that hunters are interested in on the chance that there are some drums of gas cached there that they could use. Thus it appears that Kaktovik hunters use old oil exploration sites in their subsistence activities in much the same way as do Nuiqsut hunters. They are good temporary camping locations, especially when you are traveling fast and hard. The characteristics of K-836 that make it good as a base camp for furbearers are not known at this time.

As for Nuiqsut, the best time for hunting furbearers is reported to be March and April. Some hunters may go out in the fall or winter, but usually conditions are poor at that time and people are more concerned with meat than with fur.

F. Seals and Walrus

Few informants were at all specific about seal. This seems to have been for a number of reasons. Far fewer seals are harvested than in the past, most of this harvest occurs in the summer when seals are plentiful all along the coast as long as there is ice, and the harvest is made relatively close to the village. Jacobson and WentWorth (1982:54) define the most intensively used sealing area as Pokok Lagoon in the east to Collison Point in the west. This is once again the more-or-less standard limits of the Canning River in the west (oil development) and Griffin Point/Pokok Lagoon in the east (environmental characteristics) that have tended to define the subsistence range for most species so far discussed. In essence, Kaktovik hunters can take seals in many places, and as logical people most commonly take them close to the village. If they encounter them further away, while doing something else, and want a seal, they will harvest it there. As stated by Jacobson and Wentworth, ringed seal are by far the most common seal in the area, although bearded seal is preferred. Bearded seal are also larger, but it is not known which is taken more often or contributes more to the diet. Seal oil is still a very important condiment and is probably the most important current use of seal (although the meat is eaten as well).

The one exception to the above paragraph are spotted seal, which are harvested with the least frequency and are not common in the area. Informants reported that hunters had to travel to the Kongakut River area (K-834) or Demarcation Bay (K-36) to harvest these animals, which are desired mainly for their pelts. Jacobson and Wentworth report that the area from the Okpilak and Hulahula River mouths (K-16) west to Anderson Point (K-7) is also good for spotted seal, but this was not verified by informants for this research.

Walrus are rarely seen near Kaktovik and are not harvested on any regular basis.

G. Whaling

Whaling has most recently been resumed in Kaktovik in 1964, as was discussed above. That historical treatment will not be repeated here. Rather, a simple description of present whaling practices in Kaktovik will be presented.

Kaktovik only whales in the fall, with the season starting no sooner than late August and ending in September or October. There are at least ten crews in Kaktovik, so that even with a minimum of four or five men to a crew it can be seen that most adult men are involved with whaling. Most other people in the village are involved in some support or processing capability. Whaling is truly a community-wide activity.

Whaling crews use the village as their home base, leaving from the village and returning to it every day. As described by one informant, a crew leaves Kaktovik, cruises in the search for whales a bit perhaps, and then ties up to an ice berg. Eventually a number of boats will congregate and the crews will set out their provisions, eat, and socialize while a few of their

number watch for whales. When whales are spotted, the boats are arranged to intercept them in such a way that at least one should have a good shot. There is some competition to be the first to strike a whale, as this increases the prestige of that captain and his crew, but the process as described is mainly cooperative. There are times when boats are cruising the water and searching for whales, and coordination between boats may be more difficult at these times. Once a whale is struck, however, all crews in the area go to help procure the whale, haul it back to Kaktovik, and process it.

The "core" whaling area for Kaktovik (KA-801) is from the Okpilak and Hulahula Rivers in the west to what is labeled Tapkaurak Point on the USGS base map in the east. The area extends out as far as twenty miles from the coast, although most of the time crews will stay within twelve miles or so. Nearly all whales harvested since 1964 have been struck within this "core" area and there is an explicit effort made to restrict this range. Towing a whale is hard work and relatively slow, especially if there is a wind or rough seas to contend with. The farther away from Kaktovik a whale is killed, the longer the tow will be, and the greater the chance there is that at least part of the meat will spoil. The extreme limits of the Kaktovik whaling limit, the middle of Camden Bay in the west (KA-802) and just north of the Kogotpak River in the east (KA-841), are as far as Kaktovik whalers can conceive of trying to tow a whale back to Kaktovik. As previously stated, most whales are taken within the "core" area, and most of these in relatively close proximity to the village.

Crews could function with as few as three people in the boat, but most crews have four or five. Not all days are equally good for whaling, and there are periods when crews do not go out because of wind and waves. Because of the quota system, the season is over once the allocated number of strikes are used. Kaktovik currently has a quota of two, but is often in a position to request additional strikes since it is common for spring whaling communities not to be able to use their entire quota. It would be very unusual for Kaktovik to ever have more than four strikes, however, since processing each whale places a great, even if welcome, burden on the community.

Kaktovik has what is essentially an intercommunity agreement with Anuktuvuk Pass under which Kaktovik muktuk and whale meat is sent to Anaktuvuk Pass and caribou is sent from Anaktuvuk Pass to Kaktovik. This is not trade in the strict sense, as in years when Kaktovik does not harvest a whale they still receive caribou from Anaktuvuk Pass, and may indeed receive more than in years during which they do harvest a whale since the nutritional need is then greater. Most of the food thus exchanged is redistributed at public functions and feasts, primarily at major holidays such as Thanksgiving, Christmas, Easter, and the Fourth of July.

H. Polar Bear

In 1980, more than twenty polar bears were harvested by Kaktovik hunters. Since then, from two to about ten have been taken a year. For the most part, Kaktovik hunters do not

seek out polar bears to hunt, but merely shoot those which come too near the village and pose a hazard. These bears are usually attracted to the whale butchering site near the village, and their numbers vary from year-to-year depending on the village's success in whaling and the general hunger of the bear population. This is the general explanation for why the recent harvest of polar bears has been significantly less than in 1980, when conditions were such that many bears were around the village. The large number of bears taken that year also prompted a concern in the village that perhaps too many were taken that year, so that at present people generally try to chase bears away before resorting to shooting them (Pedersen et al. 1985:100). This is also reinforced by the cooperative agreement between the NSB and the Inuvialuit Game Council (Canada) to establish a voluntary quota on the harvest of polar bears in the Beaufort Sea (Inuvialuit Game Council and North Slope Borough Fish and Game Management Committee 1988). Kaktovik hunters may occasionally encounter a polar bear away from the village, but very seldom bother such an animal.

I. Brown Bear

No informant mentioned hunting for brown bear or pointed out areas where there were more brown bears than other area. They say that most of the time they do not bother brown bears. The occasional brown bear that may be taken is shot on an opportunistic basis and is not the object of a focused hunt.

J. Muskoxen

Musk ox were reintroduced into the Kaktovik area by the State of Alaska Department of Fish and Game, with assistance from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the residents of Kaktovik, in 1969. The species had been indigenous to the region but had been hunted to local extinction during the last half of the 1800s. This has been attributed mostly to non-Inupiat hunters. At the time of the reintroduction, the local Inupiat had been told that hunting of muskoxen would be allowed once the herd had established itself and such a harvest was biologically justifiable (Pedersen 1989b).

No hunting of the transplanted musk ox was allowed until 1983, when a permit hunt was initiated with essentially no participation of the local Kaktovik population in the process. There was a fee of $500 and the drawing was held in Fairbanks, and no Kaktovik resident ever applied for a permit. In 1986 the fee was reduced to $25 and five permits were issued in Kaktovik on a first-come, first-serve basis. In 1988 the number of permits was raised to ten, with five issued in Kaktovik and five in Fairbanks. Local participation increased for 1986-1988, but for the 1988-89 season was minimal as sports hunters flew to Kaktovik to stand in line and essentially received all the permits. Local hunters thought the necessity to stand in line to obtain a permit unnecessary and demeaning (Pedersen 1989b). This raised a storm of protest in Kaktovik, and the permit regulations have again been modified

so that seven are reserved for sports hunters (allocated by a draw in Fairbanks) and seven are allocated to local Kaktovik subsistence hunters. The method of allocation in Kaktovik is to be worked out by the local Kaktovik residents themselves (Galginaitis 1990 field notes).

In addition to the problem that musk ox were introduced to serve as another potential resource, and then so regulated that local hunters essentially could not utilize it, there are other aspects to the situation. Kaktovik hunters in general feel that the regulation of subsistence hunting is inappropriate. They maintain that Inupiat have always hunted what they needed, but have never taken too many of any animal. The idea of regulation, or limiting the level of effort or take, is alien and fairly repugnant to Kaktovik residents. In the case of bowhead whales they have accepted the political necessity of regulation. For musk ox, as for sheep and caribou, they think such regulation is overly restrictive (it should also be noted that bowhead whale are only seasonally available while musk ox, sheep, and caribou are all potentially available year-round).

Also, at least some local Kaktovik residents maintain that musk ox compete with caribou for food. They note that they have been seen using the same areas, but that once musk ox are noted to be using an area that there have been many fewer (or no) caribou in those areas. The last several summers have been very poor for the harvest of caribou, as the herds have for some reason spent only very short periods of time on the coast. Biologists maintain that this is due to the natural variation in caribou migratory patterns and is not due to the presence of musk ox. Local people point out that usually dependable winter caribou harvest sites are also relatively devoid of musk ox, and that the only place Kaktovik hunters can dependably find caribou is in the mountains in the winter.

Many of the areas that informants indicated as good for hunting muskoxen, or more likely, where muskoxen could likely be found (since they have not been allowed to hunt them to any great extent) are areas that have historically been productive caribou harvest locations. In the east this includes such areas as Imaignauraq (Humphrey Point near Pokok Lagoon, K-29) and BAR-A (K-842). There is a study of the use of winter habitat by muskoxen in this eastern region underway at present, but the principal researcher says that the main body of muskoxen is actually to the west. The Inupiat residents of Kaktovik concur in this, saying that there are several resident herds in this area. One tends to use the Camden Bay -- Katakturuk River area (K-4), whereas another moves between Camden Bay and the Sadlerochit River (KA-823a, KA-823b, KA-824). Others can be found on the Hulahula River (K-12). Muskoxen are also found to the west of Camden Bay near the mouth of the Canning River (KA-821 -- it is not clear whether informants consider this a separate residential herd or not). As discussed in the caribou section, all are areas where it is expected that caribou will normally be abundant and available in the summer. For whatever reasons, this has not been true the past several years and many informants think that the muskoxen are principally to blame.

Most muskoxen have been harvested by non-Inupiat hunters guided by Inupiat. Camden Bay and the Sadlerochit River seem to be the harvest areas of choice. The last muskox

taken by a Kaktovik resident (with a permit) was on Kaviak Creek, between Camp Creek and Dodo Creek, inside the mountains. The preferred time to hunt muskoxen is in March and April. Travel is still good, days are relatively long, and the weather can be expected to be fairly good.

K Sheep

Sheep are not the major subsistence resource for Kaktovik and everyone recognizes that fact. Caribou is the major terrestrial resource harvested, whales contribute a great deal to the village diet (both directly and through exchange), and fish may also contribute more than sheep to the overall village economy (information on the amount of fish caught and consumed in Kaktovik is minimal at best). Still, sheep are the subsistence resource which is used to identify Kaktovik, as it is the resource that most differentiates them from other NSB villages. Anaktuvuk Pass is the only other NSB village to hunt sheep. The school% athletic teams are nicknamed the Rams, and the most popular ball cap (often worn in winter as well as in more temperate weather) is a DEW-Line hat with a ram superimposed over the DEW-Line's domed radar tower. Sheep are the most salient subsistence resource to hunters, and the resource most seem to prefer hunting. With the recent difficulties finding summer caribou, the controversies surrounding the hunting of muskoxen, and the issues of on-shore and off-shore oil exploration and development, this salience may not be as obvious since sheep may be the most stable and least threatened of the subsistence resources Kaktovik residents use, and are thus not the subject of much community discussion. Still, when hunters discuss subsistence, at least with this researcher, they seemed to most naturally gravitate to talking about sheep.

Kaktovik Inupiat hunt sheep using snow machines for transportation, so their harvest period is usually late October through November and March through April. They much prefer the condition of the animals in the fall, when they have more fat. They also tend to be less "spooky" at this time, as they are approaching the rutting season (but this also depends on how many hunters have been using the area, and how recently). On the other hand, access is often more difficult in the fall than in the spring, days are shorter, and the weather is often worse. The result is that sheep are harvested by Inupiat in both the fall and the spring. While overall conditions in the fall may not be as good as in the spring, the success rate is generally higher and more effort is put into hunting sheep in the fall than in the spring. Sport hunters do not directly compete with local hunters for sheep, since most sport hunters hunt them in August and September. This time frame requires that they be flown into and out of the mountains and most of them arrange this support with guides operating out of Fairbanks. There are also guide services operated out of Barrow and some non-Native communities, but detailed information is lacking. In any event, there are no such support services in Kaktovik (other than for a hotel run by non-locals). Kaktovik receives little economic benefit from sports hunters who harvest sheep, and sometimes is completely unaware of them.

There are three main sheep areas, which are separated by an expanse of lower land where sheep may also sometimes be found but which is generally less productive for sheep and more productive for caribou. These will be discussed in turn. We will then discuss four other areas reported to be used for sheep hunting that appear to be used much less frequently.

The Hulahula River system (KA-831) is the area most often mentioned for sheep. Kangich (K-15) is characterized as the main sheep base camp, but this appears to be more of an ideal norm than a reflection of actual behavior. There are many sheep around Kangich, and sheep hunting is the only subsistence activity conducted in that area. Thus Kangich is the proto-typical sheep base camp. Access to Kangich is often difficult, however, especially in the fall when snow cover may be a problem and there are overflows on the river at and beyond Second Fish Hole (K-13). Paqta (K-60) shares nearly all of the characteristics of Kangich, although it is possible to fish there and harvest an occasional caribou. Access is difficult in the fall. Third Fish Hole is used fairly often as a sheep hunting base camp. A wide range of resources is available from this site and access, while sometime restricted, is better than for Paqta and Kangich. This site may also be used if there are too many people at Second Fish Hole for a party to feel comfortable there or for a successful harvest to be in doubt. For the most part, Kaktovik hunters remark that they travel no farther than they have to in order to harvest what they are after. This explains why Second Fish Hole (K-13) and an unnamed camp (K-816) just west of Second Fish Hole are behaviorally the sites most often used as base camps for sheep hunting (as well as for other harvest activities conducted in the mountains). Access to these sites is normally very regular in the fall and the animals are normally available in the immediate area. Second Fish Hole is also a hub or node on the trail network used by Kaktovik hunters. One of the main trails to the furbearer hunting area starts at Second Fish Hole, as does a "loop" trail which enables a hunter to search some very good sheep territory and end up back on the Hulahula south of Second Fish Hole, from where he can usually return to Second Fish Hole on the relatively smooth river or search the eastern bank of the river using one of the few areas where access to this side of the river is relatively easy. Further north and south it is too steep for this to be possible.

The upper part of Itkilyariak Creek and the region north of the Sadlerochit River (KA-825) is the second area commonly used for the harvest of sheep. Suplu's Camp (K-833) is sometimes used as a base camp for hunting in this area (as well as the area to the south of it). Sheep are also known to be numerous in the Sadlerochit Mountains to the west of this area (KA-845), but Kaktovik hunters have not yet hunted this area.

The third common sheep area is composed of the creeks flowing into Lake Peters and the area just north of Lake Schrader (KA-828). Many different subsistence resources are available in this area, much like around Second Fish Hole. The trail to this area starts at Second Fish Hole and this area is accessible even if there are overflows on the Hulahula River.

The four less commonly used areas are all more distant from Kaktovik and are generally sheep-only territories (one or possibly two have associated winter fishing). Three of these areas are to the east of Kaktovik and are associated mainly with one kin group in Kaktovik, members of which are said to use the area more than other people. Members of this kin group have Native allotments on the Jago and Okpilak Rivers near two of these identifies sheep areas (KA-835 and KA-830). The third area is on the Aichilik and is near a camp (K-836) identified with the harvest of forbearers by an informant who is not a member of the kin group said to most often use this area. The fourth area is on the Canning River, to the west of Kaktovik, and was not identified as a harvest area by any informant. The subsistence maps produced by the North Slope Borough include this area. Informants seemed to say that sheep were known to be in this area, but that it was too far for them to travel to harvest them. Similarly, informants say that there are sheep on the Kongakut River but that the people who used to hunt this area have passed on and that younger hunters never learned this territory and prefer to hunt closer to the village.

4. Base Camps and Hunting Strategies

A number of different base camps have been identified in the species-specific discussions above. This section will try to examine the characteristics of these base camps to describe an overall pattern of Kaktovik subsistence activity.

Most informants will say that all land mammals in which they have an interest (and even those they do not) are found in basically the same area. An examination of the maps, and especially Mount Michelson, will show this to be true in a general sense, but not in a particular one. Sheep tend to be harvested most consistently at higher elevations than caribou, and caribou tend to be found in more open terrain, away from the willows in the river courses, than do moose. Muskoxen can not really be typified from the information available from Kaktovik informants. Forbearers are found near the mountains, but in lower lands adjacent to them rather than within them, and hunters tend to travel to areas not otherwise used to harvest them (perhaps this reflects the need to search a large area that has not been hunted a great deal, as forbearers are thinly dispersed and sensitive to the presence of humans).

As one further examines the maps it appears that a fairly clear hierarchy of subsistence resources can be developed, in tem of the "amount of effort hunters are willing to expend to harvest any given resource. Using distance traveled as a measure of effort, it certainly appears that hunters are willing to travel furthest to harvest forbearers and sheep. Hunters are willing to travel a fair distance to harvest caribou, but not so far as they will go for sheep (muskoxen and perhaps moose fit in here as well). Hunters prefer to go only a short distance for birds and fish (unless these activities can be combined with hunting a species higher in the hierarchy). All of these generalizations, deduced from the patterns on the map, also correspond to what informants report about how far they travel for certain game and the level of effort they expend. There are other qualifications to be made, of course.

Most informants say that they do not hunt furbearers unless they have already harvested enough meat. In the summer, when hunters can use boats, they will travel further distances (but probably expend less effort) to harvest caribou. If game is scarce, a great deal of effort will be spent on harvesting whatever is available, no matter where it is on the above "hierarchy." Nonetheless, the above general statements seem to hold truw for the majority of the village hunters a majority of the time. For the discussion below, we will exclude summer camps, which tend to be multi-species harvest sites in any event (caribou, fish, birds).

Certain base camps are used only when a hunter wishes to harvest the particular resource available in the area of that base camp. There are two "clusters" or types of such camps. The first is made up of those base camps located farthest from Kaktovik. All of the furbearer base camps fit in this category (K-812, K-813, and K-836). The one camp mentioned in connection with ptarmigan hunting may also fit here (K-839). More significantly, the two sheep base camps on the Hulahula which are farthest from Kaktovik, and the unspecified camps used when hunting in the three sheep areas east of the Hulahula River, are used only when the hunter desires to specifically harvest sheep, They are used less often than other camps because they are more difficult to get to and the diversity of available resources is less. They are used at times, despite these drawbacks, because the chance of successfully harvesting the target species, in this case sheep, is high. It is likely that this chance of successful harvest, once the area is reached, is higher than in the areas around the more commonly used multi-species harvest base camps, although no informant made this sort of statement. Some informants did talk about how the commonly used camp sites on the Hulahula were at times fairly crowded and that this could at times lessen the chance of an additional hunter successfully harvesting an animal.

The second group of "single-species harvest base camps" is made up of those which are closest to Kaktovik (again, we are addressing inland, not coastal, locations). These camps (K-8, K-12, K-814, K-815, K-833) tend to be surrounded by a hunting area that is somewhat more multi-component than the first group, but not exceedingly so. The main target animal is caribou. First Fish Hole is also clearly a fishing location, but most people consider it most important as a camping/resting spot for trips further up the river. It is possible to make the trip to Second Fish Hole in a day, but some people prefer not to (especially the one individual who uses a dog team). Informants say the First Fish Hole is not as protected from the wind as the base camps located within the mountains, so that they prefer not to camp there as long as they do in other spots. Hunters using the other base camps in this group can be looking for moose, muskoxen, or sheep, as well as caribou, but their primary orientation will be caribou or muskoxen (if someone in the party has a muskox permit).

This leaves a group of three base camps (K-13, K-14, K-816) which are between the above two groups in distance from Kaktovik. These are the camps that informants report they use most frequently. Lines drawn between pairs of these base camps also effectively defines the overlap between the prime sheep hunting area and the prime mountain caribou hunting area. Second Fish Hole (K-13) and Third Fish Hole (K-14) are also very good ice fishing

locations. K-816 is on the "loop" trail from Second Fish Hole which continues to return to the Hulahula River south of Second Fish Hole but north of Third Fish Hole, in an area where access to the east side of the Hulahula River is possible. There is also a trail from K-816 to the Schrader Lake area, which is the main route to this area. Schrader Lake is very good for ice fishing. The Schrader Lake area is also very good for caribou and sheep, and there are numerous camping spots around the lake (K-8 17 is where some Native allotment claims are located). K-816 is also located in an area with quite a few moose, although Kaktovik hunters seldom take moose.

The reasons that this group of camps is used most often can not be known for certain, but it appears that these are sites that are relatively easy to reach, protected from the wind and bad weather, and provide access to a multiplicity of subsistence resources. All are important factors, as one reason informants gave for the use of these sites was that subsistence was not simply an economic activity but was a social one as well. These sites are not the only places where a hunter could go to look for sheep or caribou, but they are places where he can look for these animals and expect that other hunters will also be in the area. One of the reasons that other hunters will be there is that they can go as a family group and all members will have a productive activity to engage in. As two informants put it when we were looking at the maps together, the men can go out and hunt sheep while their spouses stay at camp and fish (as can children). If sheep are not to be found, caribou will almost certainly be available. Thus, these camps combine a high chance of harvest success with the social aspects of camping together away from the village. Summer fish camps also provide this to a degree, but the freedom to travel is much more restricted in summer. The short periods of peak waterfowl harvest, mainly in the spring, probably combine these factors in much the same way.

The strategy of Kaktovik big game hunting is probably also related to this pattern of base camp use, at least in the way it was explained to the researcher. Informants agreed that there were two main ways to hunt, as a group or as an individual. Any one hunter has a preference between the two orientations, but it is a preference rather than a hard-and-fast distinction. Thus, some "group" hunters will at times hunt alone, and some "solitary" hunters will at times hunt as the member of a group. Solitary hunters hunt by themselves as individuals, process and transport what they harvest, and distribute it as they please. Group hunters cooperate in locating the animals they want, place themselves so that at least one of them will have a good chance at harvesting one or more, process and transport the meat together as much as that makes sense, and in most cases will evenly divide whatever was harvested, no matter who actually harvested it. There maybe hybrid approaches, where a group travels to a harvest area together and then splits up to hunt individually. Depending on the relationships between people in the group they may then divide the harvested game evenly, or according to some other agreed upon formula. In most cases the harvested game is redistributed in the village in any event to Elders and relatives. Group hunters tend to use the three most commonly used base camp sites, which makes sense given the social nature of this strategy. "Group hunter" informants also say explicitly that they go hunting not to demonstrate their prowess as a hunter or to increase their prestige or reputation, but

to procure meat. They prefer the greater probability of obtaining a share of whatever anyone in the group harvests to the lesser probability of success while hunting alone, but being able to keep all of what is harvested. Those people who hunt as individuals tend to use the harvest areas to the east of the Hulahula River (KA-830, KA-835, K-836), which is logically consistent. They avoid the groups who are hunting and use an area where animals are less likely to have recently seen hunters. Informant accounts of the use of base camps K-15 and K-60 were not obtained. The interested reader may well wish to compare this information with Binford's account of late fall sheep hunting in Anuktuvuk Pass (Binford 1978:406-416). There may well be sites where a cooperative hunting approach is more productive than an individual one and vice versa, Our research was not oriented to investigate this aspect of hunting behavior.

One informant volunteered the following summary of the question of team hunters and individual hunters. Some people prefer to go out alone and run the risk of getting nothing to have the chance to harvest a great deal that is then theirs alone. Others go out as a group, work together, and share the result equally. He called the second more traditional, and said that the first is an aberration brought about by access to economic resources (cash from wage employment) and reduced family responsibilities. Most of the "group" hunters have families and/or provide for a wide-range of kin relations, while most individual hunters have at most a spouse or parents to provide for. The accuracy of this characterization cannot be gauged, as this was not one of the questions the research was designed to address and we lack adequate systematic information in this regard. It is logically consistent with what is known about the relationship between wage employment, family cycle development, and subsistence activity in Kaktovik and other NSB villages.

Informants also said that there were differences between hunters in the degree to which they relied on snow machines to take them near the animals to be harvested and the degree to which they walked and stalked these animals. All hunters agree that they prefer to shoot down at an animal. The question is then if you try to drive your snow machine above where the animals you are seeking are likely to be, or if you stop below this point and climb up on foot.

One factor to be considered is the skill of the hunter in driving a snow machine. The mountains are very steep in most places outside of the river valleys, which is why most people stay within these valleys, Informants say that some hunters know how to take a machine pretty much wherever they want to go, however, and that they will use this knowledge to go where others do not. These individuals are almost by definition solitary hunters. Some individuals with this degree of knowledge may still keep their machine pretty much in the valleys and do a good deal of walking. Their thinking is that the trip up the mountains, with an empty sled, is not nearly as difficult as the trip down, with a fully loaded sled. Further, once an animal is harvested, most hunters prefer to carry the butchered parts downhill for a longer distance rather than uphill for a shorter one.

5. Kaktovik Subsistence Land Use Areas

As for any village on the North Slope, the precise designation of land use areas for Kaktovik is impossible. For purposes of mapping these boundaries have been taken to be the boundary with Canada to the east, Tigvariak Island (essentially the dividing line between the Beechey Point and Flaxman Island USGS 1:250,000 scale maps) in the west, and the 69 degree line to the south. These are all to some extent arbitrary, although the southern boundary is to all intents and purposes a reflection of reality. The east and west boundaries are clearly artificial and related to the time frame and purposes of the current research, combined with the pragmatic considerations of what informants were willing to talk about.

For most purposes, the artificiality of the east and west boundaries has no real effect on the research. Most subsistence harvest activity does indeed occur within those boundaries, and indeed, within the more circumscribed area between the Canning River in the west and Pokok Lagoon in the east. There are activities which take Kaktovik residents further to the west and to the east, but for normal subsistence activities these boundaries represent behavioral reality fairly well. The Canning River is referred to by some informants as "our Berlin wall" because it is difficult to cross and use the territory beyond it. This is attributed to the oil exploration and development activity that has occurred in this area, The only subsistence activity reported in this area is the hunting of furbearers in the southern part of this range. This is consistent, since hunting furbearers is an activity that requires extensive travel, at fairly high speeds, and a minimum of equipment. Most hunters would still -take a sled, but it would be lightly loaded for the entire trip since there would be no meat to haul back to the village. It is most often the ease or difficulty of travel with a loaded sled that determines the area to be hunted, and a hunter with only a lightly loaded sled (survival gear, extra gas) can traverse obstacles that a hunter with a heavily loaded sled could not. It is not known why the Canning River is the effective western boating limit as well. It may be that this is not as strong a boundary as for snow machine travel, as caribou are on occasion harvested on Flaxman or even Tigvariak Island. For the most part, however, Kaktovik residents do stay east of the Canning.

Similarly, most subsistence activity takes place west of Pokok Lagoon. The reason given for the boating limitation is that there are few safe harbors east of Pokok Lagoon in case of sudden weather changes. The snow machine travel limitation is less clear and may simply reflect that few active hunters know this area very well and prefer to use the more well-known harvest areas. Some informants have remarked that the Jago and other rivers to the east are more dangerous than the Hulahula because of air pockets in the ice, and they are not as smooth. There is also no established trail on the rivers east of the Hulahula, while the trail on the Hulahula is well marked once a few people have used it. Some informants also volunteered that the nature of the snow east of the Aichilik River made it more dangerous than in the area to the west of the Aichilik River, but the researcher did not understand the distinctions well enough to report on them accurately.

Kaktovik people do boat east of Pokok Lagoon, however, and do harvest subsistence resources in this area. Often this takes place on trips to and from Canada, and the sites and areas most often used within the United States are discussed above. What informants were understandably reluctant to discuss in the absence of a guarantee that it would not have any repercussions in terms of international regulatory agreements concerning caribou, migratory birds, and marine mammals, was subsistence activity by Kaktovik residents in Canada. Kaktovik residents commonly make summer boat trips to Aklavik and Inuvik, on the MacKenzie River delta. Because there are so many close kin relationships between the populations (the reason for the trips in the first place, and a secondary result of the trips as well), Kaktovik people know the subsistence resource harvest sites on the Canadian side of the border nearly as well as those on the American side. The frequency with which they harvest resources in Canada is unknown, as no informant wished to discuss Canadian harvest sites other than to admit that they were known. From hearing people talk about trips to Canada it was obvious that they did know about such sites and did sometimes harvest resources. Again, exactly what these resources were, where they were taken, and how often they were taken are questions to which the answers are not known. Similarly, people from Aklavik and Inuvik travel to Kaktovik by snow machine in the winter, and the extent of their subsistence activity in the United States is not known.

Historical accident also plays a prominent role in the arbitrary appearance of these boundaries. The Beechey Point map is an especially good example of this, as the subsistence harvest sites mapped are a mixture of "Nuiqsut" and "Kaktovik" sites taken from the TLUI site lists for those two villages. At present, Beechey Point map sites are used almost exclusively by people from Nuiqsut, as Kaktovik is too far away. The assignment of individual sites to either the Nuiqsut or Kaktovik TLUI was done on the basis of where the informant who provided the information lived at the time of the interview or what community the informant identified as the focus of his movements for the time period involved. Since the TLUI lists for the most part deal with a time period when the population was dispersed over the land in a very mobile subsistence pattern, many people in both Kaktovik and Nuiqsut had personal experience with many sites from the Canadian border (and beyond) in the east and Barrow (and beyond) in the west. Sorting these out on the basis if the location of present permanent settlements seems to be a task not worth doing, and would misrepresent the dynamics of the use of these sites in the past as well.

6. Recent Trends in Kaktovik Subsistence

Our information is far from complete, but there are still several points that are worth developing here. The first has already been introduced in the discussion above. The Kaktovik subsistence cycle as presented graphically by Wentworth (1979:99) and Jacobson and Wentworth (1982:29) is a normative ideal and no longer a behavioral reality (if it ever was). It is useful as a reference to the past and as a diagram of when a given sort of subsistence harvest activities are possible, but certainly does not represent when such activities actually take place. The formation of modern settlements and the development

of local full-time wage employment may have more significant and long range effects on the subsistence pattern than do the direct physical/environmental effects of oil exploration and production (although of course the latter is the ultimate facilitator for the former). In any event, it is obvious that informants are engaging in a wider variety of activities and have a wider range of responsibilities than they did in the past. People travel much more, and further away. Winter subsistence activity is reduced from even the recent past, with many informants typing themselves as "summer hunters." Hunting trips tend to be shorter than in the past, and less frequent, as they increasingly have to fit into the leave and vacation policy of a wage employer. Most hunters still avoid taking day trips, because of the distances that must be traveled to reach a harvest site, and even weekend trips are said not to be long enough for sheep hunting. Longer trips are increasingly taking on aspects of recreation as they most often have to scheduled to coincide with annual leave and are often used to hunt "special" species such as sheep or whale. Subsistence will always be much more than recreation to the Inupiat, as long as they remain Inupiat, but informants spontaneously volunteered the information that when they get tense or frustrated, it helps to go out on the land. This clears their head and relaxes them, and if they do take an animal provides some meat for their household or the village. Aspects of the hunt other than the actual harvest are becoming increasingly important as cultural identity value markers and for the maintenance of mental health, especially as the time available for subsistence activities becomes less. In fact, it may be possible to hypothesize that as the time available for subsistence activities lessens, the ideological value and salience of subsistence as the center of Inupiat cultural identity will increase.

Second, in contrast to Nuiqsut, it appears that Kaktovik harvest sites and the land use area is relatively stable, or at least has been for the past ten years. While the emphasis of this report may be somewhat different from that of Jacobson and Wentworth 1982, the harvest sites and areas being used, and the land use boundaries described, are basically the same. The continued use of the area east of the Hulahula River, and especially east of the Aichilik River, would seem to be more one of the transmission of site information and need to use such sites. For the present it appears that this knowledge is still present in the village, but that there is no perceived need to travel the distances involved when subsistence resources are available closer to the village. There may come a time when subsistence resources are no longer available near the village, in which case these more distant areas will assume more everyday importance. It is, of course, impossible to assign a probability value to such an eventuality, or to guess how likely it is that in such an eventuality the knowledge of harvest locations in these areas will have been maintained. Informants stressed the cyclical nature of the populations and movements of all the animals they hunted, however, and spoke of their entire use area, whether currently "used" or not, as part of the same system.

Third, as an embellishment on the second point, it appears that at least some hunters in Kaktovik are becoming specialists. This may be related to increasing time pressures in general (more tasks to accomplish and more responsibilities to handle in the same time), or may simply be a continuation of a pattern which has existed for some time but was simply not documented. For example, some hunters say they seldom if ever go out in the winter,

preferring the better conditions in the summer and being more marine oriented anyway. Others will have the same temporal specialization, but will justify it by time constraints and say that they prefer to spend the limited time they have available for subsistence when conditions are not as extreme as they are in winter. Their main target species may still be caribou, however, as well as birds, fish, and marine mammals. Some individuals specialize in whaling and, when successful, do little else. A successful whaling captain can often exchange muktuk and whale meat for whatever other subsistence food he needs. It is likely that the generalist nature of Inupiat subsistence hunters has been overstated in the literature, but until a treatment of this topic is written the question will remain open. Given the extent of adaptation and change since contact it seems exceedingly unlikely that even if aboriginal Inupiat were true subsistence generalists that they remained so for long. It is also quite evident from informant accounts that the subsistence activities they engage in changes through the course of their lifetimes. We do not have systematic information on this topic, but this is another question that would be well worth investigation.

Fourth, subsistence is the core of Inupiaq cultural identity. This point is developed in general in later sections so that the reader of this document has an interpretive context for the harvest site and area information provided. It is beyond the scope of this project, however, to document how subsistence is the frame for much (perhaps most) of village behavior. It is also more difficult for us to develop this point in Kaktovik than in Nuiqsut, because of our greater familiarity with Nuiqsut. We will still attempt to provide some brief examples to make this claim clearer.

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) encompasses much of the land used by Kaktovik residents for subsistence -- essentially the entire coastal plain. When plans for leasing where being developed, the village of Kaktovik filed a lawsuit to prevent any leasing in the area. Although there was no unanimous position (and still is not) on this issue, most Inupiat residents seem to be against development unless they are village corporation officials. Non-Inupiat residents are split on the issue. In any event, no Kaktovik residents took a position against this lawsuit until it became clear that, with the aid of other interest groups such as Friends of the Earth, the lawsuit might actually block any hope of development within ANWR. At that point, those non-Inupiat residents with a stake in the future development of ANWR (in terms of jobs, providing support services) and corporation officials interested in protecting the economic future of the village corporation through development of its (and the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation's) selected lands, exerted pressure on the City Council to withdraw from its lawsuit. This took place recently and because of the lack of local support the aiding groups could not sustain the case and also withdrew. Most local residents are still apparently opposed to oil development, although village corporation officials maintain that most really hold the view that to maintain the current standard of living and service in the village most people realize that there will have to be continued oil exploration and development. In fact, most people do not seem to hold this view and explicitly take the position that subsistence is far more fundamental to the Inupiat identity than is the current level of village services. On the other hand, these same people do not want to do without these services, have no suggestions other than oil

development as to how to supply them in the future, and do not take an active role in trying to prevent oil exploration and development in the area. This is the standard NSB political dynamic (see Galginaitis et al. 1984 for the Nuiqsut case, Impact Assessment 1989 for the Point Lay case, and to some extent the Point Hope case, and Impact Assessment 1990 for summary treatments of all NSB villages).

Another small example took place during the period of fieldwork. Informants repeatedly talked about the importance of trips to the mountains as learning experiences, especially for the young, and how they were family excursions which not only taught subsistence skills but social values as well. The school had sponsored such trips in the past, but as is true in most other NSB villages has not done so in the recent past (some informants said not for six or seven years). It was therefore natural that when the Boy Scouts (a relatively new organization to which most school children do belong) were searching for a group activity to sponsor that a spring trip to the mountains was suggested. This was immediately perceived as appropriate and the planning process was initiated. It is perhaps immaterial that these plans fell through, because the process demonstrates at least partially the values that subsistence trips to the mountains hold for Kaktovik residents. At the same time, the reasons for the plans falling through are also significant as demonstrating some of the pressures that affecting the transmission of subsistence knowledge. The school wanted to keep the children in school for the administration of standardized tests, the scores of which are used for planning what is taught as well as for judging the effectiveness of the program and comparing the school to others. The trip could not be simply delayed until school was over, as by then travel to the mountains would be problematic. The administration of the tests could not be delayed because the school schedule is set the year before. If they wanted to, Kaktovik residents could request, through their local School Advisory Council, that the school schedule be amended in future years to allow for a spring trip to the mountains. This may be difficult to achieve, as teachers have preferred as early an end to the school year as possible (as have parents and students).

Subsistence Site Usufruct

One of the major concerns of this research was the investigation of who used any given subsistence site and how such use was regulated. This is a fundamental question in any society and for any culture, but especially so for one such as the Inupiaq where sharing is given such a central place in the value system. The measurement in the change of usufruct of subsistence sites, if it were possible, may well be one of the most accurate assessments of Inupiaq cultural change. In Kaktovik, as in Nuiqsut, it is reported that anyone can hunt anywhere and in most cases can use any" cabin, since most are left open with the understanding that anything used will be replaced.

Not all subsistence sites share all of the same characteristics, with the most salient differences apparently being related to the resource being harvested. We shall thus start our discussion of subsistence site usufruct by examining sites on a species-by-species basis.

1. Species-Specific Site Usufruct Characteristics

We will briefly discuss the harvest site characteristics of the subsistence resources taken by Kaktovik hunters in this section. The order will be the same as in our earlier discussion of the yearly subsistence round in present-day Kaktovik. We have included all species considered in that section, even though some are not harvested on any regular basis.

A. Caribou

Caribou, as described by Kaktovik informants, exhibit an unusual constellation of characteristics. Caribou are normally expected to be available, pretty much throughout the year, if a hunter is willing to expend the effort required to find them. Summer caribou range all along the coast, as this is when the herds migrate to the coastal plain. Summer is historically the period when the most caribou are harvested. Informants report that in some years, perhaps two in ten, caribou will be exceedingly abundant and will migrate very close to the village. Yet, for the past few years, informants report that summer caribou have been scarce. They have migrated to the coast, but have left much sooner than they normally do. They also seem to be calving somewhat farther north than they have in previous times. This is, in essence, a description of unpredictable variation. The winter distribution of caribou is said to be somewhat more predictable. Most caribou migrate south but some stay in isolated locations on the coast or in the lowlands between the Hulahula River and the Sadlerochit Mountains. There are fewer of them, but they are concentrated in a limited number of locations. Coastal harvest locations have also been unproductive in the winter the past several years, but the mountain harvest area has been reliably productive.

The locational characteristics of summer and winter caribou harvest areas differ considerably, but there use characteristics are very similar. Essentially there are no use restrictions on these harvest areas, In the summer there are a multitude of possible harvest sites to choose from and even in a competitive situation one would expect little in the way of restrictions, There are usually more than enough caribou available, in the normal state of affairs, so that hunters can take day trips wherever they wish without interfering with other hunters. When summer camping trips are taken, it is either out of choice (and often with a group of friends or relative) or because there are no caribou close by (and it is likely that this will also be a group hunt or up to four people). In the first case the situation is clearly cooperative, while in the second the meat harvested would almost certainly be shared widely in the village even if obtained by a solitary hunter. In winter, because there are fewer caribou and they are found in a more restricted area, most hunters use essentially the same harvest area and base camps, Most of these base camps are adjacent to or near Native allotment claims. Because Native allotment claims must be made within the federal system of law, the potential exists for the people applying for these Native allotments to make proprietary claims on the base camp sites most frequently used by all Kaktovik hunters. In fact, there are no indications that Kaktovik residents with Native Allotment

claims will ever exert their proprietary rights, or that the idea of proprietary or private ownership of land outside of the village will ever be considered. A brief discussion of Native allotments reviewing this and a few of their other aspects will be found below.

In the summer, most hunters have preferred areas to hunt even though for the most part caribou can be found anywhere along the coast. There are no social barriers to access to caribou wherever they may be found on the coast (shallow water does provide such restrictions in places). Summer caribou hunts can be day trips, but are just as likely to be camping trips of a week or more. In winter, the coastal hunting areas are similarly open to all, but most trips to these harvest areas are day trips (coastal harvest areas more than a day's round trip travel away tend not to be used in the winter). Winter caribou trips to the mountains, on the other hand, are always camping trips of three days to several weeks (because of the distance involved and the greater protection from wind and adverse weather than on the coast). The use of this area is also unrestricted. Most people use the same base camps and appreciate the social nature of camping and hunting together. This is one aspect of the subsistence value system that is not often developed in formal reports on subsistence activity. Sharing in the activity of harvesting resources, and socialization (value learning) through such participation, are as important as the sharing demonstrated by the distribution of whatever is harvested. The"use of a limited number of base camp sites used in common and used by all, is certainly an important indicator that this aspect of the subsistence social system is still operating. Free access to coastal caribou is also an indicator. While the different nature of the seasonal harvest sites used is a reflection of the more limited number of caribou available in the winter and the fewer number of good harvest sites for taking them, the value orientation underlying the behavior is the same.

There is one other group of winter caribou harvest sites located along the river courses to the east of the Hulahula. Relatively few people use these areas since they are farther from the village, somewhat harder to get to than the Hulahula sites, and have essentially the same resources. Those people who do use these sites tend to be from one kin group whose members have Native allotments in the area, and who tend to hunt alone or in small groups. 'These people do not use these areas to the exclusion of the Hulahula River use area. In fact, they may use the Hulahula sites more often than they use the areas to the east (information was not systematically collected on this), but the group who uses the areas east of the Hulahula at all is small. Informants from this group commented on how the Hulahula sites sometimes became crowded and the hunting area overtaxed by too many people trying to use them at the same time. They were not implying that the area was ever overhunted, because sufficient animals seem to be always available. Rather, they were saying that at times there is not enough separation between hunters in the Hulahula use area. Some of these informants also commented on the littering that they had noticed at the base camp sites on the Hulahula River, which they considered shameful.

Why only this small number of hunters, most of them related to each other, use these areas to the east of the Hulahula River and most other hunters do not is not clear at present. The existence of the Native allotments tied to this kin group certainly influences this

behavior, but Native allotments are not used to exert proprietary claims in other contexts and this same kin group also has Native allotments on the Hulahula River. This small group of hunters certainly knows the area east of the Hulahula River better than the Kaktovik hunter population at large, but whether this is a cause or an effect of their use of the area can not be determined. Any explanation based on a difference in "hunting strategy" must remain speculative, since the basis in fact for such a difference is only suggestive at best. It is certainly true that the trail to the Hulahula sites is well marked and maintained (since many people use it), while the way to the areas to the east is for the most part unmarked (since few people pass that way). This small group of hunters puts forth no sort of propriety claim to the harvest areas to the east of the Hulahula River, and to all appearances anyone who wished to could use them. The most common explanation in the village for the small amount of harvest activity in these areas is that they are father away, not as well known, and have just about the same resources, and so it not worth the trouble to go there instead of the Hulahula River sites.

B. Moose

Moose are seldom harvested by Kaktovik hunters. Most hunters are well aware of where moose can be found, as these areas overlap for the most part with areas used to harvest sheep and winter caribou. Moose tend to be found within a more restricted environmental setting than do caribou or sheep, but there are still essentially no restrictions on the use of these areas, except that few people harvest moose. The reasons for this have been discussed in a previous section.

C. Fish

Fishing is perhaps the most site specific subsistence activity engaged in by Kaktovik residents. This is not because fish can be caught only in certain spots, as many informants insisted that you could set a net almost anywhere in a protected spot in the ocean (or chop a hole anywhere on the Hulahula) and catch fish. To catch fish most efficiently, however, one should know the physical features of the site and past experience assists in modifying the net sets to changing conditions. Fish camp sites also tend to be multi-purpose sites and people use them as places to live for several weeks to several months outside of the village. Such sites take on the characteristics of a second residence, especially if there is a permanent cabin or house on the site. There are relatively few sites with such structures, however. Winter ice fishing sites are all inland and are not restricted in terms of access (even those near Native allotment claims). We will discuss each of the main sorts of fishing in Kaktovik in turn.

Jigging

Ice fishing, or jigging, takes place predominately at the fish hole sites on the Hulahula River. Such fishing takes place in conjunction with other subsistence activities andis one of the reasons these sites are preferred as base camps over other possible alternatives. The other ice fishing locations mentioned in the discussion above are also mostly used in conjunction with hunting trips for other resources (mostly sheep and caribou, or furbearers). These fishing sites thus share the open access characteristic of caribou base camps discussed above, even though they are located at very precise locations. There are certainly fish at other locations as well, but people choose to fish at these locations because they provide access to other resources and they are gathering spots where people can expect to meet others and socialize while fishing. There are said to be locations near the village where people sometimes ice fish, but informants did not mention them during our research, and Pedersen 1989a says that no one used these locations during the period of his research. It is thus likely that ice fishing near the village is not a frequent activity.

Summer Net Fishing

Most nets tend to be set close to the village, although there are also several fish camps at some remove from the village. In most cases a group of people will fish together, so that even at a fish camp with a structure there will be a number of people living in tents as well. For those sites near the village, people may either tent out near where they set nets or check them periodically on trips from the village. People tend to set nets in the same area from year-to-year and to fish with the same people, but if someone else wanted to set a net in the same area there would be little difficulty in arranging for this. Net fishing sites are probably the most proprietary of all Kaktovik subsistence harvest sites, and in most cases co-use can be arranged simply by asking permission of those who are already using the area. In the case of a fish camp on or near a Native allotment it may be deemed wise to ask the owners or claimants of that allotment for permission, even if they are not at the moment using the site for fishing, but that is the only case where permission from a non-user may be asked. Thus, even for "personal" fish camps, there is at most a preferential but non-exclusive right of usage for the fish camp "owner."

People do not usually pool the fish caught in their collective nets when they fish together at the same location, except that each household usually fishes as a unit. This is true even though kinsmen usually fish together. Their may be some redistribution if some nets are markedly more productive than others, but in the normal case the nets are close enough to each other to each other that they catch about the same amount of fish. For ice fishing, each individual essentially fished independently, although the fish caught by members of one household may be bagged together. Fish caught are easy to keep track of since normally only one person uses a hole at a time.

D. Birds (Geese, Ducks, Ptarmigan)

Waterfowl are abundant, range over a wide area and can be harvested at a great many locations, and are ultimately unpredictable as to the specific location where they will be found. The general areas for the harvest of waterfowl can be predicted, however, and this information is common knowledge. The entire coast line, and especially the river deltas, are productive birding areas. The main sites and areas that were identified for spring birds were, from west to east, Kanginniivik (K-3), Collison Point (K-5 and K-6), Arey Island (on the lagoon side, K-17), a site on the high side of a curve on the Okpilak River (K-804), the base of the Manning Point spit (K-806), Griffin Point (K-27) and Pokok Bay (K-28). Bird hunting is commonly a family activity and maybe done in conjunction with other activities. Spring is the peak time for the harvest of waterfowl, although some hunting will continue through the summer and there is another, smaller, peak in the fall (August). The main sites mentioned for the fall harvest of birds were Griffin Point and Pokok Bay (and Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:58-59 discuss other possible sites).

None of these sites is proprietary and most are in fact commonly used by a wide-range of community people. Historically, people camp out during the period of spring waterfowl hunting, but some informants say that this has been somewhat different in the last few years. Some families still camp out, and others make day trips out to these camps but return to Kaktovik after the day's harvest, One reason given for this is that people have started to use harvest ***sites*** closer ***to*** the village, thus allowing for easier access for daytrippers. The reason to use a site closer to the village is that the snow cover is vanishing at this time of year and the return trip to Kaktovik from a relatively more distant site (such as Collison Point, K-5 and K-6) can be difficult. Most hunters do have a favorite birding site, but this is also a function of who they like to go camping with. It is difficult for hunters to keep good locations to themselves, even if they wanted to, since there is such a social aspect to the harvest of waterfowl.

Some people use their fish camps as waterfowl harvest sites (Griffin Point, K-27, for example). These sites share the properties of fish camps, probably because the site's use as a fish camp continues for so much longer than its use as a place to harvest waterfowl. For such sites it is expected that permission will be asked of current users before harvesting and/or camping is begun. In most cases, people who use such a site at the same time will have made a plan to do so in the village in any event, so that the asking of permission is assumed or implied. In any event, waterfowl harvest sites are so available that access to the resource presents no problem and hunters tend to be more dispersed (in clumps, to be sure) than for hunting in the mountains.

E. Forbearers (Wolves, Wolverine, Fox)

Few informants would be very specific about harvest sites for furbearers. This was in part due to the mobility of these animals, so that they are seldom harvested in the same place.

It also reflects the reluctance to reveal information that may then enable someone else to take an animal that perhaps the other hunter would perhaps have harvested. Furbearers are perhaps the only species which brings out this sort of behavior. Hunters will compete in other subsistence spheres, but only for furbearers does information become proprietary.

Again, this can be related to characteristics of the animal, how it is hunted, and how it is used. Furbearers are relatively scarce and are one of the few items hunted that can be easily transformed into a relatively large amount of cash. There is also a constant demand for furs. Because of the mobility of the animal, a large area must be searched to find them, so that essentially it is necessary to hunt alone. The organization of furbearer hunting was described briefly in the yearly round discussion. A hunter w-ill either go out alone, or with a group which will split up once they reach the area they want to hunt. Each hunter is essentially on his own while hunting.

The implications of this are that the general areas that are good for furbearers are commonly known. The techniques for finding the animals within this area and of making the kill separate the good hunters from the poorer ones, and there is little opportunity for one hunter to observe another's skills in these areas unless he is invited to "follow." Thus, it is not only a better knowledge of the land or harvest area that is operating to determine success, but also the skill of the hunter in using or working that area. This is true of all other resources as well, of course, but is not quite so obvious as in the case of furbearer harvest.

In terms of forbearers, hunting knowledge is often considered proprietary, but hunting areas are not. Any hunter can hunt any area. The large areas that must be covered while hunting is probably one reason that such open access must be maintained. The only exception is that an area being trapped by one hunter will not knowingly be hunted by another. There were said to be some hunters who were perhaps running traplines in Kaktovik, but this could not be verified. Most informants report that little or no trapping is actually done in Kaktovik and this certainly appeared to be the case during the period of our fieldwork.

F. Seals

Seals are mostly hunted in the summer from boats, relatively near Barter Island. Some sealing may be done with snow machines before breakup, but only by a very few hunters. The overall harvest level is much lower than in the past and many hunters no longer harvest seals at all. The primary use for seals is to make seal oil, which is used as a condiment when eating many other foods. Seals are so mobile and common that there is no question of access to the resource. The only possible exception is spotted seals, which are taken for their pelts. This are not common near Barter Island so that trips to Demarcation Bay are necessary if a hunter wishes to harvest spotted seal in particular. This may require a camping trip.

G. Whaling

Whaling is a cooperative activity and as such the Kaktovik whaling area is open to all who wish to participate in the hunt. The AEWC administers the hunt, and has slowly assumed a greater role than merely ensuring that the quota is not exceeded. The AEWC is also very concerned with safety during the hunt and the qualifications of the crews that are participating in the hunt. To these ends the AEWC registers all whaling captains and collects information on their crew members, and this does serve as a sort of restricting mechanism on who can organize a whaling crew. Almost anyone who wants to participate in whaling can find a role on an existing crew, but this serves to prevent the formation of new and inexperienced whaling crews by prospective whaling captains who maybe resource-rich but experience-poor.

In terms of use of the whaling area, there are no restrictions. In fact, in 1979 when conditions in the area where Nuiqsut crews normally whale were so bad that whaling there was impossible, they whaled with the Kaktovik crews. The division of a harvested whale is essentially similar to that in other villages. The captain of the first crew to strike the whale receives credit for taking that whale, and receives a large share of the whale. He is expected to redistribute a good deal of this, and does so, so that in fact most whales taken are treated as community property, Although this is the standard Inupiat ideological view on sharing as a value, it appears to more closely approach behavioral reality in Kaktovik than in some other villages.

H. Polar Bear

Polar bear are seldom taken as the result of a conscious decision to harvest a polar bear. Almost all polar bears taken by Kaktovik hunters are shot near the village, after it is decided that they pose a hazard to the safety of the residents. Most such bears are attracted to the whale butchering site near the village. The meat of these bears is widely distributed within the village, and is generally available to all. The skin will most often be kept by the person who actually shot the bear, but even that is not a given. Given the nature of where these bears are shot, there is no question of usufruct or the restriction of access.

I. Brown Bear

Brown bear are seldom hunted by Kaktovik hunters. It is not likely that there are any restrictions on where a person could harvest a brown bear, should he desire to do so, but there is no documentation on this subject.

J. Muskoxen

Muskoxen area unique species in Kaktovik because of the regulation which surrounds them. It is impossible to separate the biological, social, political, and ideological components of what informants say about muskoxen from each other. Some informants say that they do not hunt muskoxen (because they do not like the meat, or they think they are too ugly to eat, or they are too regulated and a permit is too difficult to get) and that they do not know where the best areas for harvesting them are. Other informants do not hunt muskoxen but point out where they can be found. Other informants point out where they have guided sports hunters in the past on hunts, but claim not to have harvested a muskox themselves. There is no question of harvest site access for any of these informants, as no one questions the right of any Kaktovik resident to harvest a muskox wherever that person chooses, so long as he has a permit. The real use issue here is that permits are required for the harvest of a muskox, and very few such permits have been issued in the past and only ten per year will be issued in the future. The usufruct issue here does not concern access to a harvest area, but the regulation of the act of harvesting itself. This is better handled in the separate section on attitudes toward the resource management.

K Sheep

Sheep base camps have the same characteristics as caribou base camps because, for the most part, they are the same sites. It does not seem useful to repeat this information, which has been presented in two sections above, one discussing base camp characteristics in general and the second dealing with caribou subsistence harvest sites in particular.

L. Summary

For the most part, most subsistence resource harvest areas are treated in Kaktovik as commonly held resources to which all residents hold usufruct. Fish camps are the only real exception to this and since" most individuals "own" or have access to at least one fish camp there is no real restriction to the resource in this case either. For especially prized species, however, knowledge that increases a hunter's chances of a successful harvest (special techniques, observations on the last known location of animals) may be considered proprietary and is not shared in a general way. It is likely that if privatization of land continues, and especially if lucrative alternative uses of land currently used for subsistence harvests develop, that usufruct rights will be restricted in certain contexts in the future. For the present, however, it seems clear that Native allotments are not being used as private pieces of land but rather are considered more like trusts held for the benefit and use of the community at large.

Native Allotments

This project has unfortunately not had the time or resources required to adequately deal with Native allotments in the Nuiqsut area. We had hoped to map them along with the subsistence harvest sites and areas, but this has not been possible. The information exists primarily in Bureau of Land Management (BLM) records and the minds if informants, and our portion of the research had neither the time nor the monetary resources to collect and organize this data. Many of the mapped subsistence harvest sites, especially fish camps, are in fact associated with Native Allotments, so that many of these sites are indeed included on our maps. It is to be hoped that the Minerals Management Service will take steps to have supplemental mapping work done which will focus specifically on Native allotments.

Most of the following information is drawn from Pedersen et al. (1985:90-94,132). There are at least 116 Native Allotment claims, associated with 42 individuals, in the Kaktovik area. Of these, 82 (71 %) are located near the coast, most in the immediate Barter Island area and almost all the others between Barter Island and Flaxman Island. The remaining 34 (29%) Native allotment claims are located more than twenty miles inland, predominately along the Hulahula and Sadlerochit Rivers and in the Schrader Lake region. Nearly all of these Native allotment claims are associated with subsistence resource harvest sites. Fully 83 (72%) of the Native allotment claims are adjacent to place name sites (not all of which are included in this report as sites, but they are certainly included as harvest areas).

Pedersen et al. speculate as to the strategy which motivated people in their selections of Native allotments (1985:94). For our purposes it is sufficient to look at the implications of the current use of such sites. None are being used at present to make individual proprietary claims on subsistence resource harvest sites. The importance ascribed to them by people in the community, and their interest in having them mapped, would seem to indicate that they are intended to proclaim a community claim on the use of these sites. Further, the land use claim extends beyond the very limited boundaries of the Native allotments themselves, which are used primarily for base camps. As we have seen in the above discussions, most of the "harvest sites" identified by informants or place names are actually camp sites at which people stay while hunting a much larger territory.

Most of these Native allotments do not have structures associated with them, as they lie within Federal lands. Technically, Native allotment holders can build on their land once it is granted to them, but practically they need to obtain permission to transport the materials or prefabricated building over federal land. This is the process which had been followed so that a shelter building can be constructed at First Fish Hole, which Kaktovik people have perceived as a need for some time.

Oil Development: Effects and Attitudes

The effects of oil development on the subsistence resources around Kaktovik, and on the hunting behavior of the local population, have been many and various. Since the village is by no means homogeneous there are disagreements among residents as to the proper course of future development. Some advocate no development and a return to as close to a subsistence lifestyle as possible. Avery few may claim that subsistence is no longer a viable alternative and that industrial development is the only option. Most opt for a middle course which espouses industrial (oil) development at a slow enough pace to ensure that there is no environmental degradation, but at a level sufficient to maintain the present economic standards of the villages. This reveals a fundamental ambivalence underlying North Slope Inupiat life. One primary wish is for a "modern American" standard of living, a desire which no less a cultural hero than Eben Hopson articulated as one of the major reasons for the formation of the NSB. At potential odds with this desire is the Inupiat fundamental identity with the land and the Inupiat place in the cycle of subsistence, and the fear that industrial development, no matter how careful and conscientious, will invariably lead to environmental degradation and the loss of this Inupiaq cultural identity. The Inupiaq cultural identity involves more than what has been termed the "subsistence lifestyle." The Inupiat heritage is inextricably linked to the land. The land breaths life into the people and is used as the touchstone of ultimate meaning and value. The key issue resolves itself into the familiar parameters of economics and values. How can Inupiat achieve and maintain a standard of living comparable to that of other Americans and still maintain their fundamental subsistence identity? To this ultimate question we will not hazard to provide even a temporary answer, but we will look at some of the aspects of this question that are evident in Kaktovik.

These issues in Kaktovik are further complicated by the different classifications of land ownership in the area. To the west of the Canning River are state lands. Land to the east of the Canning River is federal land (ANWR), with some Native selected land to the immediate east and west of Kaktovik. There are also the 116 Native allotment claims scattered throughout the area. About 68% of Kaktovik's subsistence land use area lies on federal land, 30% on state land, and 2% on private (Native Corporation) land (Pedersen et al. 1985:96). Much of this land is considered to have high potential for hydrocarbon development. There is an exploratory well being drilled off of Camden Bay and a number of potential state and federal lease sales that would include areas within the Kaktovik land use area (Pedersen et al.'s estimate is that they would include 56% of the total Kaktovik subsistence land use area -- Pedersen et al. 1985:99). Oil development has not progressed beyond the exploration stage in the Kaktovik area as yet, but many people are already worried about the potential effects full-scale development could have. There is the additional complicating factor that there are at least three and perhaps more interested parties in the debate -- the oil companies, the residents of Kaktovik, and those functionaries responsible for protecting the public trust of ANWR. In addition there is the NSB (whose interests do not precisely align with either the oil companies or the residents of Kaktovik),

the federal government (with conflicting mandates of energy development and environmental protection), and conservationist groups.

Most Kaktovik informants would agree with the assessment that the effects of oil development ***per se*** have not been terribly bad. Some people have obtained jobs (mostly temporary), others have received training, the village negotiated a formal agreement (along with Nuiqsut) to govern the conduct of oil exploration and drilling activity during the fall whaling season while there has been little development activity as such. However, when the potential effects of oil development are considered, along with the possible side effects of present exploratory activity and the permitting process that has been initiated to determine if drilling will be allowed within ANWR, the balance may appear to be much less positive from the Kaktovik perspective.

1. Restriction of the Subsistence Range

Since oil development has not yet taken place in the Kaktovik area, this issue is a matter of fear. Many Kaktovik hunters are worried that oil development will substantially reduce the area that is available for them to hunt. This is potentially a very serious effect. Although few hunters use the entire Kaktovik subsistence land use area, and in fact portions of it are seldom used by anyone at present, the "unused portion is perceived as an insurance policy by informants. They know that animals, for whatever reason, can vary in unpredictable ways and that they may not always be available in the future where they are harvested now. Kaktovik hunters have also seen how Nuiqsut residents have effectively been deprived of the hunting territory to the east of that village by the Kuparak and Prudhoe Bay oil fields. They do not want a similar thing to happen to them.

2. Permitting Process Effects

This topic will only be introduced here, as a somewhat fuller discussion will be developed in the attitudes toward resource management section. Perhaps the major effect that Kaktovik residents have seen as a result of potential oil development in ANWR is that they have been inundated with journalists, conservationists, and research biologists. The researcher was asked numerous times if he was a member of Friends of the Earth or Trustees for Alaska. He was told perhaps three times about the latest journalist/magazine writer who had come to Kaktovik, talked to almost no one, and written what locals considered a fabrication about life in Kaktovik. In the final analysis, however, these seemed to be relatively minor annoyances that the informants were well able to deal with, and used as examples to sensitize the researcher to the potential effects of his research report, from the Kaktovik (or at least that informant's) perspective. Most informants did not even seem to mind too much that most of the journalists and other such people who come into Kaktovik stay at the private hotel operated by non-local interests which contributes little, except an expensive place to eat, to the economy of Kaktovik. What most concerned village

informants was the invasion of the research biologists, all identified as working for the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (USF&WS), no matter what their formal affiliation.

Informants claim, and USF&WS confirmed, that 80 researchers were working out of Kaktovik last summer (1989). USF&WS has two large buildings in Kaktovik (built by a non-local contractor, incidently) which were not sufficient to house all of these people, so a significant number were housed at the DEW-Line station. The exact nature of the studies being conducted did not seem to matter to the informants. What they reported was that the cumulative impact of this many people, moving around the countryside disturbing the animals, combined with the air traffic required to provide them with adequate logistical support, severely degraded the quality of life in the village and is the primary cause, in their view, for the scarcity of caribou on the coast in the summer. This may reflect a general community-wide dissatisfaction with government wildlife agencies as much as it really represents what people believe is the fundamental reason for fewer caribou on the coast in the summer. USF&WS and the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) have also received low marks for their handling of the muskox permitting system, and muskox are given as another principal cause for why caribou are not as plentiful on the coast in the summer as usual. USF&WS has also incurred the displeasure of village residents by not allowing All Terain Vehicle travel in ANWR, except by special permit along river courses for the purpose of reaching Native allotments. The "true" causal connections cannot be unraveled here, but it is clear that the pivotal role that the USF&WS has assumed in Kaktovik life is because of its responsibilities to oversee studies in response to oil company interest in ANWR.

3. Information Processing Burdens and Leadership

This topic can not be developed to any great extent, but is clearly an everyday problem in village life, and is directly related to the section above. Informants say that even when they know about lease sales coming up that it is very difficult for them to know where to ask for the information that is available about the various studies being done. Even after they receive information, they must find time to read it, process it, and respond. Even when they respond and make comments, they seldom have the sense that they have been heard, and even more rarely do they see local people as having any effect on decisions made on lease sales, as all are made outside of the village. Furthermore, lease sales are only the tip of the iceberg. The entire permitting process, before and after lease sales, produces a mountain of paper that is potentially available to local villagers, but which they rarely see. On one hand this is a blessing, as they do not really have the time to process it. On the other hand, being uninformed means that they do not have any effective way to participate in the process. The NSB Planning Department (and especially the Permitting Division) helps to. some extent in this regard, as they try to track all development efforts on the slope. This is their mandate, since they must issue permits before any development can take place. This centralizes information in Barrow, however, and generally very little of the detailed information reaches the villages.

Village informants frequently state that they feel overwhelmed by the sheer mass of information available to them, but that they do not know how to go about obtaining it and are not sure they could actually usefully process it. The regulatory system has become too large and complex for small communities to deal with. This is no doubt why, in Kaktovik, most people are willing to defer to the NSB central planners in dealing with oil development questions. Although they do not totally represent local interests, they at least understand the Inupiat view of the world and are somewhat responsive to local (Kaktovik) opinions. Furthermore, they have the resources to adequately collect and assess the paper documentation produced as a byproduct of the permitting process and to track the compliance of development with the stipulations put upon it. Perhaps most important, the NSB is an entity with enough leverage (taxing authority, lobbyists) that oil companies and the state and federal governments are attentive to NSB views and actions. The NSB can negotiate with these entities in a much more successful way than can the local villages, for the most part.

There is also no consensus in the village on whether oil development should take place in ANWR. Most members of the City Council and officers of the village corporation support controlled development in ANWR, believing that such development is essential for the continued economic health of the NSB and Kaktovik, and that it should be possible to avoid the worst potential impacts on subsistence activities. They say that most village residents believe similarly. In fact, from conversations with a large number of Kaktovik residents it appears that the overwhelming sentiment is against oil development, combined with a resignation as to its inevitability. "Ordinary" residents have no confidence that there will be a local "tradeoff" of economic benefits and environmental protection measures returned for the permission to drill. This is an interesting difference between the leaders of the village and those who have elected them to office, In many cases, village informants will say that they are against drilling but that it is an issue for the leaders to deal with, since that is what they were elected for. Perhaps "non-leaders" are simply looking for a way to avoid responsibility for making any of the hard decisions involved in assessing the balance of potential risks and benefits. This is certainly consistent with the dynamics of NSB village politics as documented for other communities (Galginaitis et al. 1984, Impact Assessment 1989, Impact Assessment 1990), but this is not a topic that can be developed here.

There is almost complete agreement that there should not be any off-shore drilling, and certainly not before all on-shore resources have been explored. This position is taken for both environmental and economic reasons. The potential dangers to subsistence resources of an off-shore accident are perceived as far greater (regardless of the probability of such an accident) than for an accident on-shore, especially in the wake of the *Exxon Valdez* incident. Also, the NSB will reap a much greater addition to its tax base from on-shore development than form off-shore development, and this would trickle (or gush, depending on your viewpoint) down to Kaktovik and the other NSB villages. Any wells developed on Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation (KIC -- the Kaktovik village Native Corporation) land would of course have obvious economic benefits to the corporation and local residents.

4. Negotiated Accommodation With the Oil Companies

The relationship between Kaktovik and the oil companies is based on pragmatism. Each knows that the other is trying to serve its own interests and has a fairly good idea of what those interests are. For the oil companies, the goal is to obtain access to promising lease tracts, with a minimum of local opposition and a minimum of regulation. For Kaktovik the goals are twofold. They want to protect the integrity of the environment and the local subsistence resources. That said, and recognized to be at times a goal that has to be compromised before the negotiations even start, the second goal is to extract as many economic concessions from the oil companies as possible (again it is possible to draw parallels to Kaktovik-NSB relations, but politics is not the topic of this report). This is perhaps made clearest by a few brief examples of such negotiated bargains.

A. Oil/FWalers Agreement

The reasons for the Oil/Whalers agreement are patently obvious. The Inupiat want to whale with as little interference as possible, and are willing to accept all the help that the oil industry is willing to provide. The oil industry wants to avoid the negative publicity of interfering with the Inupiat subsistence whale hunt, but desires as little interference with its day-to-day exploration and production activities as possible in the very short open-water season in the Beaufort. The oil companies are quite prepared to spend some money as a cost of doing business to ensure this.

Nuiqsut and Kaktovik have taken the lead in negotiating the agreement since they are essentially the only villages which whale in the fall, but not in the spring. In the spring, leads open in the ice which generally permit the Inupiat further to the west to harvest whales (these leads open too far out from Nuiqsut and Kaktovik to be usable). The ice cover remains too extensive and unstable for the safe operation of drill ships, however, and even though seismic testing can physically take place at this time, it is supposed to be suspended when whales are present. Thus, Inupiat spring whaling ends for the most part before oil operations really begin. In the fall, on the other hand, the ice is "out" and the oil companies are trying to complete their drilling season before the weather and ice shut them down. The whales, on their trip back south, pass close enough to the shore so that crews from Kaktovik and Nuiqsut can effectively hunt them (whereas the whales pass too far out for any of the villages further west to do so, except for Barrow - and Barrow most often fills its quota in the spring). The Beaufort Sea in the fall would appear to be the only setting for direct confrontations between Inupiat whalers and oil industry activities, and the Oil/Whalers Agreement seems to be a logical development to achieve a workable compromise between those two sets of activities. As the 1986 Oil/Whalers Agreement states: "It is in the best interest of all concerned that industry vessels avoid interfering with or restricting the bowhead whale hunt" (Oil/Whalers Working Group 1986:3).

The agreement has several provisions (what follows is abstracted from Oil/Whalers Working Group 1986:3-5). One is a communications system to allow whalers and operators of industry vessels to talk to each other. All equipment, except the radio tower at Kaktovik, is provided by the oil companies. The oil companies are responsible for the installation of the equipment and the training of the operators, and the maintenance of the equipment when it is returned after each season. The communications center in Deadhorse is to be manned by Inupiat from Nuiqsut and Kaktovik, and each industry vessel is to have an Inupiat trained as a "communicator" to ensure that the system works smoothly. There is a manual stating explicit rules for how industry vessels are to notify whaling boats of their positions and vice versa, and actions industry vessels are to take to avoid restricting or interfering with the hunt.

It is explicitly stated that the communications system can not be used to "scout" for bowhead whales or to otherwise report whale locations to subsistence hunters. It may be used for emergency assistance support.

Specific assistance that the oil companies will provide is listed as follows:

1.. Help tow caught whales (if an industry boat is near by and available) to a suitable butchering site in order to prevent meat from spoiling.

2. Cache emergency supplies (gasoline, food, etc.) for use during the course of the hunt.

3. Provide emergency assistance in adverse weather conditions.

4. Assist in transporting whale meat and muktuk to the village which caught the whale in order to prevent spoilage and maximize consumption (Oil/Whalers Working Group 1986:4-5).

The oil industry also agreed that vessel traffic east of Kaktovik will be curtailed "as far as is practical" and that should such traffic be necessary it would be as far offshore as possible. All seismic vessels would retrieve all lost gear with all possible speed, and if recovery is not possible, to notify other vessels of the loss through the communications system. This probably refers to cable which could foul boats very easily. The companies also recognize the need to obtain permits for exploration and drilling. If such permits are denied, they may withdraw from this agreement. Any oil company that secures a permit may participate in this agreement (and not just the signatories). The agreement was for 1986 only, but was signed with the idea that it would be renewed on an annual basis, and amended as necessary.

The agreement has been renewed annually since 1986, and as might be expected, has undergone some changes. The first year was quite instructive, as the whalers asked for, and received, a great amount of help. Nuiqsut took a whale that year and requested assistance in towing and butchering it. It was towed to the east dock at Prudhoe Bay, butchered, and flown by Hercules aircraft to Nuiqsut. One industry representative (who will not be identified) estimated that this and the other assistance provided that year cost $600,000. The oil companies made the decision not to do that again, so that it must now be a real emergency before they will help to tow a whale. This also ensures that the subsistence nature of the hunt is not threatened by too much outside assistance.

Oil companies are still agreeable to helping transport the butchered whale to storage at Olliktok Point, so long as the Inupiat tow it themselves to Cross Island, butcher it there, and transport the butchered parts themselves to the facilities at Endicott. The oil companies will then box them up and truck them to Olliktok Point. This the oil companies perceive as a reasonable level of assistance and one that does not affect the subsistence nature of the hunt, while it does materially assist the Nuiqsut whalers. Nuiqsut whalers have interpreted the second sort of assistance listed above as implying that the oil companies should provide all their gas and food while they are out whaling. The oil companies have resisted this interpretation for obvious reasons. Still, both parties express satisfaction with the agreement. The Inupiat gain a whaling season relatively free from interference and all the assistance that they can convince the oil companies to provide. The oil companies gain some positive public relations and as short an interruption in their normal activities as possible, since they have complete information about when whales are harvested and there is a strict quota on whales.

The larger implications of the Oil/Whalers Agreement have not as yet become clear. Most informants in Nuiqsut (and Kaktovik) perceive the agreement as a reasonable compromise. Informants in other villages express a few more doubts. The fundamental question seems to be the inherent conflict between the protection of subsistence resources and the dangers posed to those resources by oil development, There is a perception that the Oil/Whalers Agreement results in short term gains for Nuiqsut and Kaktovik, but has the potential for long term deleterious effects on all whaling villages. There is no similar cooperative agreement covering spring whaling, and apparently little pressure from either party to the existing Oil/Whalers Agreement to negotiate one. This is understandable if most whalers are indeed unsure of the long term benefits of such an agreement. From the perspective of the oil companies, as discussed above, spring whaling occurs at the beginning of the open water season, before most offshore drilling activity takes place. While leads open in the ice fields and generally allow the Inupiat to harvest whales, the ice cover is too extensive and too unstable during this time to allow drill ships to operate. The oil interests would logically have little interest in a "spring Oil/Whalers Agreement" in the absence of the possibility of such oil-related activity.

The question of the utility to the Inupiat of such explicit agreements with industry (perceived to represent "development") is a complex issue, potentially pitting cultural values

against economic interests, potentially dividing villages into opposing camps, and potentially creating conflicts between institutions. The last AEWC annual meeting in Barrow surfaced some of these feelings, where a resolution was introduced stating explicitly that any agreements between a village or villages and representatives of oil companies were in no way binding on other villages. Informants were vague as to what the resolution actually meant, and even as to whether it was passed. They were quite clear in stating that its purpose was to state uneasiness with having formal agreements with oil companies. In this regard, the Chairman if the AEWC is reported to have informally stated that he has no objections to the Oil/Whalers Agreement or similar contracts, as long as they do not prejudice the long term interests of Inupiat subsistence hunters. This is a politer way of expressing the same set of doubts. Nielsen 1988 briefly discusses this issue, but more to state that profound conflicts are implicit in the situation than to describe and analyze these conflicts. The development of these issues is clearly important, and perhaps the most critical subsistence-related question on the North Slope, but is also very difficult and ultimately beyond what could be accomplished in the time available for this work.

It is also clear from the terms of the agreement and the way that informants in the two villages talk about it that the assistance provided by the oil companies is much more beneficial to Nuiqsut whalers than to those from Kaktovik. The Kaktovik whaling area is near their village and they do not usually require any logistical assistance. Nuiqsut whalers, on the other hand, have severe logistical problems in transporting their harvest even under the best of conditions. This is a case of Inupiat solidarity in the face of an outside agency, however, with Kaktovik willing to essentially follow Nuiqsut's lead in this matter.

B. The Oil Spill Response Team

The oil spill response team was an idea of the Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO) liaison to Nuiqsut and Kaktovik, but the idea worked so well that it maybe extended to the other villages. The idea is simplicity itself. ARCO hired twenty individuals from the two villages (ten from each) and trained them in the state-of-the-art techniques for cleaning up oil spills. Thus, each of this people now has a good understanding of the capabilities for cleaning up an oil spill, and realizes that should the need arise, at least local people will be involved to see that it is done correctly (and local people will receive the wages paid to clean up the spill). Furthermore, the oil companies provided each of the villages with a complete set of the equipment that is needed for oil spill cleanup. The most salient possibility is of course a large offshore spill, but that is also the least likely. Although these individuals did receive some training for that, most of their instruction was in how to deal with the more mundane but all too common "small" spill on kind. This is also applicable to the village experience, since it is exactly this sort of spill that villagers would have to deal with should they have an accident in one of their power plants, or should a storage tank leak, or a drum leak. In fact, most NSB community dumps have quite a few barrels of unlabeled waste, many of which have been or soon will be leaking, and it is anticipated that these trained individuals could be very useful in handling this problem.

The tradeoffs are again fairly obvious. The oil companies once again receive some positive public relations for community service. They also ensure that the village public is educated, from the oil company's perspective, as to the risks of oil spills and the ways to deal with them. The trained individuals can be expected to share this with their friends and neighbors, and even though they know the information is not from a neutral source it is likely to be accepted fairly readily. The participating Inupiat gain a wage while training and the knowledge that there will be local participation in any local cleanup that should be required. In addition, they have had the opportunity to work on other cleanups, for a good wage, employing the skills that they were taught in this program. Not all can take advantage of this, since many work full-time, but the program clearly provided benefits to both parties.

C. Inupiat (Native) Hire

Inupiat hire is not the same as Native hire, since many non-Inupiat Kaktovik residents are still considered "Native" hire since they are (more-or-less) permanent residents of Kaktovik. That point made, we should also note that this is section not meant as a complete discussion of native hire. Rather, it stresses one main point, which is that local Inupiat fully realize that they are underrepresented in the oil industry labor force, that the jobs they do hold in the oil industry are different from those held by non-Inupiat, and that they think that most Inupiat are hired by the oil companies merely as a "cost of doing business" and not in any serious attempt to train a skilled Inupiat labor force. The model is then one in which Inupiat are given jobs so that they feel they are part of the system, receive some of the rewards, and will not object so strongly to development as it occurs. That this somewhat cynical view of the situation bears a strong resemblance to reality is unfortunately all too clear. That the oil companies bear all of the blame for this is not at all obvious. The Inupiat labor force in many ways has adapted to exploit the worst aspects of this system, which commonly rewards sporadic or irregular working hours and often results in unproductive workers (by the "normal" standards of the employers as judged by their operations in other areas). An Inupiat who wishes to find steady, challenging work in the oil industry can do so, but he must exert himself. Otherwise he is likely to find himself in a temporary job and eventually laid off.

Most village informants viewed most oil industry jobs as "pay-off" positions. That is, the industry hires a certain number of Inupiat so that they can say they have paid out so much in wages to locals and can claim a certain percentage of "local hire." Most of these positions are temporary and unskilled, so that eventually the people are laid off. Thus there is a pattern of Inupiat going to work in the oil fields, being there several months, and returning to the village. Sometimes they quit, and sometimes they are laid off or fired. Eventually, if they want to return, they will be able to obtain another temporary job. Industry representatives said that few Inupiat want a full-time, permanent job in the oil industry. It requires too much time out of the village. There are some Inupiat, on the other hand, who treat the oil industry as a source of jobs that is always available. So long as they can pass the chug test (required of all oil industry job applicants), most Inupiat who desire an oil field

job can obtain one. The rate of failure of the drug test seems to be related to age. Young men have a very high rate of failure, and make up the largest segment of the potential labor force. The industry side has not been examined in much detail, but there appears to be a common perception that too little effort is being made to involve Inupiat in any meaningful way in the oil industry.

Thus, Inupiat hire maybe one area where the negotiated solution is still far from adequate. Some Inupiat are working in the oil industry, but not nearly as many as could be expected and not in truly responsible positions. On the Inupiat side, too many Inupiat seem to accept the type of positions that they are given and are willing to go along for the ride. Perhaps this is perceived by individuals as individually beneficial, but collectively it would seem to have a number of negative effects. The industry side has not been examined in much detail, but there appears to be a common perception that too little effort is being made to involve Inupiat in any meaningful way in the oil industry.

Attitudes Toward Resource Management

The Inupiat of Kaktovik are not a uniform group, any more than are the members of any other American community. Thus it should be no surprise that there are significant differences in what different members of the community think of the various agencies involved with resource management in Kaktovik. There are at least four agencies that Kaktovik must deal with concerning subsistence resources alone -- the North Slope Borough Department of Wildlife Management, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (regulates all fish and wildlife except for migratory birds and marine mammals, at least until July of 1990), the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (migratory waterfowl, polar bear, walrus, sea otters), and the National Marines Fisheries Service (seals, whales). In addition, of course, there is the Bureau of Land Management, the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission, and all the other advisory boards dealing with locally used species. Lastly, there are the oil companies and the various government agencies associated (at least in the Inupiat mind) with the oil companies, among them the Minerals Management Service and the Army Corps of Engineers. The Environmental Protection Agency also takes actions on certain issues of local concern (the classification and regulation of wetlands is perhaps the one which most inflames Alaskan passions at present). Kaktovik residents realize that these agencies are to a large extent independent, but at another level villagers treat them all as pretty much the same. Certainly wildlife management issues crosscut the agencies and local people are often frustrated by the inability of any one agency to deal with an issue in a complete way. All too often different agencies have partial responsibilities and the end result is frustration and a conviction that no management at all would be better than the current system. No state or federal agency is perceived to be responsive to local concerns or suggestions. The NSB fares somewhat better, but is still viewed with suspicion. Native regulatory groups (AEWC for example) are considered the best mechanism if such management is a practical necessity.

Industrial development (mainly oil development, but potentially mining, tourism, and perhaps other activities) and resource management (wildlife as well as mineral resources) are explicitly linked together by most Inupiat. This is quite understandable as it is an accurate assessment of the situation. What seems to puzzle most Inupiat is why the various government agencies on their fact-finding missions and during public hearings apparently try to keep the two separated. Government agencies are never quite trusted in the village because villagers are never quite sure what their real agenda is. Researchers often also fit into this category. If informants are unsure of what a person's position is on the relationship between development and the protection of subsistence resources (and access to them), local control over local resources, and whatever other issues are pertinent at the time, it is difficult for those informants to trust the information collector to use the data collected in away that the informants see as beneficial (or at least not harmful). In a "funny" way this explains why oil company representatives often have better relations with villagers than do researchers or government agency representatives. The interests of the oil companies are known and in most cases their representatives are pragmatists who are willing to use the resources at their disposal to negotiate a practical compromise or trade. The local Inupiat can understand the goals and motivation of the oil companies, even if they do not much like them. Knowing this, they can interact with them with a fairly good idea of what information they are willing to share, how they want to present it, and how it can be used to facilitate reaching a solution acceptable to the local community.

1. Attitudes Toward Animal Study Projects

Animal study projects are for the most part perceived by Inupiat as related to wildlife management programs. Since for the most part Inupiat do not think much of wildlife management, they avoid animal study projects as much as possible. Participation in voluntary reporting programs is generally low, and even an unobtrusive measure such as the number of hunting licenses sold is unreliable since few Inupiat hunters (and even some non-Inupiat hunters) do not buy licenses. Certain animal studies draw stronger comments, especially in Kaktovik where there are so many different studies going on at the same time in the summer.

Most of the studies which Inupiat express displeasure with, rather than simply ignoring, are those which involve handling the animal and marking it physically. To handle the animal it must usually be immobilized. In the past the agent of choice has been a dart gun administering a drug. Most Inupiat are very reluctant to eat a harvest animal that has been marked, since they fear that the drug used to immobilize the animal may have affected the meat. Some Inupiat think that this drug changes the animal's behavior and makes it stay in the area where it was drugged. The use of drugs to immobilize animals is so discomforting to most Inupiat that the Alaska Department of Fish & Game is now investigating other methods to capture animals to mark them.

Inupiat are in general very unhappy about marking animals. Radio collars on caribou and polar bear are a source of constant comment, as when such animals are harvest it is quite common to find areas rubbed raw of skin, infection, or some other sign of irritation. Inupiat seem to regard the collaring of an animal as somewhat of an indignity to that animal as well. They understand the rationale for collaring a limited number of animals, but would still prefer that it not be done.

Several people also commented negatively about a study of muskoxen winter habitat that was just starting up (for its second year) during out short period of fieldwork. Kaktovik residents are generally critical of anything to do with muskoxen, as they feel that they have been taken advantage of and manipulated by the agencies who introduced the muskoxen and have regulated them. Be that as it may, the comments directed toward this particular project was that it was too expensive (it could be done cheaper, faster, and better), did not involve Inupiat with local expertise, and was essentially harassing the animals. These points are interrelated. The research method used for this project is to essentially go out and find some muskoxen (in March), follow them to see where they are foraging, and to stake out test plots where they have been observed. These plots will then be examined in the summer to determine the vegetative and other characteristics of preferred muskoxen "winter" habitat. Informants were of the view that following the muskoxen was a waste of time and also disturbed their behavior by causing them to move more than normal. They suggested that an aerial survey would serve the study purposes just as well. These informants then generalized these comments to caribou studies, bird studies, and a host of other activities that they thought may be going on in the summer. Inmost cases informants have no quarrel with individual researchers and actually like them as people (when they know them -- many researchers are essentially anonymous to the village at large).

More generally, Kaktovik Inupiat simply feel that too many studies are being done, especially in the summer. One of the frequent comments made to the researcher during this project was that this research had been done before, and there has indeed been a good deal of prior research on place names and subsistence in Kaktovik (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982, Pedersen and Coffing 1984, Coffing and Pedersen 1985, Pedersen et al. 1985, Pedersen 1989a, Pedersen 1989b, Pedersen 1990). Informant said that they were tired of answering the same questions, but eventually a good number of people agreed to participate in the study. One important factor was that the researcher was willing to listen to what people wanted to talk about, as informants say that one of the major defects of most of the research conducted in the Barter Island area is that the researchers never talk to the local Inupiat about what they know, or try to involve them in the project. Another important factor was that this research was conducted at a time when there were relatively few "outsiders" in the village. When there are 80 researchers in and around a village the size of Kaktovik, it is not likely that there would be enough local people to keep track of what is going on, let alone participate in a meaningful way. The local population simply feels overwhelmed.

2. Muskoxen

The muskoxen issue is perhaps the case which brings most of these points together, but we must unfortunately be brief in describing the situation. Muskoxen were reintroduced with the promise that once they were biologically viable, hunting would be allowed. When hunting was initiated, however, a series of circumstances excluded most local hunters from the permitting process. Only a few muskoxen were allowed to be harvested each year, and these went mostly to sports hunters. Local hunters saw this as an attempt by the state to make money (through permit fees) from a local Kaktovik resource, at the expense of the locals, who were being denied access to a potential food source. The system was modified so that the permit fee was not so high, but this simply encouraged more sports hunters to apply and locals were again left out. Only since the 1985-86 season have a substantial portion of the permits gone to Kaktovik residents, and there was still the problem that several of these permits went to non-Native, transient, residents. Recently the regulations were changed again so that it now appears that the village of Kaktovik will be allocated five of the ten permits, which will be distributed among the village hunting population by a method to be determined by the City Council or the Elders of Kaktovik.

Muskoxen have thus been entangled in the political issue of local control. Muskoxen are also a new species to the active hunters of the community, since not even their parents actually harvested a muskox in the Kaktovik area. They are known mainly through oral tradition. It is thus not absolutely clear what informants are really 'saying when some of them maintain that caribou do not like muskoxen, and that one of the reasons caribou are now scarce on the coast in summer is that muskoxen are establishing home territories there, It is undeniably the case that caribou have spent less time on the coast during the past several summers than in the past. Muskoxen as a causal factor is difficult to assess.

Muskoxen are more territorial animals than are caribou, and Inupiat informants say that caribou will move on rather than stay in an area with muskoxen. Whether this is traditional knowledge gained from Elders or a generalization made from current present experience is not always clear. There is a clear correlation between areas where informants say muskoxen are present and where they used to reliably harvest caribou and no longer find this to be the case.

There are other possible explanations or factors to account for the lack of caribou on the coast. One, often used by Inupiat informants in conjunction with or instead of the muskoxen theory is that the high frequency of airplane, and especially helicopter, flights associated with wildlife research support chases caribou away from the village and the coast in general. The caribou return to the mountains as soon as possible so that they can avoid this harassment. This could. also be interpreted as an argument over local control, however, with the validity of the "facts" of the argument necessarily being the most important aspect of the problem. Figuring out whether Inupiat informants are actually describing about what they really believe is happening in terms of animal behavior, or whether it is actually more of a hypothetical explanation really gauged to express their dissatisfaction with agencies such as

USF&WS and ADF&G is a very difficult task. Given our limited time in the village and the lack of reliable "western scientific" knowledge about muskoxen-caribou and caribou-aircraft behavior, it is clearly impossible for us to make this assessment. Our purpose here is to report what informants told us, and to give what we think are the possible different interpretative contexts for that information.

Wildlife biologists will remind you that caribou populations have historically been highly variable, exhibiting a boom-and-bust cycle. The reasons for caribou population growth and decline are not clear, but Inupiat informant accounts clearly indicate that this is part of their knowledge base as well and that Inupiat have had to adapt to the lack of caribou for various periods of time in the past. Even within the past ten to twenty years Inupiat informants recalled years when the caribou herds came to the coast before or during breakup, and left before there was enough open water for boating. In those years the take of summer caribou was very low. Some individuals would thus want to argue that the absence of caribou is due more to the as yet not understood variation in caribou behavior rather than to muskoxen or aircraft. Again, this is beyond our area of expertise.

3. Relations With Wildlife Agencies -- Other Issues

Informants in Kaktovik were generally suspicious of USF&WS and ADF&G, knowing that those agencies do have enforcement responsibilities. For the most part, local residents thought that Kaktovik was being made a "test case" to see if it was possible for the regulations to be strictly enforced in relation to a Native, subsistence-oriented, population. This poses a real quandary for many of the hunters of Kaktovik, because they do not want to break the law. North Slope village residents are among the most fundamentally law-abiding American citizens. At the same time, they object to patently "silly" laws or regulations, obviously written to cover a general case and a wide area, that fail completely to take the-particular circumstances of the North Slope into account. One primary example of this is the open season on migratory waterfowl. Waterfowl are usually not available during the legal season, and only for a very limited time in' the legally closed period. Most Inupiat harvest waterfowl, feeling that they are not hurting the populations and do not waste what they take. There have been informational meetings held by USF&WS about the season restrictions on waterfowl, with the implicit message that they would not be strictly enforced on the North Slope for the moment. The lack of available staff, and the more critical enforcement needs in other parts of Alaska were cited. The issue is still one that many village residents, in Kaktovik as well the other NSB villages, worry about. The recent pressure to have all ivory sealed and polar bear hides tagged is also seen as an attempt to get people used to adhering to regulations.

Most Kaktovik residents, when asked, will say that the best management would be to let the local people manage the local animals and the hunting of those animals. This essentially reduces to a lack of conscious management. Informants refer to this as the "traditional" Inupiat way of taking only what you need and not wasting it, so that the resource will be

maintained. Pedersen et al. (1985:64-65) report recent informant accounts of this behavior applied to sheep. They provide similar information concerning polar bear (Pedersen et al. 1985: 100). An informant in Kaktovik told our researcher that if muskoxen hunting were made completely open to Kaktovik subsistence hunters, and sports hunting not allowed, that the herd would be maintained at a healthy level. He predicted heavy harvesting for the first year, reduced somewhat in the second year, and a reasonable sustainable harvest after that. He thought that the novelty of the species and the pent up demand for muskoxen, as it were, would be exhausted after the first two years. The more conservative Inupiat subsistence value system would then kick in to regulate the harvest. Inupiat to all intents and purposes self-regulate themselves during whaling. It may be that a negotiated self-regulation (or co-regulation) is the most viable alternative for all parties concerned.

KAKTOVIK SUBSISTENCE RESOURCE HARVEST **PATTERNS SITE** INVENTORY

Table of Contents
Sites in Numerical Order, Sorted by USGS **1:250,000** Quads

Barter Island

Beechey Point

Beechey Point (continued)

Demarcation Point

Flaxman Island

Mount Michelson

Mount Michelson (continued)

Sagavanirktok

Site Number:	K-016 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island, Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Uqpillam Paanga
Meaning of Name:	Mouth of Uqpilak [a river], without willows.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Uqpillam Paanga is located at the Okpilak River delta, just to the east of the Hulahula River delta, Two TLUI coordinates are listed: 14359'00' 7004'35" and 14428'00"7003'42". The second set may refer to a second site. It is used as a reference for a more generalized use area.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14359'00" 7004'35" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 20 Pedersen et al. 1985:89 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Camping and hunting, caribou, birds, seals, fish.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	Ruins, bones, sod houses.
Specific Use:	Caribou are harvested in this area in the summer. Birds and seals are also taken. The mouth of the Okpilak is also a productive and commonly used fishing site.
History of Use:	This was the base area for the exploration of the Okpilak River by Leffingwell and Ned and Edward Gallagher. Several families also lived in the area, including the Areys and Hopsons. Several current Kaktovik residents remember visiting the area (see references cited). The mouth of the Okpilak and the Hulahula Rivers is also one of the main caribou harvest locations for Kaktovik hunters.

The main harvest in this area is in the summer. Birds and seals are also taken in this area. The mouth of the Okpilak River is also one of the commonly used and productive summer fishing locations for Kaktovik subsistence users.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:97; Jacobson n.d.; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985:128; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number:	K-017 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Naalagiaviak
Meaning of Name:	Where you go to listen to whales.
English Name:	Arey Island
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Naalagiaviak is located in the middle of Arey Island, about 5 miles west of Barter Island. The NSB TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14354'00"7007'00 and 14354'12" 7007'00.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14354'00 7007'00" Orth: 70 07'N 143 54'W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 19 Pedersen et al. 1985:91 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, birds, seals.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	Old graves are located near the bigger lake. Remains of cabins and sod houses are also evident.
Specific Use:	Waterfowl in late May and early June. Fishing July and August - arctic char (iqalukpik), arctic cisco (qaaktaq), pink salmon (amaqtuq). Fall fishing for qaaktaq. Seals in spring and summer."
History of Use:	Arey Island is a prehistoric as well as an historic village site. Some current Kaktovik residents once lived on Arey Island, and some were born there. The island was a common site for a local reindeer herd from 1922-1936. The English name for the island comes from the grandfather of Annie Soplu, Ned Arey. Ned Arey was a commercial explorer and whaler in the area.

There are legends and stories associated with this site (see list of references).

The Beaufort Sea side of the eastern segment of Arey Island is one location where Kaktovik people normally set nets in the summer.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:97-98; Jacobson 1979; Jacobson n.d.; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a; Pedersen et al. 1985:129.

Site Number:	K-018 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Iglukpaluk
Meaning of Name:	A big house seen from far away.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Elupak
Location:	Iglukpaluk is on the west end of the northern coast of Barter Island, It is about one half mile east of the base of the spit, on the coast which faces north (see historical note for locational problems).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14342'00" 7007'00 Orth: 70 08'N 143 42'W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 18 Pedersen et al. 1985:94 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing (summer).
Access:	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	Iglukpaluk is the last high point of land before the land slopes down to the lakes and spit. Graves and ruins. C. Gordon's house was here until relocated. Two sets of TLUI coordinates.
Specific Use:	Summer fish: arctic char (iqalukpak), arctic cisco (qaaktaq), and flounder (nataagnaq) by net as well as hook and line.
History of Use:	Iglukpaluk has an extensive post-Western contact history, as the location was visited by a large number of scientific and exploratory expeditions. The name for the site is from the house built by Tom Gordon therein 1923 when he moved there to establish a trading post. Visitors to Tom Gordon's house have provided a number of written descriptive accounts (see references listed).

The exact location of the site is actually not clear. The "original" TLUI map had it located at the base of the spit on the western side of the north coast of Barter Island (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:98). Jacobson and Wentworth then verbally describe the site as being a half mile east of the place where the TLUI had originally placed it. Their map, however, places it perhaps a quarter mile short of where they say it should be (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:9). We have located it according to Jacobson and Wentworth's verbal description. The main subsistence use of the site is for the setting of gillnets in summer. These nets are set on the Beaufort Sea side of the spit on the western side of Barter Island (Iglukpaluk is near the base of this spit).

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:98-100; Jacobson 1979; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Pedersen 1989; Craig 1987:49; Hutchinson 1937; Stuck 1920.

Site Number:	K-019 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Tikluk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Akootchook House Site
Other Name(s):	Tiglukm Inaa
Location:	Tikluk is located on the southwestern part of Barter Island.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14343'00" 7006'50 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 45 Pedersen et al. 1985:101 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	Ruins of cabins and sod houses, bones.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	The Andrew Akootchook family lived here about 1919-20, when they first moved to Barter Island. They then moved to Arey Island. Tikluk was also used as a reindeer herding site. The Beaufort Sea TLUI list Tikluk as a site where "important events" (unspecified) took place.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:101; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Pedersen et al. 1985.

Site Number:	K-020 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Qaaktugvik
Meaning of Name:	Seining place.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Kaktovik (First Location)
Location:	The first historical location of Kaktovik was on the northeast part of Barter Island, on the spit where presently the Air Force hanger and runway are placed. It is directly across from the westernmost part of Bernard Spit.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14336'17" 7007'50" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 15 Pedersen et al. 1985:97 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Airstrip, fishing.
Access:	Airplane, truck, walk.
Site Features:	Most of the remains of this site have been dug up, covered over, or eroded away. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Specific Use:	Net fishing on the Beaufort Sea side of the spit, sport (rod and reel) fishing off the eastern end of the spit.
History of Use:	This was the site of a prehistoric Inupiat village. Because the Air Force wished to construct an airstrip in this location in 1947 the village was moved to a new site about 1650 yards to the west. Nets are sometimes set in the summer on the Beaufort Seaside of the spit on the eastern part of Barter Island.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:102; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985:129;Pedersen 1989; Craig 1987:49; Nielson 1977a; Nielson 1977b.

Site Number:	K-021 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Qaaktugvik
Meaning of Name:	Seining place.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Kaktovik (Second Location)
Location:	The second historical location of Kaktovik is the northeast part of Barter Island, on the north coast where the spit joins the main part of the Island. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates, which appear to be incorrect.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14336'17" 7008'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 16 Pedersen et al. 1985:95 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	Snowmobile, truck.
Site Features:	TLUI reports cabin and sod house ruins, bones, and graves, as well as a DEW-Line road. It is likely that these features are now difficult to find.
Specific Use:	Sport fishing on the Beaufort side of the spit is said to be good in this area.
History of Use:	People were relocated to this site in 1947 by the construction of the DEW-Line airstrip and related facilities. In 1953 another relocation, slightly to the west and farther back from the beach, was necessary because of DEW-Line road construction. The distance between the two locations was so small that both were considered to be the same site by Jacobson and WentWorth.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:103; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Craig 1987:49; Nielson 1977a; Nielson 1977b.

Site Number:	K-022 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Qaaktugvik
Meaning of Name:	Seining place.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Kaktovik (Present Location)
Location:	The third historical location of Kaktovik is located on the east shore of the Island across the Kaktovik Lagoon from the airport. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates. The north coordinates appear to be in error.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14337'00 7008'30 Orth: 143 38'W 7008' N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 17 Pedersen et al. 1985:99 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Present site of Kaktovik.
Access:	Boat, snowmobile,air
Site Features:	This is the site of the current village of Kaktovik.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	The village of Kaktovik was moved to this, its present site, in 1964 when the DEW-Line station again expanded. The move was desired by the residents of the village for health and other reasons. It is the starting point for all subsistence activities in the area and is the location of the local office for ANWR.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:104-105; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Nielson 1977a; Nielson 1977b.

Site Number:	K-023 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Pipsuk
Meaning of Name:	Named after Pipsuk, the grandson of Tigutaaq. Pipsuk reportedly drowned in the lagoon.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Pipsuk Point
Location:	Pipsuk is on the northeast part of Barter Island, on the point across from the airport and just southeast of the present village. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14335'45"7007'45" and 14334'00"7007'35"
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14335'45" 70 07' 45" Orth: 143 35'45"W700745"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 14 Pedersen et al. 1985:100 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	Boat, walking.
Site Features:	Old ruins and the grave of Pipsuk.
Specific Use:	Sport fishing with rod and reel is said to be good from Pipsuk.
History of Use:	One story says that Pipsuk, the grandson of a former longtime resident named Tigutaaq, drowned in the lagoon while fishing from a qayaq. His body was recovered with a seining net, from which the name Qaaktugvik ("seining place") is derived (qaaktuq means to seine for fish, qaaktaq is the name for round whitefish). There are also stories related to the grave of Pipsuk (see listed references).
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:105; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Craig 1987:49; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	K-024 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Qikiqtaq
Meaning of Name:	Island
English Name:	Manning Point
Other Name(s):	Drum Island
Location:	Qikiqtaq is located just east of Barter Island, between Kaktovik Lagoon and Jago Lagoon. It is connected to the mainland by a narrow spit.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 14330' W, 7007' N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:188 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fish, caribou, birds, camping.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	Many old drums are found in the area.
Specific Use:	Mid-May to mid-June for migratory bird hunting, late spring and summer for caribou, summer for fishing.
History of Use:	The English name for this site, Drum Island, comes from the many metal drums found in the area. The "island" has historically been the site of caribou drives. Nets are set on the Jago Lagoon (east) side of the point.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:106-107; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985:131; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987:49.

Site Number:	K-025 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Tapkak
Meaning of Name:	Spit
English Name:	Bernard Spit
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Bernard Spit is a barrier island just northeast of Barter Island.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 14330' W, 7008' N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:98 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, trapping, seals, wood, camping.
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Summer fishing, peaking in July and August. Arctic char (iqalukpik) earlier and least cisco (iqalusaaq) later in the season. There has been trapping here in the winter (especially fox).
History of Use:	The Akootchook's had a house on the western part of Bernard Spit and lived there sporadically from the mid-1920s through the mid-1940s. Nets are set on the Jago Lagoon (protected) side of the spit. Sites tend to be reused from year-to-year, but most locations would be productive.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:107; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Pedersen 1989; Craig 1987:47.

Site Number:	K-026 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Tapqauraq
Meaning of Name:	Tapqauraq - little narrow spit. Nuyagiq after a family who used to live there.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Tapkaurak, Nuyagiq
Location:	Tapqauraq is how Kaktovik people refer to the area to the east of the Jago River delta. Tapkaurak Spit extends from Martin Point southwest almost to Griffin Point (from the Tapkaurak entrance to the Oruktalik entrance).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14301'00" 7005'00" Orth: 143 15'30"W7007'50N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 13 Pedersen et al. 1985:110 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fish, hunting, birds, eggs, camping.
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Ruins of Dan Gordon's old house. Old graves are located on the south side of the lagoon. There are also sod house ruins in the area.
Specific Use:	Spring for migratory birds, summer for fish (qaqtaq and igalukpik). The area apparently best for fish is from the mapped location east to somewhat beyond Griffin Point.
History of Use:	Tapqauraq, when used by Kaktovik people in the present, is reported to refer to the ruins on Tapkaurak Spit, while they refer to the point labeled on the USGS map as Tapkaurak Point as Nuyagiq. This name derives from a family who used to live there (Mabel Nuyagiq and Russell Kalayuak). Several trading posts have been located here, especially during the trapping and trading period of the 1930s.

The Tapkaurak Spit area is used as a subsistence harvest area for several different resources. Net fishing is concentrated from the mapped location east to somewhat beyond Griffin Point. Caribou are harvested as they are available all along the spit. Birds are harvested from the coastal side of the lagoon.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:107-108; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Pedersen 1989; Craig 1987:49; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979; Hutchinson 1937; Klerekoper 1937.

Site Number:	K-027 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Uqsruqtalik
Meaning of Name:	Place where there is oil on top of the ground.
English Name:	Griffin Point
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Iqsruqtalik is a point of land comprising the eastern boundary of the Oruktalik Lagoon, about 20 miles east of Barter Island. The TLUI list two sets of coordinates: 14254'00 7004'00" and 14252'00" 700351".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14254'00 7004'00" Orth: 14254' W 7004' N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 12 Pedersen et al. 1985:113 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, fishing, camping, - caribou, birds, seal.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	A shelter cabin, said to be owned by Fred Gordon, exists on the site. Some old ruins about 1.5 miles from the mouth of the John River are also in the area.
Specific Use:	Primarily used in the summer - caribou and fish for arctic char (iqalukpik) and arctic cisco (qaaktaq). Waterfowl in August (fall), sometimes seal in summer. This is an important camping area where people will sometimes stay several weeks
History of Use:	Uqsruqtalik was the site of an old village. John Olsen's trading post was here until he moved it to Humphrey Point sometime between 1933 and 1937. Isabel Hutchinson visited Olsen at this location on October 17, 1933. Fred and Dorothy Gordon lived in this area until the 1940s when they moved to Barter Island.

Presently, this is the site of a major summer fish camp which is used every year. Several families fish here and will stay for several weeks or longer. This is also a popular area to harvest caribou in the summer. It is also said to be a productive area for the harvest of birds.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:110-111; Pedersen and Coiling 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Pedersen 1989; Pedersen 1990; Beaufort Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Nielson 1977a; Hutchinson 1937.

Site Number:	K-028 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Pukak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Pukak is the area around Pokok Lagoon and Pokok Creek. It is a few miles east of Uqsruqtalik (Griffin Point). The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14246'00" 7002'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 11 Pedersen et al. 1985:114 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Birds, hunting, fishing.
Access:	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	Pukak was the site of an old village (at east end of the lagoon). Historic remains are a sod house ruin (Steve Hopson Sr.) and an old store owned by Paneak.
Specific Use:	Pukak is an important spring waterfowl harvest site (brant, eider ducks, snow geese). Summer - people fish (arctic char) and hunt caribou. Ugruk and seal are also hunted in the summer. Beluga taken when they appear, but are sporadic.
History of Use:	Pukak was the site of a camp and village on the east side of the lagoon. The area was also used extensively as an habitation site until the 1930s when people left for Barrow, Kaktovik, and Anaktuvuk Pass. A sod house ruin associated with Steve Hopson Sr. (Barrow, then Nuiqsut) and an old store owned by Paneak (Anaktuvuk Pass) are said to exist in the area. Several Kaktovik families, or their relatives, lived in this area in the past (see listed references).

The area is especially noted for the harvest of birds in the spring. Caribou are available in the summer, as are seal and ugruk. Net fishing takes place in the summer, but the area further west around Griffin Point is generally used more for fishing. Informants say that beluga sometimes appear in this area and are hunted when they do so. This does not happen very often and is unpredictable.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:110-111; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Pedersen 1989; Pedersen 1990; Beaufort Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a; Jacobson 1979; Hutchinson 1937.

Site Number:	K-056 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Kapillgurak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Kapillgurak is located southeast of Uqsruqtalik (K-27) on the John River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 1425200" 7003'20 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 44 Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting (caribou), fishing
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Old habitation ruins are found at Kapillgurak.
Specific Use:	Informants did not speak to this site in particular, but it is the area where they stressed the availability of caribou in the summer, and the productivity of summer net fishing. Birds may also be available in the spring.
History of Use:	
References:	Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1989; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987:49.

Site Number:	KA-801 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island, Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Kaktovik whaling area
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-801 is located offshore (north) of the Hulahula River delta and extends east ten to twenty miles beyond the Jago River delta.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fall whaling (also seal and other marine mammals).
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	This is the area used by Kaktovik whalers for their fall hunt. They may range as far as thirty miles from the village, but generally stay closer, especially to the west.
History of Use:	Area KA-801 is the general Kaktovik whaling area. Kaktovik whalers generally go no farther than about 15 miles west of Barter Island, and 15 to 30 miles east of Barter Island. The farther they go, the longer the tow after a successful harvest, the more difficult the processing is likely to be, and the more likely it is that there will be some spoilage. AU recent Kaktovik whales have been taken in this "core" whaling area, and most in the region closest to Kaktovik. Only a few whales have been taken in the outer margins of this area.
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	K-804 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site K-804 is located approximately three miles upstream from the mouth of the Okpilak River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Harvest of birds in the spring
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	One side of the river has a high bluff, which is used as the harvest site.
Specific Use:	Migratory birds are harvested in this area in the spring.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	K-805 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site K-805 is located southwest of Barter Island on the east coast of Arey Lagoon.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Caribou (mostly summer).
History of Use:	
References:	Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number:	K-806 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site K-806 is located at the base of the spit which connects Manning Point to the mainland.
Coordinates:	T I M : Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou, fish, birds
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	This is reported to be a regular location for the harvest of caribou, as well as a productive fishing area. Nets are set on the Kaktovik Lagoon (west side) of the spit. Birds are also harvested in the spring.
History of Use:	
References:	Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1989; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987:49.

Site Number:	KA-805 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-805 comprises the coast of the mainland south of Barter Island from the Okpilak River in the west to the Jago River in the east.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Caribou (mainly summer)
History of Use:	
References:	Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number:	KA-807 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location	Area KA-807 is located at the mouth of the Jago River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou, fish
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	The delta of the Jago River is said to be too shallow to be traveled in the type of boat typically owned in Kaktovik.
Specific Use:	Caribou are harvested in this area mostly in the summer. Nets for fishing are also set in the summer. The area may not be used for fishing as much as in the past.
History of Use:	
References:	Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1989; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987:48.

Site Number:	KA-808 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-808 is located on the coast east of the Jago River. It is centered on Tapkaurak Point (known as Nuyagiq to Kaktovik people).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Caribou (mostly summer)
History of Use:	
References:	Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number:	KA-809 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-809 is located on the coast east of Barter Island and extends from Griffin Point to just beyond Pokok Lagoon.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou, fish, musk oxen, birds
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Summer fishing, caribou more year-round, musk oxen in spring (March), birds in the spring and fall.
History of Use:	
References:	Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1989a; Pedersen 1989b; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number:	K-046 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Tikagaagruk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Heald Point
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Tikagaagruk is located on the east side of Prudhoe Bay, apparently on Heald Point, The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14812'32" 7021'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 35 Pedersen et al. 1985:23 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 23 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping (past)
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Tikagaagruk is the site of sod house ruins and ice cellars.
Specific Use:	No current subsistence activity takes place due to oil development.
History of Use:	This is know to be an old habitation site. In the historical period, Andrew Oeegna lived here some time in the 1930s. The Akootchooks had an ice cellar here when they lived at Kaniqtua in the 1940s. Current subsistence usage is limited due to oil development in the area.
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:83; Nielson 1977a:71.

Site Number:	K-047 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Kisim Inaa
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Kisim Inaa is mapped southwest of the Tigvariak West Base marker, on the east side of Foggy Island Bay, in accordance with the TLUI coordinates given got this site. The Mid-Beaufort TLUI maps this site where we have mapped Qalgusilik.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14728'00 7011'10 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 36 Pedersen et al. 1985: 28 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 37 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping.
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	This is an old site and presumed to have ruins of some sort.
Specific Use:	Snow machine access is limited by oil development (Nuiqsut) and distance (Kaktovik). Boat access is restricted by oil activities, although during fall whaling this ocean area is hunted at times.
History of Use:	Kisim Inaa is known to be an old site, but the extent of archaeological remains is unknown. It was used in the past as a camping location for the Woods family when they were living on the land, before relocating into modern Nuiqsut. Its current usage would be limited to the whaling season (September-October) and perhaps for summer sealing by a limited number of people.

There is some confusion on where this site is precisely located. We have mapped it according to its TLUI coordinates. The Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI (Smith 1980) places it where we have mapped Ekoolook Inaat (again, according to the TLUI coordinates given). Please see the historical note for Ekoolook Inaat for a discussion of this locational problem.

References: Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	K-048 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Kakianaam Inaa
Meaning of Name:	Kakianaaq's place.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Qallinik Inaat
Location	Kakianaam Inaa is on the east side of Foggy Island Bay. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14719'30 7011'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 37 Pedersen et al. 1985:30 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 38 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping.
Access:	
Site Features:	There are graves located at Kakianaam and perhaps some habitation ruins as well.
Specific Use:	This area is reportedly used for trapping. It is also potentially used during fall whaling by Nuiqsut hunters, but is otherwise difficult to access due to distance and oil development.
History of Use:	Kakianamm Inaa was Kakianaaq'a main camp. He is buried here, along with his mother Aseakotak and his sister Qilgiuraq. The area is used only infrequently at present, mostly during whaling season by people from Nuiqsut. It is a TLUI site for Kaktovik since descendants of some of the people who used to live and travel in this area eventually moved to Kaktovik when populations consolidated into a few settled villages.
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:83; Jacobson n.d.; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	K-050 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Pole Island
Other Name(s):	
Location	Pole Island is the westernmost of the Stockton Island group, almost directly north of Tigvariak Island. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14702'10" 7018'15" Orth: 14702' 10"W '7018' 15"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 38 Pedersen et al. 1985:20 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 18 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Whaling, hunting, fishing, birds.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	There are sod house ruins on Pole Island.
Specific Use:	The area is currently used mainly in the fall for whaling. In the past, when people lived there or in the area, it was used for fishing (qaaktaq and iqaluakpik) and waterfowl hunting. Polar bear have been hunted in this area as well.
History of Use:	The Stockton Islands were named after Captain C.H. Stockton of the U.S. Navy Revenue. Cutter Thetis. Pole Island was probably named by commercial whalers after a pole that was at one time erected on the island to serve as a landmark. Pole Island has been a seasonal residence for many NSB Elders in the past. The Koganalooks had a house there. William Soplu and Clay Kaigelak Sr. stayed therein the 1920s. Nannie Woods stayed there as well. George Woods and the Ahkivgaks hunted seal at Pole Island and built a house there. Presently, Pole

Island is used mostly during the fall whaling season or if people are traveling in the area anyway.

References: Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:76-77; Jacobson 1979; Jacobson n.d.; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	K-051 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Sikiagruum Inaa
Meaning of Name:	Sikiagruk's place.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Sikiagruum Inaa is mapped at the mouth of the Kalugisilik (Kadleroshilik) River, on Foggy Island Bay. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates. The Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI apparently maps this site incorrectly - see historical note.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14736'00" 7011'20" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 39 Pedersen et al. 1985:31 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 39 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping, birds.
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Year-round use (in the past). Currently used mainly in conjunction with fall whaling due to oil development restrictions " and distance from village sites.
History of Use:	Siliagruum Inaa was one of the old family camps of Harry and Lucy Sikiagruk. They were the parents of Eli Solomon's wife. Sikiagruk was also a first cousin to Annie Ologak. Qalgusilik, from the Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI, has coordinates only slightly different from those of Sikagruum Inaa, so that the two may actually be the same site. It is also possible that these are two sites very close together, as this coastal area was extensively used and not all such sites have been located on maps.

The Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI (Smith 1980) maps this site on the Shaviovik River. This is almost certainly incorrect, as the text says that this site is located "at the mouth of the Kalugisilik River" (Smith 1980:83). This suggests that perhaps other sites are dislocated on the Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI map as well.

References:

Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:83,90-91; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	K-061 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	"New Site X
Other Name(s):	
Location:	This site is located on Mikkelson Bay, a few miles east of the Shaviovik River. It is listed as "New Site X' in Jacobson nd.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:35 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	There are habitation ruins at this site.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985.

Site Number:	K-062 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Putuligayuk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	*"New* Site Y
Other Name(s):	
Location:	This site is located on the Shaviovik River, about six miles from the mouth. This is "New Site Y in Jacobson n.d. The mapped location is only very approximate. . This maybe Pedersen et al. 1985 site number 36.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:36 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	There is at least one grave at this site.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Putoligayuk is buried at this site. Other information is lacking. The mapped location is only approximate.
References:	Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985.

Site Number:	K-063 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	*"New* Site Z'
Other Name(s):	
Location:	This site is located about three miles west of the Shaviovik River delta, on the east end of Foggy Island Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, camping.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	There are habitation ruins at this site, as well as graves. Coal is also scattered around this site.
Specific Use:	The area is reportedly used for summer fishing (iqalukpik and qaaktaq) and as a camping location. Because of distance, it is really only used when traveling in the area for other reasons.
History of Use:	Kaliyoak, Adam Alisuarak's sister, is buried at this site. Adam Alisuarak is a direct ancestor to the majority of current Kaktovik residents. The Ologak family lived at this site for one year.
References:	Jacobson 1979.

Site "Number:	K-064 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Leavitt Island
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Leavitt Island is a barrier island, one of the Jones Island group, about two miles long. It is west of Pingok Island.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 14934'N 7034'W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 2 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	*Whaling,* seals.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	Presumably there are habitation ruins, since people lived on or around Leavitt Island in the 1920s. There are graves and numerous whale bones on nearby Pingok Island.
Specific Use:	The primary focus in this area is fall whaling from Nuiqsut. People also seal in the area in the summer.
History of Use:	People are reported to have lived on or around Leavitt Island in the 1920s.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71; Hoffman et al., Appendix F, page 12; Nielson 1977a:71.

Site Number:	K-065 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Bertoncini Island
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Bertoncini Island is a member of the Jones Island group, just west of Bodfish Island. It is about half a mile long and is about 4.5 miles NW or Beechey Point.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 149 17'45"W 7032' 10N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 4 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping, fishing, seals, eggs, whaling.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Used in summer and fall: summer mostly for seal and fall for whaling associated activity.
History of Use:	Bertoncini Island was named by Leffingwell after Captain John Bertoncini of the whaleship Jeanette. This ship transported Leffingwell to San Francisco from the Arctic in 1914.
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	K-066 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Cottle Island
Other Name(s):	
Location	Cottle Island is a member of the Jones Island group.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 14907' 15"W 70 30'45"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 6 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, whaling.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Used in the summer and fall: summer for fishing and sealing, fall for activities associated with whaling.
History of Use:	Cottle Island is named after Captain Steve Cottle, a commercial whaler. See also entry for Kataktugvik.
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71; Nielson 1977a; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	K-067 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Argo Island
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Argo Island is the easternmost island of the Midway Island group, north of Prudhoe Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 148 15'W 70 28'N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 9 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Summer use.
History of Use:	Argo Island was named by Leffingwell after his yawl of the same name.
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71; Nielson 1977a; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	K-068 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Narwhal Island
Other Name(s):	
Location	Narwhal Island is the most northern and eastern island of the McClure Island group, north of Foggy Island Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 14728' 50"W 7023' 45"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:19 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 13 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Whaling, seals.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	Shelter cabins and perhaps some habitation ruins are found on Narwhal Island.
Specific Use:	Narwhal Island is used as a base for fall whaling for at least two Nuiqsut crews. It is also used to hunt for seals in spring through fall.
History of Use:	Narwhal Island has been used as a base for fall whaling for a long time. Whaling in the current period was resumed in the 1970s. In 1923 Nannie Akpik (later Woods) spent the winter with her family at Narwhal Island. From 1934 to 1943 Clay Kaigelak Sr., George Agiak, and Mark Pausanna hunted seals in the Narwhal Island area. Currently Narwhal Island is used primarily for whaling in the fall (at least two crews from Nuiqsut usually use it as their base camp), but is also used as a camping spot for an occasional extended hunting trip for seals. .

The English name for the island is from the name of Captain Leavitt's ship, the Narwhal. The McClure Islands were named by Leffingwell after Captain Robert McClure of the Royal Navy, who "discovered the islands in August of 1850. The area has been historically used for hunting seals and polar bears, and was used as a winter habitation site. See listed references for more details.

References:

Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:75; Jacobson n.d.; Pedersen et al. 1985; Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	K-069 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Jeanette Island
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Jeanette Island is one of the McClure Island group, about forty one miles east of Beechey Point and north of Foggy Island Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 147 25'W 7022'N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 14 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Whaling, sealing,
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Jeanette Island is in the primary Nuiqsut whaling area and is mainly used at that time.
History of Use:	Jeanette Island was named by Lieutenant Commander G.W. DeLong, USN, after his steamship.
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:75; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	K-070 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Karluk Island
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Karluk Island is the southernmost island of the McClure Island group, north of Foggy Island Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 14719' 30'W 7020' 25"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 15 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Whale, seal.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Karluk Island is within the primary whaling area of Nuiqsut and is used mainly at that time. People also hunt seals in this area.
History of Use:	Karluk Island was named by Leffingwell after the ship of the same name under the command of Captain Steven Cottle.
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:75; Nielson 1977a; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	N-115 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Tigvagiag Island
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Tigvariak Island
Location:	Tigvariak Island is between Mikkelsen and Foggy Island Bays, 23 miles west of Flaxman Island. Nielson (1977a) coordinates 7013'15" 14720'55".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7013'15" 14720'55" Orth: 7013' 15"N 147 12'55"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 115 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:29 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 17 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area, trapping area
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Sod house ruins, graves including Kakianak, Ekolook's son and daughter, other old graves
Specific Use:	In the past, the island saw year-round use. White fox trapping is said to have been especially good. Current use is sporadic and infrequent, due to the distance from both Kaktovik and Nuiqsut. Informants from both villages used Tigvagiag Island as the current "boundary" between the use areas of the two villages.
History of Use:	Tigvagiag Island was reported by Leffingwell to be the site of the annual trading place between the Natives of the area and those further to the east. This occurred in the winter months. Tigvagiag Island is an old habitation site, from when people were more mobile and dispersed over the land. Informants remark that Tigvagiag Island was used year-round, and could be

relied upon in winter to harbor game when other areas had none. They characterized several of the islands in this are in this way, but singled out Tigvagiag Island in particular. At present, informants say that the village of Nuiqsut is located too far away for Tigvagiaq Island to be a viable regular harvest site, although the animals are still there. The site is now used on an opportunistic basis, and pretty much marks the cognitive boundary between the present-day Kaktovik and Nuiqsut land use areas. It is the farthest west that Kaktovik hunters normally will hunt for caribou, and they prefer to harvest them much closer to the village. Nuiqsut hunters only use this area during the fall whaling season. Kaktovik whalers, of course, use an area much closer to their village to harvest whales.

References:

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:75-76; Pedersen 1985:126; Nielson 1977a:72.

Site Number:	NA-937 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point, Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area NA-937 defines the central or core whaling area for Nuiqsut crews. See historical note for discussion and qualifications.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fall whaling
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Fall whaling for bowhead, some opportunistic harvest of seal and other species.
History of Use:	The "core Nuiqsut whaling area" has been defined on a very pragmatic basis and is a research construct and not an informant category. It is based on where the area that Nuiqsut crews use as base camps (Cross Island and Narwhal Island) added to the areas where those crews spend the most time cruising (and where the majority of their whale sightings are reported). This is clearly not the full extent of the area Nuiqsut whalers hunt, as the first whale taken by a Nuiqsut crew, in 1973, was off the Canning River delta to the east. This "core area" does reflect the present disposition of Nuiqsut whalers to " take whales as close to their base camps as they can, since the

longer they have to tow a whale, the more likely it is that at least part of the meat will be lost. The distance between the village of Nuiqsut and the area it uses to hunt bowhead whales, and the often difficult conditions under which the hunt takes place, makes this even more of a consideration than in other whaling villages. The assistance that is available to Nuiqsut whalers from oil companies under the Oil/Whalers Agreement also encourages the taking of whales as close to this "core area" as possible.

References:

Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	NA-938 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point, Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area NA-938 represents the extent of the area Nuiqsut informants use for fall whaling -- the Midway Islands in the west and Flaxman Island in the east. See the historical note.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fall whaling
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Fall whaling, opportunistic take of seals and other species.
History of Use:	The boundaries as given are at best flexible, but most Nuiqsut village informants agreed upon them. Crews may happen to go beyond the Midway Islands in the west or Flaxman Island in the east, but for the most part make efforts not to do so. Whaling further west is evidently not very productive, and to go further east would require too long a tow in the event of a successful crew. The first whale taken by a Nuiqsut crew was beyond this eastern limit, and resulted in the spoiling of the meat. There were also logistical and manpower problems, as this was in 1973, the first year that crews whaled from Nuiqsut.
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	K-029 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Imaignauraq
Meaning of Name:	Place of little water.
English Name:	Humphrey Point
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Imaignauraq is the west point of land bounding Humphrey Bay (labeled Pokok Bay on the USGS map). TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14231'30 6958'45" and 14230'00" 6958'00.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14234'00 6959'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 9 Pedersen et al. 1985:117 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, fishing, camping.
Access:	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	There were old graves located at the mouth of the Kimikruak River and five sod house ruins in the area, There is a cabin at the site itself.
Specific Use:	The site is used year-round. Caribou are harvested in summer and to some extent in winter. Waterfowl are also harvested. Ugruk are hunted in the summer. This is a common camping area.
History of Use:	Imaignauraq (Humphrey Point) was the site of John Olsen's trading post after it was moved from Uqsruqtalik. Several Kaktovik families have a long history of using this site, and some have lived there in the past. Jacobson and Wentworth (1982) report that informants told them about the confusion of names on the USGS maps. See also Iglugruatchiat (K-30).

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:111-112; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Beaufort Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979; Klerekoper 1937; Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	K-030 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Iglugruatchiat
Meaning of Name:	Place of sod houses.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Iglugruatchiat is the western point of land defining Humphrey Bay. The Bay is labeled Pokok Bay on the USGS map and the point of land is incorrectly labelled Humphrey Point (which is actually the east boundary of the bay). Two TLUI sites.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14231'30 6958'45" Orth: 14231'30 6958'45"
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 10 Pedersen et al. 1985:116 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	There were some graves located about 2.5 miles from this site which may have been eroded away
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	This site is involved in the confusion of names which Jacobson and Wentworth report from informant accounts. See also Imaignaurak (K-29).
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:112; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Beaufort Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979.

Site Number:	K-031 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Anngun
Meaning of Name:	Oil seep.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Anngun is a point of land between Angun Lagoon and Beaufort Lagoon, between the Jago and Aichilik Rivers. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14223'00 6956'00" Orth: 14223' W 6956' N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 8 Pedersen et al. 1985:118 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, fishing
Access:	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	Anngun is the site of a natural upwelling of oil. The old village that was located at this site may have eroded away.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Hudson Stuck noted the presence of an Inupiat village at Anngun. Some use was made of the oil at this site for fuel by residents of the area, but it was not of great everyday utility.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:113; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Beaufort Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Nielson 1977a:66; Stuck 1920.

Site Number:	K-032 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Nuvagapak
Meaning of Name:	Big point.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Nuvagapak Point
Location:	Nuvagapak is a point of land on the southwest shore of Beaufort Lagoon, between the VABM site marked on the USGS map and Anngun. The TLUI coordinates may be somewhat inaccurate, and the label on the USGS map is misplaced.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 142 18'W 69 53'N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:120 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	There are some unidentified house ruins at Anngun.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:113; Pedersen et al. 1985:126.

Site Number:	K-033 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Atchilik
Meaning of Name:	Place with skin tents.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	The Aichilik River heads in the Romanzof Mountains at 143 26'W 60 03'N and flows about 75 miles northeast to Beaufort Lagoon at 142 08'W 69 51'N. The specific site mapped is located on the west side of the Aichilik River delta (near lake).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14326'00" 6903'00 Orth: 142 08'W 69 51'N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 7 Pedersen et al. 1985:122 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, camping, trapping.
Access: .	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	There are some old sod houses and ruins at this site on the Aichilik.
Specific Use:	The Aichilik River area is used year-round, but not continuously, and on an irregular basis. Fishing for grayling in the fall and winter and trapping are the subsistence foci, and few people are reported to currently use the area much.
History of Use:	Various people have lived in the Aichilik area, but the information has not been drawn together and integrated (see references cited). After the population consolidation into Kaktovik, these individuals continued to use this area for a great deal of their subsistence activities. Most of these people have now passed away, and few active hunters use the Atchilik drainage as a primary hunting area. The reasons given are

various, but seem to relate to distance, access, and knowledge. Younger hunters simply have not learned this area.

The TLUI coordinates given for the Atchilik clearly relate to the headwaters of the Atchilik while the narrative discussions in the TLUI and Jacobson and Wentworth 1982 clearly relate to the delta. We have thus mapped the site in the delta but left the TLUI coordinates as they are given in the TLUI.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:113; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Pedersen 1989a; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Hutchinson 1937; Jacobson 1979.

Site Number:	K-034 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Siku
Meaning of Name:	Ice
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Siku is site on Icy Reef, a barrier reef near the delta of the Kongakut River. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 141 37'006946'00" and 14151'00"6948'40. The second seems correct from narrative descriptions of the site.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14151'00 6948'40 Orth: 141 54'W 6949'N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 6 Pedersen et al. 1985:123 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping, trapping.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	The ruins of an old and probably prehistoric site are found at Siku. There is also a usable cabin there (possibly more than one).
Specific Use:	Summer focus on whitefish (iqalukpik) in the delta of the Kongakut delta, just south of Siku. May be used for geese in spring.
History of Use:	Historically, Siku was used a camping place and staging area for trips up the Kongakut River from fall to spring for hunting sheep and caribou. Small game hunting, trapping, and some fishing were also incorporated into these trips. The people who made these trips lived west of Kaktovik for the most part, so since the establishment of the modern village this area has not been used by nearly as many people as in the past. Similar resources are located closer to the village. Fishing and hunting

in the area is now mostly incorporated into boat trips to and from Canada in the summer. This is still an important part of the Kaktovik land use area, however, as it is perceived as a sort of "bank" to be used if and when animals can not be found closer to the village. It may still be used as a summer fishing location and to hunt caribou along the coast, especially in conjunction with boat trips to the east.

The two sets of TLUI coordinates given seem to define the east and west limits of the Kongakut River. Siku is located off the west delta. Icy Reef extends about 16 miles, from just west of Siku to Demarcation Bay

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:114; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Pedersen 1989a; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979; Stuck 1920.

Site Number:	K-035 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Pinguqsralik
Meaning of Name:	Place where there are pingos.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Pinguqsralik is located on the coast just to the northwest of Demarcation Bay, on the west side of the large creek. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14142'00'6942'00 and 14131'206933'00" (see historical note).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14131'20" 6942'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 5 Pedersen et al. 1985:124 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping, hunting, camping, berries.
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Pinguqsralik is the site of several old graves on top of the hill, the remains of reindeer herding activity in the area, and several modern cabins.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Pinguqsraluk was inhabited since the turn of the century until the 1930s, and was probably used well before that time as well. A store was operated at this site in the 1920s or 1930s and several Kaktovik families are related to people who lived here until at least into the late 1930s. This was also reported to be a reindeer herding area. Neither of the two sets of TLUI coordinates reported for the site make much sense as reported, but if the west coordinates are switched one then locates the site fairly closely. These are

the TLUI coordinates we have reported above. The meaning of the other set of coordinates is unclear, unless it defines a boundary of the old reindeer use area or the extent of the area on which pingos are found. The TLUI lists have very little explication on how coordinates were determined or what multiple coordinates for the same site or area mean.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:114-115; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979; Hutchinson 1937; Klerekoper 1937; Stuck 1920.

Site Number:	K-036 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Kuvluuraq
Meaning of Name:	A small thumb located in the spit.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location	Kuvluuraq is located on the end of Icy Reef, on the spit on the west side of Demarcation Bay. The TLUI gives two sets of coordinates: 14124'30 6943'30" and 14123'00 694250 (see historical note).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14123'00" 6942'50 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 4 Pedersen et al. 1985:125 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping, fishing.
Access:	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	There is a shelter cabin at Kuvluuraq.
Specific Use:	The literature says that this site is used year-round, with an emphasis on summer fishing (small white fish and arctic char). Currently the site is used mostly during trips to and from Canada.
History of Use:	Kuvluuraq was one site for reindeer herding in the Kaktovik area. There are also indications of older habitation and/or use of the area. There is a story of a house built on the end of the spit that then became inaccessible. This may explain the two sets of TLUI coordinates. One of them corresponds to the very end of the spit, where the narrative descriptions of the site say that it should be located. The other corresponds to the next major part of the spit to the west of this, separated from it by

a very thin section of the spit that may not provide access at all times.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:116; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979.

Site Number:	K-037 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Manigaaluk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Demarcation Bay
Other Name(s):	"West" Side
Location:	This site is on the west side of Demarcation Bay. It maybe the same site as Kangigluat (K-55).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:132 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	There may be graves located at this site, which in any event was where several people lived in the past.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Paul Kayuatak used to live at this site, and Lawrence Malegana had a house here. It maybe the site of Loren Apayauk's grave (he was a reindeer herder).
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:116; Pedersen et al. 1985.

Site Number:	K-038 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Agaguqagauraq
Meaning of Name:	Little old man
English Name:	Old Man Store
Other Name(s):	
Location:	The Old Man Store site is on Demarcation Bay, about 1.5 miles east of the mouth of the Turner River. Jacobson (1979 lists it as "New Site T."
Coordinates:	T L u k Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:131 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	There is a cabin at the Old Man Store site.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Old Man Store was a white man who was known only by that name. This site was where his cabin was located, which was probably built around 1916. Old Man Store may have been a whaler from Herschel Island and died at this location in 1928 or 1929. He evidently operated a store or trading post, After he died, Tommy Uinniq Gordon cleaned up the ice house at this site and began to use it as his own.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:117; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985.

Site Number:	K-039 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Kanigluapiat
Meaning of Name:	The group of people way over at the farthest place (i.e. over towards the Canadian border).
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Kanigluapiat is located on Demarcation Bay, by the small lake where Kagiluak Creek flows into the Bay. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14116'00"6938'00 and 14114'30"6937' 40.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14116'00 6938'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 3 Pedersen et al. 1985:129 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping.
Access:	
Site Features:	Kanigluapiat is the site of old ruins and a shelter cabin.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Putugook lived at Kanigluapiat until about 1931. The nearby creek is named for him on the USGS map. He was known as a trapper. He eventually moved to Barrow, although his daughter lived in Kaktovik for several years before she went to Fairbanks. The TLUI coordinates for this site match the narrative description of the site location in Jacobson and Wentworth 1982. However, the TLUI narrative description of the site, and of the features of the site, match those of Old Man Store (K-38). Thus it is likely that the TLUI confounded these two

sites and that Jacobson and Wentworth 1982 is the more accurate source.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:117; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66.

Site Number:	K-040 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Pattaktuk (spit end)
Meaning of Name:	Where the waves splash, hitting again and again.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Pattaktuk is at the end of the spit on the east side of Demarcation Bay. The TLUI list two sets of coordinates: 141 19'05" 6941'01" and 141 17'20" 6938'40. The first accurately locates the end of the spit. The second is unclear,
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14119'05" 6941'01" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 1 Pedersen et al. 1985:126 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	Ruins from early twentieth century habitation and seasonal use as well as from earlier time periods.
Specific Use:	Pattakuk is used as a summer fishing and hunting site, mostly on trips to and from Canada when it is used as a place to camp and rest. It is also remarked upon as a good harvest location for spotted seals (desired for their pelts).
History of Use:	The Pattaktuk area has been used at least seasonally for a long period of time. In the early twentieth century current residents of Kaktovik lived there. This is also evidently the area where Tom Gordon established his trading post in 1917, before moving it to Iglupaluk, K-18, in 1923 (according to the TLUI). See listed references for more information.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:117; Pedersenet al. 1985:130; Pedersen 1989a; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Nielson 1977a; Hutchinson 1937; Stuck 1920.

Site Number:	K-041 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Pattaktuk (mainland)
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Gordon
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Pattaktuk (mainland) is located at the base of the spit on the east side of Demarcation Bay. The TLUI lists two sets of nearly identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14112'00 6940'00 Orth: 141 12'W 6940'N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 2 Pedersen et al. 1985:127 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	There are some old ruins at this site, but much has been lost due to erosion and gravel removal. There is also an abandoned DEW-Line station at this site.
Specific Use:	Used for summer fishing and caribou hunting on trips to and from Canada. Also be used for waterfowl hunting. Said to be too far from Kaktovik to be used as a primary harvest location, so is used mostly to camp and rest during travel.
History of Use:	Tom Gordon established a trading post in the area (at the end of the spit, K-40, according to the TLUI) in 1917 with the aid of his brother-in-law Andrew Akootchook. Three years later the Akootchooks moved to Kaktovik. In 1923 the Gordons moved to Barter Island and Tom Gordon started the trading post at Iglupaluk (K-18). Other families lived here during the 1920s and 1930s as well. Tommy Uinniq Gordon lived in the area until 1943, when he moved to Herschel Island. He

eventually moved to Barter Island in 1953. Many of the buildings at this site have fallen into the sea.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Pedersen 1989a; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979; Hutchinson 1937; Stuck 1920.

Site Number:	K-055 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	Kangigluat
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Kangigluat is located on the west side of Demarcation Bay. It may be the same site as Demarcation Bay, West Side (K-37).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14127'00 6940'20" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 43 Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 32 Ed Hall (NSB): .
General Use:	Fishing, trapping, nesting birds, seals, roots, berries.
Access:	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	Kangigluat is the site of habitation ruins.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Kangigluat was used as a habitation site in the past. At present, it is used mainly during trips to and from Canada, mostly in the summertime by boat.
References:	Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:83.

Site Number:	K-834 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site K-834 is located on a barrier island off Egaksrak Lagoon.
Coordinates:	TLUI: ***O r t h***
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Spotted seal
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	This site is noted for the availability of spotted seals, desired for their pelts. Other seals are usually harvested closer to K a k t o v i k .
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-835 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Are KA-835 is located along the upper Jago River, after it enters the Romanzof Mountains.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Sheep
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Sheep - area used by fewer hunters than the Hulahula, but those few hunters use it on a regular basis.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	K-836 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site and Area K-836 are located on the upper part of the Aichilik River, where it enters the Romanzof Mountains. Site K-836 is the base camp for the surrounding area.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base camp for sheep and furbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Sheep - this area is used by fewer hunters than the Hulahula River area, but is used on a regular basis by those few. Furbearers - area not well defined by informants but seems to be southeast of the base camp.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-837 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location	Area ISA-837 is located along the Aichilik River within KA-836.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:" . Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Fishing - frequency of use of this site is uncertain. Reported as a place where people wintered (and fished) in the past.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	***KA-838*** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-838 *is* located on the upper part of the Kongakut River, where it enters the mountains.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fish
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Fish - frequency of use of the site uncertain.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	K-839 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site K-839 is located on Okpirourak Creek.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base Camp
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Site K-839 is used as a base camp. The area between the Okpilik and Jago Rivers is said to be very good for ptarmigan for a short period in the spring. At this time, camping trips are made to get out of the village and harvest them.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-840 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-849 *is* located around VABM 1273 Bitty and is the highest elevation in the immediate area.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Spotting location
Access:	Snow machine, air craft
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Informants report that the USF&WS maybe using this location as a spotting place and by their presence may be diverting caribou away from their normal migration routes. This would then explain the absence of caribou on the coast in summer.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-841 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-841 is an imaginary line extended out from around Nuvagapak Lagoon.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	whaling
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	This imaginary line is said to be the effective limit to the Kaktovik fall whaling range in the east.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes, NSB map information.

Site Number:	***KA-842*** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area ***KA-842*** is essentially a boundary located just before the Aichilik River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	One informant stated that his range for caribou essentially stops at the Aichilik River, and that this is typical for Kaktovik. A few hunters do range farther east. Coastal caribou are regularly harvested farther east from boats.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-843 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area K-843 is located on the east side of the Aichilik River and encompasses the lowlands before the mountains.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: " Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Caribou are reported to be less predictable in this area than they are west of the Aichilik River (another reason fewer hunters use this area).
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	***KA-844*** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area K-844 is located on the Kongakut River and the area around it (see historical note).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Past hunting, recreation (see historical note)
Access:	Snow machine,. air craft
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Used in the past by Inupiat living on the land, now more often used by non-Inupiat recreationalists (according to Kaktovik informants).
History of Use:	In the past, when there were still Inupiat living on the land east of Kaktovik, this area was a primary subsistence harvest location. One hunter especially (now deceased) is remembered as a great traveller, often making a big loop through the area via the Kongakut, Aichilik, and Jago River courses by dogteam. Since his recent death few Kaktovik hunters have used the area east of the Aichilik River. Non-Inupiat recreationalists have been noticed in the Kongakut River area, however, as it is a very popular river for rafting. Hikers also use the mountains around the river extensively.

Some Kaktovik hunters believe that this may be affecting the behavior of some of the animals they hunt (especially caribou).

References: Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	K-001 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Tigutaaq
Meaning of Name:	Name of a famous man who had a house at this site
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Tigutaakm Inaa (Tigutaaq's place), Tammaiyagiam Paana (mouth of Tamayariak - Tamayariak meaning where you go to lose something)
Location:	Site located in the Canning River delta, by the Tamayariak River where it joins the Canning. The mapped location is uncertain, as the coordinates given and the verbal description do not match (but are in the same general area).
Coordinates:	TLUI: *14534'00" 7004'05"* Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 48 Pedersen et al. 1985:54 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping
Access:	
Site Features:	Sod house ruins, bones.
Specific Use:	Summer fish camp for Kaktovik hunters (broad white fish, char, grayling) and also a good area for summer caribou.
History of Use:	Tigutaaq is named for a famous man who had a house at this site. Although the site is known to both Nuiqsut and Kaktovik hunters, it is only used on a regular basis by Kaktovik people (because of relative proximity). The mapped site is a productive fishing area, while the more general delta area for about eight miles upstream is good for summer caribou hunting. This is about the extent to which the river is navigable in both cases. Although it is some distance from Kaktovik, most hunters reported using it on a regular basis (at least until

recently, when caribou do not seem to remain on the coast for very long - see discussion in text). This has been a very productive site, over time, for both fish and caribou.

References: Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Wentworth and Jacobson 1982:89; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number:	K-002 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Kayutak
Meaning of Name:	Name of a family that lived at this site
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Kayutak is located on the coast near the Canning (Kuugruaq) River delta, about 2 or 3 miles west of Kanginniivik. It's exact location is not known, so the map location is only approximate. It is listed as "New Site (W)" in Jacobson n.d.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:55 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Ruins of an old house, a large log half-buried in the sand, and several large rocks.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Kayutak is named after the family which lived in the house, Paul and Mae Suapak Kayutak.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:90; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985:127.

Site Number:	K-003 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Kanginniivik Point
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Konganevik Point
Location:	Point of land extending northeast into Camden Bay, about 21 miles southeast of Flaxman Island, on the west side of Camden Bay. The TLUI gives two sets of coordinates: 14510'30 70 01'30 and 14512'00" 7001'30.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14510'30" ***7001'30"*** Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 23 Pedersen et al. 1985:56 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Graves, sod house ruins, and cabins. Cabins are -on the tip of the spit as well as on the mainland near the small spit.
Specific Use:	Caribou are hunted in this area in the summer, fall, and winter by Kaktovik hunters. Konganevik is also a productive fishing location in the summer. It is historically and in recent years a very productive subsistence harvest site.
History of Use:	Kanginniivik was historically the site of caribou drives. Caribou were herded onto the point and their escape by land blocked. The area was and remains an important winter camping site. There is also a story told of a group of Eskimos who were trapped on the spit by a group of Indians who guarded the narrow land escape route. The Eskimos lived by hunting seals

and fishing, while the Indians eventually ran out of food and left.

Kanginniivik is said to be one of the most reliable harvest areas for caribou in the Kaktovik land use area, although recently caribou have only stayed on the coast in the summer for a short time. Thus, although hunters have used this area less than in the past, this is related to the level of resources available to be harvested and can be expected to increase when the caribou are once again more abundant in that area in the summer, Kanginniivik may still be a reliable area to harvest caribou in the winter and it is about a day's trip to do so, which makes this a popular and feasible trip for most hunters in Kaktovik.

People also say that there is good fishing at Kanginniivik. They are usually referring to fishing with nets in the summer. The general pattern seems to be that many hunters take a net with them in their boat. When they reach the area that they intend to hunt (in this case Kanginniivik) they put the net out and then go look for caribou. Thus, even in the event that they take no caribou they can usually expect to not go home "empty."

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:90; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al, 1985: 126; Pedersen 1990; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory.

Site Number:	K-007 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Aanalaaq
Meaning of Name:	At the head of the bay.
English Name:	Anderson Point
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Anderson Point is just to the east of Camden Bay, between the bay and the mouth of the Sadlerochit River. The are referred to as Analaaq extends from Anderson Point about two miles to the southwest to Koganak.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14428'307000'50 Orth: 144 27'45"W, 7001' 30"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 22 Pedersen et al. 1985:61 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping, berries
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	This is an area of relatively higher elevation than the surroundings. Graves are found here.
Specific Use:	Important spring waterfowl hunting area. Also reported to be good for berries. Used as a basecamp for hunting trips into the mountains.
History of Use:	The Ologak family lived and herded reindeer in the Aanalaaq area, near the cabin of John Koganalook on the spit called Koganak. John Koganalook's son, Levi Griest, says that they moved there in the early 1920s. Levi had a trapline in the area which extended west of the Kadleroshilik River. Several other current Kaktovik residents remember living in the area in the past, and at least one was born there (see references cited).

The English name was given to the point in 1914 by Leffingwell and was named after Dr. Rudolph Martin Anderson of the Canadian Arctic Expedition who had given Leffingwell assistance. The Inupiat name Koganak is derived from the name of John Koganalook.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:93; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory; Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	K-009 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Sanniqsaaluk
Meaning of Name:	The place where there are cabins built of logs all running in the same direction.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Sanniqsaaluk is located at the mouth of Kajutakrok Creek, on the east side between the Sadlerochit and Hula Hula Rivers. NSB TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 1441700 7002'20" and 14408'10 700220".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14417'00' 7002'20 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 21 Pedersen et al. 1985:62 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUk Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping, nesting birds, seals, roots, wood.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Ruins of a cabin and sod houses are evident.
Specific Use:	Used as a camping spot while hunting caribou (summer) and for geese (spring). The prime goose hunting area is 3 miles east.
History of Use:	The sod ruins at this site are said to be associated with the Ologak, Itchuagak, Patkotak, and Kayutak families. Phillip Tikluk Sr. was born at this site (01/25/37).
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:94; Pedersen et al. 1985:128.

Site Number:	K-O1O (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Patkotak
Meaning of Name:	Named for Paul Patkotak family, which had a house there.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Patkotak is located at the mouth of the Nataroaruk River, between the Sadlerochit and Hulahula Rivers. Patkotak is either very close to Ahsogeakm Inaa or the two are actually different names for the same site.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:63 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Paul Patkotak and his family had a house in this location.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:95; Pedersen et al. 1985:128.

Site Number:	K-042 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Agliguagrak
Meaning of Name:	Big jawbone.
English Name:	Brownlow Point
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Agliguagrak is a point of land between Camden Bay and Lion Bay. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14550'00'7010' 00" and 14550'00 7008'10.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14550'00 7010'00" Orth: 145 51'W 70 10'N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 24 Pedersen et al. 1985:51 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 46 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping, fishing, trapping.
Access:	Boat, snowmobile,
Site Features:	Agliguagrak is the site of graves, as well as for old ruins. There was also an old trading post there.
Specific Use:	Agliguagrak is a good summer caribou hunting location. People also seal in the area. The area is used year-round, however, and people do hunt caribou here in the fall and winter and will fish in the summer. Historical trapping area.
History of Use:	Agliguagrak was the site of one of Jack Smith's trading posts, and was run by Henry Chamberlain. Quite a few people lived here prior to the concentration of population in Kaktovik. Known graves include those of Susie Nasook, Shorty Anupkana, Josephine Itta's mother, and Ben Akootchook Sr. There are more graves about 1.5 miles south of the Agliguarak delta. Hunters remarked that they made "combination" trips to this area in the summer by boat. By this they meant that they

would fish, hunt caribou and seal (and whatever else made itself available), and camp out as a break from life in Kaktovik. Shorter, more intensively harvest-oriented trips are also made to the area, of course.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:87-89; Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson n.d.; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:78; Hutchinson 1937; Klerekoper 1937.

Site Number:	K-043 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Point Hopson
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Point Hopson is located about seven miles west of Flaxman Island and about two miles west of Point Sweeney. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14630'45" 7011'25" and 14632' 00" *7011'00".*
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14630'45" 7011'25" Orth: 14630'45"W 70 11'25"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 25 Pedersen et al. 1985:44 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 44 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features: "	There are sod house ruins at Point Hopson.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Point Hopson is the site of Fred Hopson's old cabin. Qunguatchiaq and Wilson Soplu lived here at times between 1900 and the 1950s.
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84.

Site Number:	K-044 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Point Gordon
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Point Gordon is a point of land six miles east of Bullen Point and ten miles west of Flaxman Island. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14637'30" 7011' 10' and 14636'40" 7010' 30.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14637'30' 7011'10" Orth: 146 37'30"W 7011' 10"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 26 Pedersen et al. 1985:43 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 43 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	There are graves at Point Gordon.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Point Gordon is named after the trader, Tom Gordon. Why this particular place was chosen is not known. The Panningona's trapline at times ran as far as Point Gordon from Flaxman Island.
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84.

Site Number:	K-057 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Kingmayukm Inaa
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Kingmayukm Inaa is located east of the Hulahula River delta.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14407'40 7002'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 46 Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	
Site Features:	Kingmayukm Inaa was an old habitation site and ruins are found there.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Kingmayukm is known to be an old site, but specific information is lacking.
References:	Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977.

Site Number:	K-058 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Ahsogeakm Inaa
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Ahsogeakm Inaa is located on Nataroarok Creek, somewhat inland. Ahsogeakm Inaa is very close to Patkotak, or else the two are different names for the same site.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14410'00" 7001'40 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 47 Pedersen et al. 1985:63 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	
Site Features:	There are old habitation ruins at Ahsogeakm Inaa.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Ahsogeakm is presumed to be an old habitation site, but more specific information is lacking.
References:	Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Pedersen et al. 1985.

Site Number:	K-071 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Qikitaq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Belvedere Island
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Belvedere Island is a member of the Stockton Island group, about seventeen miles northwest of Flaxman Island.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 146 54'45"W 70 17'30N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 19 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, birds, seals.
Access:	Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use:	Reported to be important for seal hunting, salmon fishing, and bird hunting. Currently it may be used for seal hunting on occasion.
History of Use:	This island was named after Captain Cottle's whaling ship, the Belvedere.
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:77; Jacobson 1979.

Site Number:	KA-802 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Offshore, middle of Camden Bay
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fall whaling
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	This is the extreme western limit of Kaktovik whaling. To go any further would present logistical problems that present Kaktovik residents prefer to avoid.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	KA-803 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location	Area KA-803 is east of Bullen Point (N-117).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Summer caribou hunting, camping
Access: -	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Summer caribou hunting
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-117 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Savagvik
Meaning of Name:	Working place
English Name:	Bullen Point
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Savagvik is the east point of Mikkelson Bay. Nielson (1977a) coordinates are 7011'10' 14652'00".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7011'10 14652'00 Orth: 7011' 10"N 146 52'00"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:117 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:117 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 41 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting (caribou)
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Sod house ruins.
Specific Use:	Little specific recent use was noted. Savagvik is in the Kaktovik summer coastal caribou harvest land use area, and winter harvest of caribou was reported for when the informant worked at the DEW-Line station that was located here.
History of Use:	English name was given by Sir John Franklin on August 7,1826.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 14; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84; Nielson 1977a:84; Pedersen et al. 1985.

Site Number:	N-118 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Qikiqtaq
Meaning of Name:	Big Island
English Name:	Flaxman Island
Other Name(s):	Sidrak - foxhole, Kugruak - also the name of the Canning River, Sirak
Location:	Flaxman Island is about three miles off-shore from the Stakes River delta between Point Thompson and Brownlow Point. Nielson (1977a) coordinates are 7011'15" 14652'00".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7011'15" 14603'14" Orth: 70 11'N 146 03"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 118 Beaufort Sea TLUI: 42 Pedersen et al. 1985:150 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 20 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Whale, trapping, hunting/camping, birds, seals, caribou
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Shelter cabin, sod house ruins, fall whaling base camp.
Specific Use:	Fail whaling, summer caribou. Birds. Year-round use.
History of Use:	The English name for this island was given by Sir John Franklin on August 6, 1826, in honor of the (then) recently deceased English sculptor John Flaxman. Flaxman Island has been reported as the site of traditional trade fairs. A trading post was operated at Brownlow Point by Henry Chamberlain in the 1920s. The island was used as a habitation site year-round, and has been used seasonally as well. See the listed references for further information. Inupiat whalers have used Flaxman Island as a base in the past, and commercial whalers sometimes overwintered in this location. More recently, a whaling crew out of Nuiqsut in 1973

struck a whale off the east fork of the Canning River and towed it to Flaxman Island for butchering. These activities have since been moved to Cross Island and Nuiqsut whalers try to take whales more to the west when possible. Flaxman Island is about as far east as they wish to go to whale at present.

Both Nuiqsut and Kaktovik hunters have taken caribou on Flaxman Island, but all say that this is farther than they prefer to go. If animals are available at a closer site, they will be hunted there. Flaxman Island is hunted when there are no animals within closer range.

References:

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:77-78; Nielson 1977a:72; Pedersen et al. 1985:131; Libbey 1980:9,11; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	N-119 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Point Thompson
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Point Thompson is the point of land at west entrance to Lion Bay, 2.5 miles southwest of Flaxman Island. Nielson (1977a) coordinates are 7011'15" 14619'45".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7011'15" 14619'45" Orth: 7011' 15"N 146 19'45"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 119 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 45 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	Sod houses (Otuayuk, Kunaknana, Kunutchiak).
Specific Use:	No specific focus given. This is on the margins of both Nuiqsut's and Kaktovik's land use areas. Kaktovik boaters tend to go east of Kaktovik, and Nuiqsut boaters tend not to go this far.
History of Use:	English name was given by Sir John Franklin on August 7,1826. Documented as a winter habitation site in the 1920s.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 14; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84; Nielson 1977a:72.

Site Number:	N-129 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Ikpikpauraq
Meaning of Name:	Little bank [bluff]
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Ikpikgauraq
Location:	Ikpikpaurak is mapped about 3 miles east of Bullen Point, in accordance with the Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI (Smith 1980). Nielson 1977a and Pedersen et al. 1985 place it at Point Sweeney, about 8 miles further east.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: NA-11 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:45 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 42 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	There used to be ruins of sod houses at Ikpigauraq. It is not clear that these ruins still exist. A sod house at Kunuatchiak, 1 mile away, is said to be still standing.
Specific Use:	Ikpikpauraq is primarily a TLUI site, as no informant reported specific use of the site for current harvest activities. This is not to say that it is never used for subsistence activities.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84; Pedersen et al. 1985:127.

Site Number:	N-939 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	This site is the approximate location where the first whale taken by a Nuiqsut whaling crew (1973) was first struck.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fall whaling
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Bowhead whale harvest site
History of Use:	The Nuiqsut whaling captain in command of the crew which took this whale is understandably proud of the accomplishment. While maintaining a due show of modesty, he also (with strong apparent justification) claims that it was his success with this whale which established Nuiqsut as a whaling village. He went out whaling alone (with his single crew) from 1972 to 1979 or 1980. During the end of this period the IWC ban on subsistence whaling, the formation of the AEWC, and the implementation of a quota system all occurred in short order. These events underscored for most Inupiat the need to protect whaling as a fundamentally important aspect of their lives. Without this historical pattern of hunting and a successful take, Nuiqsut would have had no record of previous whaling experience and so would have probably not been considered a

whaling village. Aboriginally, Nuiqsut was an inland community and a delta fishing and gathering locality. Whaling was not a focus at that time. Current Nuiqsut whalers gained their experience in other coastal communities, and there are currently about seven active Nuiqsut whaling crews.

It is interesting to compare Nuiqsut to Point Lay, which until the 1930s was a whaling community. Because there have been no active whaling crews in Point lay since the 1930s, Point Lay has no quota and is not considered a whaling village.

This whaling captain reports that he had no real idea of what would await him when he went out in 1972. He remarks that he was the only one "crazy enough" to go out at that time, but that he is glad that he did. The Elders certainly had a great deal of knowledge about the fall whaling of the past, and this was one area that had been used in the past. No one had whaled in this area since about 1940, however, so he had little explicit guidance. He reports that he and his crew were just looking around, but that they had all their whaling equipment with them in the boat. A whale appeared before the boat just off the barrier islands, in an area so shallow that the whale brought up sand when it sounded. The captain shot the darting gun and the harpoon was attached to the whale. It came up again and he shot it with the shoulder gun, and the whale died. The captain speaks as if the whale gave itself to him, and certainly if it had not died quickly it would have been difficult for one boat to finish off a wounded whale.

There were only five of them in the boat, and it took quite a while to tow the whale. to Flaxman Island, where they butchered it, Since the meat was Spoiling and they had only one boat, they butchered for muktuk only, and cut most of the fat off of that. It took them two days to return to Nuiqsut with a boat load, after which they returned to Flaxman Island accompanied by two other boats which helped transport the rest of the muktuk to Nuiqsut. Nuiqsut 'next took a whale in 1982. Prior to 1982, most Nuiqsut residents who wanted to whale went spring whaling in one of the other coastal villages.

References:

Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	K-004 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Katakturak
Meaning of Name:	Named after Katakturak River; "Kataktu" means you can see a long way.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location	This site is located on the west side of the Katakturak River, about six miles south of the coast, and is listed as "new site (V)" in Jacobson 1979. The mapped location is approximate.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Grave of movie maker Charlie Kimrod.
Specific Use:	Informants did not talk about this specific site, but indicated that this is a region where one can usually find muskoxen. The southern boundary of this area was not defined, but muskoxen are said to follow the river course south.
History of Use:	Charlie Kimrod, an early movie maker, is buried at Katakturak. He was caught in a storm while returning from a sheep hunt and froze to death. His body was found by two reindeer herders (Apayauk and Wilson) who buried Kimrod at this spot.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:90; Jacobson 1979.

Site Number:	K-005 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Nuvugaq
Meaning of Name:	A point of land that juts out into the ocean.
English Name:	Point Collinson
Other Name(s):	POW "D" (referring more to the general area rather than this specific site, as the DEW-Line station was located more at the base of the spit).
Location:	Nuvugaq is a point of land between Simpson Cove and Camden Bay, just west of March Creek. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14454'00" 6959'30 and 14452'00" 6958'25" (see historical note).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14454'00" 6959'30" Orth: 69 59'30N 14454' 00W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 32 Pedersen et al. 1985:59 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, caribou, fish, birds, seals, trapping
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Old village site.
Specific Use:	Nuvugaq important for waterfowl hunting (May, early June - brant, pintail and oldsquaw ducks), Seals and ugruk. Summer fishing. Caribou throughout the year. Western boundary for whaling. Arctic fox trapped in winter.
History of Use:	The historical documentation for Nuvugaq is extensive. The English name for the spit, Point Collinson, is from Captain Richard Collinson of H.M.S. Enterprise. He explored the coast in 1851 and 1853-54. When Ejner Mikkelson visited the site in 1908 he found a very large number of abandoned houses and formed the conclusion that there was once a large village at this site (see cited references). There was a trading post here for

a time and Inupiat families lived in the area sporadically in the 1920s and 1930s. A DEW-Line site was built herein the 1950s but has been decommissioned and abandoned.

The first of the two TLUI coordinates seems to refer to the very end of the spit, and the second to the base. It is unclear where the historical structures were located, but it is possible that these references are to the end of the spit. The DEW-Line was built at the base of the spit, referred to by the second set of coordinates.

This site is in an area much used for the harvest of subsistence resources. Caribou and fish are the two most frequently taken, but birds (in season) are also noted as especially available in the area.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:91; Nielson 1977a:38; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985; Pedersen 1989a; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987:48; Stefansson 1913; Mikkelson 1909.

Site Number:	K-006 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Kunagrak
Meaning of Name:	T'he site is named after a family who lived there at one time.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Kunagrak is located on the east side of the mouth of Marsh Creek, on Camden Bay. It is used as a working marker for the base of the spit that extends into Camden Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou, fish, birds.
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Caribou are usually available in this area year-round, Net fishing is productive in the summer. Birds are seasonally abundant.
History of Use:	Kunagrak was used as a trapping cabin by a number of different people. This site is used as a marker for the base of the spit that extends into Camden Bay. This spit is a very popular harvest site for a number of different resources (caribou, fish, birds).
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:92; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1989a; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number:	K-008 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Salligutchich
Meaning of Name:	Farthest north mountains.
English Name:	Saderochit Springs
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Salligutchich is a spring on the west bank of the Sadlerochit River, about 12 miles east of Mount Weller and 25 miles north of Mount Michelson.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 14424 W, 6940' N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:162 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou, camping, fishing.
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Salligutchich is used primarily in the winter/spring (snow) camping area for accessing other sites (apparently for caribou) and for fishing for grayling (sulukpaugaq).
History of Use:	Salligutchich was an area where Kaktovik reindeer herders brought their herds for calving. They would arrive in March, the first calves would be born in April, and they would return to the coast in June (see references cited). This site is located in an area reliably productive for caribou. The hot springs in the area are reported by informants to be about 52 degrees Fahrenheit, which they consider too cold for their use.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:92; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985:131; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number:	K-011 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Sivvugaq
Meaning of Name:	Long high bluff
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Sivvugaq is located on the Hulahula River about ten miles upstream from the coast. Other rivers (the Sadlerochit, Okpilak, and Kongakut) have a place with this name as well. NSB TLUI lists two sites with identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14403'00" 6957'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 27 Pedersen et al. 1985:64 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Stopover place, camping.
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	Relatively high elevation. There are unidentified ruins at this site.
Specific Use:	Used primarily in fall, winter, and spring as a place to rest on snowmobile trips.
History of Use:	Sivvugaq is where the main trail from Kaktovik joins the Hulahula River. The bluff provides some protection from the wind and provides a place to rest on trips to and from the mountains.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:95; Pedersen et al. 1985:128; Beaufort Sea traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	K-012 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Sallitchit Iqaluitch
Meaning of Name:	Most northerly fish hole
English Name:	First Fish Hole
Other Name(s):	
Location:	The First Fish Hole is on the Hulahula River, about 20 miles inland. The NSB TLUI lists two sites with identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14415'02" 6945'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 28 Pedersen et al. 1985:65 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing; stopover, camping, caribou, (muskoxen).
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Important fall, winter, spring fishing site - whitefish (iqalukpak), grayling (sulukpaugaq), pike. White fronted geese gather here in the fall. Can be used as a base camp for hunting but more important as a stopover (see historical note).
History of Use:	The First Fish Hole has been used since at least 1920 by the current population of Kaktovik. Some people remember meeting the Presbyterian minister Fred Klerekoper in this area. The First Fish Hole can be very productive for fishing (mainly jigging), but informants say that its location at the beginning of the foothills means that it can still be fairly windy at this location. Hunting is done around the First Fish Hole, but informants say that they do not usually use it as a base camp in the same way that they use sites further up the river. First

Fish Hole is usually more of a stopover or resting place during trips the object of which is to harvest caribou, sheep, or furbearers. First Fish Hole may be the objective of a trip mainly oriented toward fishing, with opportunistic hunting as a secondary consideration. Caribou are commonly found in the area and muskoxen are reported to frequent the Hulahula River course south of a point somewhat north of First Fish Hole. Informants did not define the southern boundary of this range any more precisely than this because the muskoxen have not yet established a stable range and also because the restrictions imposed on the hunting of muskoxen severely limit the number taken by village hunters. Thus, their current knowledge is more of where muskoxen are known to be rather than where they are actually harvested.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:12; Jacobson n.d.; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985; Pedersen 1989a; Pedersen 1989b; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987.

Site Number:	K-013 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Igaluniagvik
Meaning of Name:	Place to catch fish
English Name:	Second Fish Hole
Other Name(s):	Agviguraq (little whale), Niksiksugvik (place of fish hooking)
Location:	The Second Fish Hole is on the Hulahula River, about 40 miles inland and just south of the Old Woman and Old Man Creeks. The NSB TLUI lists two sites with identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14423'10 6929'20" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 29 Pedersen et al. 1985:81 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing; camping and hunting; sheep, caribou.
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Fish are the primary focus from fall through spring. Arctic char (iqalukpik) and grayling (sulukpaugaq) predominate. Also important as a staging camp for caribou, sheep, small game, and furbearers from fall through spring.
History of Use:	Historical use of the Second Fish Hole is documented from the 1920s (see references cited), Most of this information is too specific to be reproduced here. Second Fish Hole is clearly one of the most used sites in the Kaktovik land use area. There are several Native Allotment claims located in the immediate area.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:96; Jacobson n.d.; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985; Pedersen 1989a; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987.

Site Number:	K-014 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Katak
Meaning of Name:	To fall down or fall off.
English Name:	Third Fish Hole
Other Name(s):	
Location:	The Third Fish Hole is on the upper reaches of the Hulahula River, about 55 miles upstream, a few miles south of Kolotuk Creek. The NSB TLUI lists two sites with identical coordinates. Pedersen et al. 1985 use the name "Katak" for the site they number as 79.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14435'30" 6916'20" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 30 Pedersen et al. 1985:78 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB): '
General Use:	Fishing; camping and hunting,
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	The remains of a house that belonged to Fred Gordon are at Third Fish Hole.
Specific Use:	Fishing in fall, winter, and spring - least cisco (iqalupak), dolly varden, arctic grayling (sulukpaugak) and arctic char (iqalukpik). Staging camping area for sheep and caribou hunting. Access can be limited by snow or river overflow.
History of Use:	Several hunters remarked on the Productiveness of the area around this site, but that there were also problems of access to the site. Evidently there are frequent overflows in the area between Second Fish Hole and Third Fish Hole, which informants relate to the existence of hot springs in the area rather than to seasonal melting. Above Second Fish Hole the river channel narrows and the sides become more rocky, which

combined with a generally more sparse snow cover, makes going around the overflows more difficult than it would be farther downstream. This is reflected in the area informants reported for caribou hunting, which has its southern boundary near this site. Note that this area represents not the total area where Kaktovik hunters harvest caribou, but only the more limited area where they report they have done so recently and most often. Also note that the sheep harvest area (which has the same qualifications) is centered on the Third Fish Hole site. Caribou are harvested more often than sheep, and are more common and more available closer to the village. It thus appears that if sheep are the specific object of a hunt that Third Fish Hole is accessible (either due to timing or motivation). If caribou will do, Third Fish Hole is oftentimes too far or too much trouble.

Third Fish Hole is used as a fishing site, but only in conjunction with other activities.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982; Jacobson n.d.; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Craig 1987:47-48; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985; Pedersen 1989a; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987.

Site Number:	K-015 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Kangich
Meaning of Name:	Sources of the river.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Kangi
Location:	Kangich is located at the headwaters of the Hulahula River, about 70 to 75 miles inland. The NSB TLUI lists two sites with identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14435'00 6902'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 31 Pedersen et al. 1985:76 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Camping and hunting.
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Kangich has been a major winter base camp for sheep hunting for Kaktovik residents. As with Katak (Third Fish Hole) there can be access problems and there are other good base camp locations. It is also relatively distant from the village.
History of Use:	During the 1930s the Agiak family lived at Kangich sporadically during the winter. This is a well-known location and is used on a regular basis. It is, however, farther from the village than other available base camps and given the increasing time constraints that many village hunters are facing it appears that camp locations closer to the village are used more frequently. Still, not all active hunters have full-time wage jobs and there are hunters who choose to travel longer distances to hunt, so Kangich must be considered one of the main base camp areas,

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:97; Jacobson n.d.; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:96; Pedersen et al. 1985:128.

Site Number:	K-045 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Igniq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	Ignik Valley
Location:	Igniq is to the west of the Sadlerochit Mountains, The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14604'00" 6936'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 33 Pedersen et al. 1985:50 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	The TLUI says that this is considered a natural landmark, because the area was constantly on fire. It is no longer on fire.
Specific Use:	Uncertain, but Igniq is in an area where people commonly hunt furbearers (usually camping to do so) and is near the portion of the Canning River where Kaktovik people say there are many moose. Few hunters harvest moose, however.
History of Use:	
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977.

Site Number:	K-059 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Ikaluliruak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Ikaluliruak is located on the eastern portion of Camden Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14442'00" 6958'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 49 Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	There are habitation ruins at Ikaluiruak and the TLUI lists it as an old site.
Specific Use:	Caribou, especially in the winter. Fishing at Carter Creek (western part of the larger area).
History of Use:	Although Ikaluliruak is listed as an old site with ruins, more specific information is not available. The area informants say is good for caribou is from Carter Creek in the west to about 14430' W, 7000' N. Carter Creek is reported in the literature to be good for fishing.
References:	Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:92.

Site Number:	K-060 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Paqta
Meaning of Name:	Let's go meet someone coming
English Name:	Fish Hole 4
Other Name(s):	Paaqta
Location:	Paqta is located on the Hulahula River where it is joined by Patuk Creek (east and west).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14436'00" 6910'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 50 Pedersen et al. 1985:77 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting.
Access:	Snowmobile.
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Used in the fall, winter, and spring - primarily as a base for sheep hunting and for fishing (iqaluapak, dolly varden, sulukpaugak, and iqalukpik. Caribou are a secondary focus.
History of Use:	Paqta is not known as "Fish Hole Four" to a large portion of the community, many of whom deny that there is a fourth fish hole. It is listed on the TLUI and discussed in the literature and is included on that basis. It lies within the area used by Kaktovik residents as their primary sheep and ice fishing area, although it is located far enough up in the mountains that travel to this site can often be a problem. Fishing only occurs at this location as a secondary activity to sheep hunting.
References:	Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Pedersen et al. 1985.

Site Number:	K-812 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson, Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site (and area) K-812 is located west of the Canning River. The specific site is located at an airstrip left from oil exploration. It is very likely that other regular camping locations exist in this area, but the boundaries are so indefinite and the use so flexible they were not identified. The dotted boundary line is based upon very approximate information.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting furbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	Air strip left from oil exploration and drilling activity.
Specific Use:	Kaktovik residents use this general area to hunt for furbearers on an irregular basis. One informant stated that he would like to see if there were some drums of gas left near the air strip at K-812 that he could use to hunt the area.
History of Use:	This area west of the Canning River seems to be a secondary area for the hunting of forbearers for Kaktovik. This is mainly because of distance and the amount of gas needed to reach the area, hunt successfully, and then rem to Kaktovik. This was made clear by the hope of one informant that he might find some drums of gas there left from the oil exploration and

drilling activities that he could salvage to use for his hunting activities in this area. This was not an unusual practice in the late 1960s and 1970s, but is now not very common as most of the gas caches have been used up.

It was clear that at times furbearer hunters traveled all the way to the Sagavanirktok River, and perhaps beyond it. Consistent information in this regard was difficult to obtain, so very little can be said with any confidence about the frequency and range of hunters in the pursuit of furbearers west of the 147 degree line.

References:

Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	K-813 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site K-813 is a base camp site on the Canning River almost due west of the Sadlerochit Mountains. Area K-813 extends from about 6 miles downstream from this site to about 18-20 miles upstream from the site.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Moose, furbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	River course has good moose habitat, area to the west is open country with no mountains (big foothills) that is good for furbearers. The same base camp is used for both.
Specific Use:	Moose are hunted in the Canning River area by those few Kaktovik hunters who harvest moose. The area is considered somewhat far from Kaktovik.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	K-814 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site K-814 is located on the northwestern edge of the Sadlerochit Mountains.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base camp
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Base camp for caribou, sheep.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	K-815 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site K-815 is located on the Sadlerochit River about 8 miles upstream (south) of Sadlerochit Spring.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base camp for hunting caribou (and perhaps muskoxen).
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Used as a base camp for the surrounding area, which is good for caribou and muskoxen.
History of Use:	At present, this site is much more significant for caribou than for muskoxen, since the harvest of muskoxen is so limited. There may be a limited amount of fishing at this site, but it has not been well documented.
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	K-816 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site K-816 is located north if the Kikiktat Mountains and south of the eastern portion of the Sadlerochit Mountains.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base camp
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	Centrally located in relation to prime hunting areas for several species.
Specific Use:	Base camp for sheep, caribou, moose. Hunters often leave tents pitched here in the spring and fall, which are then used by whomever is at the site.
History of Use:	Informants explicitly state that this site is used as a base camp because of its central location in relation to the harvest of a number of different species, its ease of access, and its desirable features as a camp site. While individual informants may talk about it as "their" main base camp site, it is clear that this is not a proprietary claim, but merely a statement that they tend to go there more than anyplace else.
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	K-817 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Lake Schrader
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Site K-817 is located on Lake Schrader and was chosen rather arbitrarily. This is the approximate location of the Native Allotment claims of Mildred and Isaac Akootchook. 'The entire lake is used for fishing and harvesting caribou.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fish, caribou
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Entire lake can be used for fishing - some net fishing in limited open water but mostly jigging. Land surrounding lake good for caribou.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-818 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-818 is located on the Canning River, west of the Shublik Mountains, where Nanook Creek enters the river. It is a stretch of the river about 3 miles long.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Jigging for fish. The frequency of use of this site is not known.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-819 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-819 is located on the Canning River, where Cache Creek and Eagle Creek enter. It extends for about 5 or 6 miles.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fish
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Jigging for fish. The frequency of use of this site is not known.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-820 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-820 is composed mostly of the valley and lowlands between the Sadlerochit and Shublik Mountains, plus the pass in the Sadlerochit Mountains formed by the Katakturuk River and some of the area north of the Sadlerochit Mountains.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting furbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Hunting furbearers - caribou as the need arises and chance provides,
History of Use:	Most informants say that this area is used mainly to hunt for furbearers after an adequate supply of meat (sheep, caribou) has been laid in. The party leaves from Second Fish Hole and travels to the base camp at K-813 on the Canning (or one close to it on the eastern side of the Canning). They can then return the same way, between the Sadlerochit and Shublik Mountains, or go north a bit and return on the northern side of the Sadlerochit Mountains. From here they can take the Katakturuk River south back through the Sadlerochit Mountains to the trail back to Second Fish Hole. north to the coast and eventually Kaktovik, or continue along the

Sadlerochit Mountains back to the Hulahula River around First Fish Hole (K-12) or further northat K-11. Most informants seemed to regard this as an enjoyable activity, but one that had lower priority than the hunting of meat for consumption. It is certainly a more costly activity than hunting for meat, because of the amount of gas used and wear-and-tear imposed on the machines.

References:

Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-821 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson, Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area K-A-821 is located east of the Canning River, near the coast.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Muskoxen
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Muskoxen are reported to frequent this area. Only very limited harvesting is allowed, so this is mainly observational information and not based upon harvest activities.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-822 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-822 is located west of the Katakturuk River, along the coast of the western part of Camden Bay. It is actually a continuation of K-3, Kanginniivik.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou (especially in winter).
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	This area is reported to have been very productive for caribou in the past, especially in winter when other areas were not as reliable. Recently, informants have reported that there have not been many caribou here (see historical note).
History of Use:	Informants are almost unanimous in reporting that this area is not nearly as reliably productive as it has been in the recent past. Most cite several possible causes. The influx of government-sponsored biological researchers is usually the first. They are said to follow animals around and thus harass them, and the many air flights flown for observational reasons and logistical support are said to chase the animals away. Caribou are also said not to like muskoxen and the recent increase in the introduced muskoxen population, and their apparent adoption of this area as a year-round territory, is said to have

caused the caribou to stay there only for a very short, seasonal, period of time. Some informants may say that hikers and river rafters also have an influence, but do not really draw a causal link except to say that perhaps they change the path of the caribou migration so that they never reach this area.

References:

Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-823a (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-823 is located along the eastern shore of Camden Bay, and includes sites K-6 and K-59. Itissouth of KA-O05/6 (the spit), but may well be meant to include that as well.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Muskoxen
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Muskoxen are said to frequent this area. Informants did not remark on their driving the caribou away from this area so much, but it is mainly a summer caribou harvest location. The harvest of muskoxen is still severely restricted.
History of Use:	Informants say that the muskoxen resident in this area travel between the coast and the Sadlerochit River (KA-823b). They are not often found in the area in between, as they seem to prefer the coast or the river course.
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-823b (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-823b is located along the Sadlerochit River, once it reaches the Sadlerochit Mountains, and an area southeast of this point.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Muskoxen
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Muskoxen are reported to frequent this area. At least one muskox has been harvested in this area recently (by permit - in March). Several caribou were also harvested on this trip and were said to be abundantly available.
History of Use:	Informants report that the muskoxen in this area travel between here and the coast along Camden Bay and are resident in the area. They are not often found in the area in between, apparently preferring the coast and the river course.
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-824 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area K-824 is located along the Sadlerochit River before it reaches the Sadlerochit Mountains. Its southern boundary was not defined by informants, but probably it joins with KA-823b to form one larger area.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Muskoxen
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Muskoxen are observed to frequent the Sadlerochit River course. They are hunted only on a limited basis because of severe permit restrictions.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-825 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-825 is located along Itkilyariak Creek from just before it enters the Sadlerochit Mountains to its headwaters and beyond to the Shublik Mountains.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Sheep
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Sheep are the primary focus in this area, although it does overlap with caribou, muskoxen, and furbearers, since all are mobile animals and can be found in the same general areas. Sheep tend to be at higher elevations.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-826 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-826 is a small area located just south of KA-825. It is apparently a very localized and productive area for sheep for one informant.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Sheep
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Sheep (mainly fall)
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-827 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-827 is located along Kaviak Creek and the upper Sadlerochit River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Moose
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use: "	This area is reported to be good moose hunting territory, but few Kaktovik hunters harvest moose. If someone does want a moose, this is one of the areas he would look.
History of use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-828 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-828 is includes the streams south and west of Schrader Lake, as well as the lower land north of the lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Sheep, caribou
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	The focus of this circumscribed area is sheep, although caribou are also common in the area. The lake is also used for ice fishing.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-829 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-829 encompasses the lower land around Second Fish Hole (K-013) and the Hulahula River upstream from that point (and its tributaries).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Sheep, caribou
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	This is the most frequently used sheep area for the hunters of Kaktovik. Caribou are also frequently harvested in the northern part of this range.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-830 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson, Demarcation Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-830 is located along the upper part of the Okpilik River, where it enters the Romanzof Mountains.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Sheep
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Sheep - some people say the area would also be good for moose, but few hunters are interested in moose.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-831 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-831 is located west of Second Fish Hole.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use: .	Moose (also caribou, sheep)
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Moose are said to be abundant in this area, but few hunters harvest moose. Caribou and sheep are also available in this area.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	KA-832 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-832 is a large region along the Hulahula River from a point below First Fish Hole to Third Fish Hole, including most of the lower land east of the Hulahula up to the mountains.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou (also sheep, moose)
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	This is one of the main caribou harvest regions for Kaktovik hunters. Until recently, most caribou were taken in the summer near the coast. In the past few years, however, a greater proportion have been taken inland during fall-spring.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coiling and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number:	K-833 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Suplu's Camp is located on the Sadlerochit River about 4 miles upstream from K-815.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base camp for caribou, muskoxen, sheep
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Base camp for caribou especially. Also used for muskoxen when hunters have the permits, and for sheep if they are accessible.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number:	K-052 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Imialat
Meaning of Name:	Without water.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location	Imialat is located near the source of Gilead Creek, which flows into the Ivishak River. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates. The TLUI map placement of the site is inconsistent with the coordinates given. We used the latter.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14738'29" 6912'10" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 40 Pedersen et al. 1985:42 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	Graves are located at Imialat and people presumably lived there at least seasonally in the past.
Specific Use:	The literature reports fishing for iqalusaak (least cisco), titaalik (burbot/lingcod), sulukpaugaq (arctic grayling), iqalukpik (lake trout), as well as hunting, mainly for furbearers. Used in winter and spring. See historical note.
History of Use:	Imialut was used in the past, presumably as at least a seasonal habitation site since people are know to have been born there and others are buried there. It is currently used as a place to camp while hunting for forbearers. While taking a break from looking for forbearers people will fish. Because of its distance from Kaktovik, people only use this area infrequently.

The TLUI map and Nielson 1977a place this site further to the west than the given coordinates would indicate. We have located it in accordance with the coordinates given.

References: Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	K-053 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Ninngulit
Meaning of Name:	Place with cottonwood trees.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Ninngulit is located near the source of an unlabeled tributary of the Ivishak River, south of Gilead Creek. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14744'30 6907'20 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 41 Pedersen et al. 1985:41 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	Graves and presumably some habitation ruins are found at Ninngulit.
Specific Use:	Ninngulit is used in the fall, winter and spring. The primary foci are hunting for furbearers and fishing for iqaluksaak (least cisco), titaalik (burbot/lingcod), sulukpaugaq (arctic grayling), and iqalukpik (lake trout). Siilsinik.
History of Use:	Henry Nasanik and his family lived in this area until 1938 or so. Nauyak, Nashanik's mother, is buried here. The current use of this site is almost identical to that of Imialat (K-52).
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	K-054 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Silqsinniq
Meaning of Name:	Water seepage.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Silqsinniq is located on the Sagavanirktok River, north of the. Lupine River. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14843'00" 6912'40" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 42 Pedersen et al. 1985:40 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing.
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Silqsinniq is reported as a fall, winter, and spring fishing location. Species caught are iqaluksaak (least cisco), saviunak (round whitefish), tittaalik (burbot/lingcod), sulukpaugaq (arctic grayling), and iqalukpik (lake trout). Little documented recent use.
History of Use:	This area was used mostly when people lived in a dispersed throughout the North Slope. Few people make the long trip to this area, since good fishing sites are available much closer to their communities of residence.
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number:	***KA-81O*** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-81O is located on a tributary of the Kadleroshilik River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing (mainly in the past)
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Fishing for big arctic char and grayling with eggs, in May. Information is from Kaktovik informants, so it can be assumed that Nuiqsut people do not use this area.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	KA-811 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area KA-811 is a region northeast of where the Ivishak River joins the Sagavanirktok River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting furbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Area KA-811 is used by Kaktovik hunters for the pursuit of forbearers. It is used only for extended trips (at least 3 or 4 days), but regular base camps were not pointed out.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-098 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Qaviarat
Meaning of Name:	Place of the fine sand
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Qaviarat is located on the Ivishak River. Nielson (1977a) coordinates are 6017'52" 14808'48".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 6917'52 14808'48" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 98 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping area
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	Graves.
Specific Use:	Winter and spring in the past, not currently used by Nuiqsut residents due to distance and oil development. Little apparent recent use by Kaktovik residents as well.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980; Nielson 1977a:71.

Site Number:	N-128 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Siiqsinik
Meaning of Name:	Water seepage
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Siliqsinik is located on or near the Shaviovik River. Nuiqsut people no longer use this area. Kaktovik people include this area in their extended range.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 6946'40 14743'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-10 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, furbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house. There may be a spring nearby, as the TLUI lists the comment that there is bubbling water, with no ice, at this location.
Specific Use:	No current subsistence use from Nuiqsut, due to oil development and the consolidation of population into settled villages. Old fishing site for Kaktovik people, may not have been used recently. Area is used for hunting furbearers.
History of Use:	Several informants in Kaktovik remembered their parents fishing in this area. Currently, the area is mainly used for the hunting of furbearers. It seems to be too far from Kaktovik to justify its use as a fishing site. People from Nuiqsut evidently do not use this area because it is difficult to get to because of oil development and distance.

References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk** Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; **Pedersen** et al. 1985:127.

Site Number:	N-133 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Qaquqtugruat
Meaning of Name:	Hilly area where you look out every direction
English Name:	Franklin Bluffs
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Qaquqtugruat is located on the east bank of the Sagavanirktok River, about 30 miles south of Prudhoe Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 69 48'N 14840'W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-15 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping area, hunting/camping area
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	High area, used in the past as a lookout position.
Specific Use:	Qaquqtugruat is primarily a TLUI site, as oil development precludes its current use for subsistence hunting. Kaktovik hunters may still use it as a lookout point as they do use the area close to this to hunt furbearers.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

Site Number:	N-134 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Ivisaam Paanga
Meaning of Name:	Mouth of Ivisaaq (Ivishak) River.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Ivisaam Paana is located where the Ivishak River joins the Sagavanirktok River, about 55 miles south of Prudhoe Bay. The TLUI lists no coordinates, which were taken from Orth's entry for the Ivishak River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 6930'N 14830'W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-16 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping area, hunting/camping area
Access:	Boat, snow machine.
Site Features:	. Willow houses to be found here
Specific Use:	Nuiqsut residents report that this site used to be good for year-round fishing and caribou hunting. Oil development now precludes this use. It lies just beyond the boundaries of the area Kaktovik informants say they use to hunt furbearers.
History of Use:	Cora Nashaknik Simmonds was born at Ivisaam Paana. Frank Long Jr. (of Nuiqsut) lived at this site for a year with his family when he was young.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

Site Number:	NA-933 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area NA-933 is southeast of Nuiqsut and pretty much south of Prudhoe Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting furbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Area NA-933 was reported as a furbearer harvest area for 1989 for Nuiqsut hunters - 7 wolves in one trip. Trip was 4 days long and used 140 + gallons of gas. Wolves were feeding on caribou.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	NA-934 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Area NA-934 is a continuation of area NA-931 from the Umiat map. The boundary is much more uncertain than for the Umiat area. Nuiqsut informants placed no real limits and they may indeed approach close to Kaktovik in search of forbearers.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting furbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Hunting of furbearers - wolf, wolverine.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Numerical List of Sites

Numerical List of Sites (continued)

SECTION III: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Affidavits
1979 Affidavits entered for Village of Kaktovik, Village of Nuiqsut, City of Barrow, Herman Rexford and Ralph Ahkivgak vs. Robert E. LeResche, Commissioner of Natural Resources and Exxon Corporation.

Alaska Consultants and Stephen Braund and Associates
1984 Subsistence Study of Alaska Eskimo Whaling Villages. Prepared for the U.S. Department of the Interior: n.p.

Amsden, Charles Wynn
1977 A Quantitative Analysis of Nunamiut Eskimo Settlement Dynamics: 1898 to 1969. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of New Mexico: Albuquerque.

Andersen, David B.
1982 Regional Subsistence Bibliography, Volume 1: North Slope. Subsistence Technical Paper No. 1, Alaska Department of Fish and Game: Juneau.

Anderson, Douglas D.
1984 "Prehistory of North Alaska." In Arctic: Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 5, David Damas (cd.). Washington: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 80-93.

Andrews, Clarence L.
1939 The Eskimo and his Reindeer in Alaska. Caxton Printers: Caldwell.

Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory
1977 See NSB 1977.

Binford, Lewis R.
1978 Nunamiut Ethnoarchaeology. Academic Press, New York.

Bockstoce, John R.
1986 Whales, Ice, and Men: The History of Whaling in the Western Arctic. University of Washington Press: Seattle.

Braund, Stephen R.; Sam W. Stoker; and John A. Kruse
1988 Quantification of Subsistence and Cultural Need for Bowhead Whales by Alaska Eskimos, Paper prepared for and presented at the 1988 meetings of the International Whaling Commission.

Carnahan, John
1979 Cross Island: Inupiat Cultural Continuum. North Slope Borough: Anchorage.

Coffing, Michael and Sverre Pedersen
1985 Caribou Hunting: Land Use Dimensions, Harvest Level and Selected Aspects of the Hunt During Regulatory Year 1983-84 in Kaktovik, Alaska. Technical Paper No. 120, Division of Subsistence, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Juneau, Alaska.

Craig, Peter C.
1987 Subsistentence Fisheries at Coastal Villages in the Alaskan Arctic, 1970-1986. Alaska OCS Social and Economic Studies Program Technical Report No. 129. U.S. Department of the Interior, Minerals Management Service, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region: Anchorage.

Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management
1974 Use and Occupancy of the Arctic Slope by Arctic Slope Eskimos. A memorandum prepared for litigation in 1974 by the Department of the Interior in cooperation with the plantiffs in the case of Edwardson vs. Morton.

Foote, Don C.
1964 "American Whalemen in Northwestern Arctic Alaska." In Arctic Anthropology Vol. 2 (2), pp. 16-20.

Galginaitis, Michael S,; Claudia Chang; Kathleen M. MacQueen; Albert A. Dekin Jr., and David Zipkin
1984 Ethnographic Study and Monitoring Methodology of Contemporary Economic Growth, Socio-Cultural Change and Community Development in Nuiqsut Alaska (Nuiqsut Case Study). Alaska OCS Social and Economic Studies Program Technical Report No. 96. U.S. Department of the Interior, Minerals Management Service, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region: Anchorage.

Galginaitis, Michael S.
1990 Field notes, Nuiqsut and Kaktovik.

Grosvenor, Gilbert
1902 Reindeer in Alaska in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution. Government Printing Office: Washington D.C.

Gubser, Nicholas J.
1965 The Nunamiut Eskimo: Hunters of Caribou. Yale University Press: New Haven.

Hall, Edwin S.
1981 cultural Resource Site Potential in Cultural Resources in the Mid-Beaufort Sea Region. A Report for the North Slope Borough's Coastal Zone Management Plan. North Slope Borugh: Barrow.

Hall, Edwin S. (continued)
1987 A Land Full of People, A Long Time Ago: An Analysis of Three Archaeological Sites in the Vicinity of Kaktovik, Alaska. Technical Memorandum Number 24. No publisher or place of publication information given.

Hall, Edwin S. and Associates
n.d. North Slope Borough Cultural Resource Site Inventory. Unpublished manuscript on file at the North Slope Borough Commission on Language, Culture, and History. Probably compiled in the mid-1980s.

Hutchinson, Isobel W.
1937 North to the Rime-Ringed Sun: An Alaskan Journey. Hillman-Curl Inc.: New York.

Impact Assessment, Inc.
1989 Point Lay Case Study. Alaska OCS Social and Economic Studies Program Technical Report No. 139. U.S. Department of the Interior, Minerals Management Service, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region: Anchorage.

Impact Assessment, Inc.
1990 Northern Institutional Profile Analysis: Beaufort Sea. Alaska OCS Social and Economic Studies Program Technical Report No. 142. U.S. Department of the Interior, Minerals Management Service, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region: Anchorage.

Inuvialuit Game Council and North Slope Borough Fish and Game Management Committee
1988 Polar Bear Management in the Southern Beaufort Sea: An Agreement Between Inuvialuit Game Council, Inuvik, N.W.T., Canada and North Slope Borough Fish and Game Management Committee, Barrow, Alaska, U.S.A.

Jackson, Sheldon
1904 Education and Reindeer in Alaska, 1903. Government Printing Office: Washington D.C.

Jacobson, Cynthia Wentworth
1979 Our Lives and the Beaufort Seacoast: A Kaktovik Historical and Land Use Perspective. Prepared for the North Slope Borough Coastal Zone Management Program. Unpublished manuscript dated 1979, on file at the NSB Commission on Language, Culture, and History.

Jacobson, Cynthia Wentworth (continued)
n.d. Traditional Land Use Inventory for the Beaufort Sea Lease Sale Area. Undated and unpublished manuscript on file at the North Slope Borough Planning Department Commission on Language, Culture, and History. Another unpublished document, titled "Traditional Land Use Beaufort Sea Lease Tract" and dated 1978 may be an another form of this document.

Jacobson, Michael J. and Cynthia Wentworth
1982 Kaktovik Subsistence: Land Use Values Through Time in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge Area. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Northern Alaska Ecological Services: Fairbanks.

Kaveolook, Harold
1977 Kaktovik on Barter Island: A Brief History of Kaktovik and Its Schools. Prepared for the Education Hearings during the first Inuit Circumpolar Conference (Barrow, June 13-17, 1977). North Slope Borough School District.

Klerekoper, Fred
1937 Diary of Fred Klerekoper: Dogsled Trip from Barow to Demarcation Point, April 1937. North Slope Borough Commission on History and Culture: Barrow.

Koughan, Florence MadeIon
1931 The Development of the Reindeer Industry in Alaska, 1890-1929. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley (economics).

Kruse, John
1982 Subsistence and the North Slope Inupiat Eskimo: An Analysis of the Effects of Energy Development. Institute of Social and Economic Research: Fairbanks.

Kruse, J. A., M. Baring-Gould, and W. Schneider.
1983 A Description of the Socioeconomics of the North Slope Borough. Technical Report 85. Anchorage, AK: USDOI, MMS, Alaska OCS Region, Alaska OCS Social and Economic Studies Program.

Kruse, John; J. Kleinfeld; R. Travis; amd L. Leask
1981 Energy Development and the North Slope: A Quantitative Analysis of Social and Economic Change. Institute of Socail and Economic Research: Fairbanks.

Libbey, David
1981 Cultural Resource Site Identification in Cultural Resources in the Mid-Beaufort Sea Region. A Report for the North Slope Borough's Coastal Zone Management Plan. North Slope Borugh: Barrow.

Libby, David
1983 "Utqiagvik Ethnohistory." In The 1981 Excavations at the Utqiagvik Archaeological Site, Barrow, Alaska. Albert A. Dekin, Jr. et al. (eds.). Prepared for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the National Park Service, Unpublished draft (soon to be published by the North Slope Borough: Barrow).

Metayer, Maurice (translator and editor)
1966 I, Nuligak. Peter Martin Associates Limited: Toronto.

Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory
1981 See NSB 1981.

Mikkelson, E.
1909 Conquering the Arctic Ice. W. Heinemann: London.

. Miller, Max
1935 The Great Trek: The Story of the Five-Year Drive of a Reindeer Herd Through the Icy Wastes of Alaska and Northwestern Canada. Doubleday & Company Garden City.

Murdoch, John
1892 Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition. United States Bureau of American Ethnology, 9th Annual Report: Washington D.C.

Nielson, Jon M.
1977a Beaufort Sea Study - Historic and Subsistence Site Inventory: A Preliminary Cultural Resource Assessment. North Slope Borough: Barrow.

1977b Kaktovik, Alaska: An Overview of Relocations. North Slope Borough Planning Department: Barrow.

Nielsen, Jorn Berglund
1988 Inupiat whaling and the oil industry in north Alaska: an account of a one year field trip to Alaska. Folk 30:57-71.

North Slope Borough
n.d. Taped interviews with various Inupiat Elders. Unpublished.

1977 Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory. Unpublished manuscript.

1978 Traditional Land Use, Beaufort Sea Lease Tract. Unpublished manuscript.

1980 Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory. See Smith 1980.

North Slope Borough (continued)
1981 Cultural Resources in the Mid-Beaufort Sea Region. A Report for the North Slope Borough's Coastal Zone Management Plan. North Slope Borough: Barrow.

Oil/Whalers Working Group
1986 Cooperative Programs for the Beaufort Sea.

1987 Cooperative Programs for the Beaufort Sea: Supplement No. 2.

1988 Cooperative Programs for the Beaufort Sea: Supplement No. 3.

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory
1976 See NSB 1976.

Okakok, Leona (Kisautaq)
1981 Puiguitkaat (The first Elders Conference, 1978). North Slope Borough Commission on History and Culture: Barrow.

Olson, Dean F.
1969 Alaska Reindeer Herdsmen: A Study of Native Management in Transition. Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research, Report no. 18. University of Alaska College, Alaska.

Orth, Donald J.
1967 Dictionary of Alaska Place Names. Geological Survey Professional Paper 567. United States Government Printing Office: Washington D.C. (reprinted 1971).

Oswalt, Wendell
1967 Alaskan Eskimos. San Francisco: Chandler.

Patterson, A.
1977 Community Profiles in the Arctic Slope Region: An Initial Update for the National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska Task Force. NPR-A Task Force: Anchorage.

Patterson, A. and C. Wentworth
1977 Subsistence Harvests in the Arctic Slope Region: An Initial Update. NPR-A Task Force.

Pedersen, Sverre
1979a "Regional Subsistence Land Use North Slope Borough. Alaska Occasional Paper No. 21. Conservation and Environmental Protection, North Slope Borough; and Anthropology and Historic Preservation Cooperative Park Studies Unit, University of Alaska: Fairbanks.

Pedersen, Sverre (continued)
1979b "Biotic Resources-of the North Slope Inupiat" In Native Livelihood and Dependence: A Study of Land Use Value Through Time. North Slope Borough Contract Staff. National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska Work Group 1 Field Study 1. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska 105(c) Land Use Study: Anchorage.

1989a Assessment of the 1988-89 Kaktovik Subsistence Fishery. Unpublished draft report, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence: Fairbanks.

1989b Historic and Current Use of Muskox by Residnets of U-26. Unpublished draft report, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence: Fairbanks.

1990 Caribou Hunting: Land Use Dimensions, Harvest Level and Selected Aspects of the Hunt During Regulatory Year 1987-88 in Kaktovik, Alaska, Unpublished Technical Paper Number 172, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence: Juneau.

Pedersen, Sverre and Michael Coffing
1984 Caribou Hunting: Land Use Dimensions and Recent Harvest Patterns in Kaktovik, Northeast Alaska, Technical Paper No. 92, Division of Subsistence, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Juneau, Alaska.

Pedersen, Sverre, Michael W. Coffing, and Jane Thompson
1985 Subsistence Land Use Baseline for Kaktovik, Alaska. Technical Paper No, 109, Division of Subsistence, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Juneau, Alaska.

Ray, Dorothy Jean
1983 The making of a legend: Charlie and Mary Antisarlook's reindeer herd in Ethnohistory in the Arctic: The Bering Strait Eskimo. Limestone Press: Kingston (Canada).

Rodahl, Kaare
1979 Akiviak: A Novel Based on the Life of a Frontier Eskimo. W.W. Norton & Company: New York,

Schliebe, Scott L.
1990 Unpublished list of recent harvest locations for polar bears by Nuiqsut and Kaktovik residents, as self-reported by those hunters.

Smith, Roy J. (cd)
1980 Qiniqtuagaksrat Uttuqqanaat Inuuniagninisiqun: The Traditional Land Use Inventory for the Mid-Beaufort Sea, Volume 1. North Slope Borough Commission on History and Culture: Barrow.

Sonnenfeld, J.
1957 Changes in Subsistence Among the Barrow Eskimo. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University Baltimore.

Spencer, Robert F.
1959 The North Alaska Eskimo, A Study in Ecology and Society. U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 171. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Stefansson, V.
1913 My Life With the Eskimo. MacMillan Co.: New York.

Stern, Richard Olav
1980 "I Used to Have Lots of Reindeers''--The Ethnohistory and Cultural Ecology of Reindeer Herding in Northwest Alaska. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation: State University of New York at Binghamton.

Stuck, Hudson
1920 A Winter Circuit of our Arctic Coast. Charles Scribners Sons: New York.

Tremont, John D.
1987 Surface-Transportation Networks for the Alaskan North Slope. Report Number 87-0010. Minerals Management Service, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region: Anchorage, Alaska.

Simpson, Thomas
1843 Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America Effected by the Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company During the Years 1836-39. R. Bentley London.

VanStone, James W.
1984 "Exploration and Contact History of Western Alaska" in Arctic: Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 5, David Damas (cd.). Washington Smithsonian Institution, pp. 146-60.

Wentworth, Cynthia
1979 Kaktovik Synopsis in Native Livelihood and Dependence: A Study of Land Use Values Through Time. North Slope Borough Contract Staff. Field Study 1 for the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska Work Group 1. U.S. Department of the Interior National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska 105(c) Land Use Study: Anchorage.

Worl Associates
1978a Beaufort Sea Region Sociocultural Systems. Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program Technical Report No. 9. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region: Anchorage.

1978b Assessment of Change in the North Slope Beaufort Sea Region Sociocultural Systems. Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program Technical Report No. 22. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region: Anchorage.

Worl, Robert; Rosita Worl; and Thomas Lonner
1981 Beaufort Sea: Sociocultural Systems Update Analyses. Alaska OCS Social and Economic Studies Program Technical Report No. 64. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region: Anchorage.

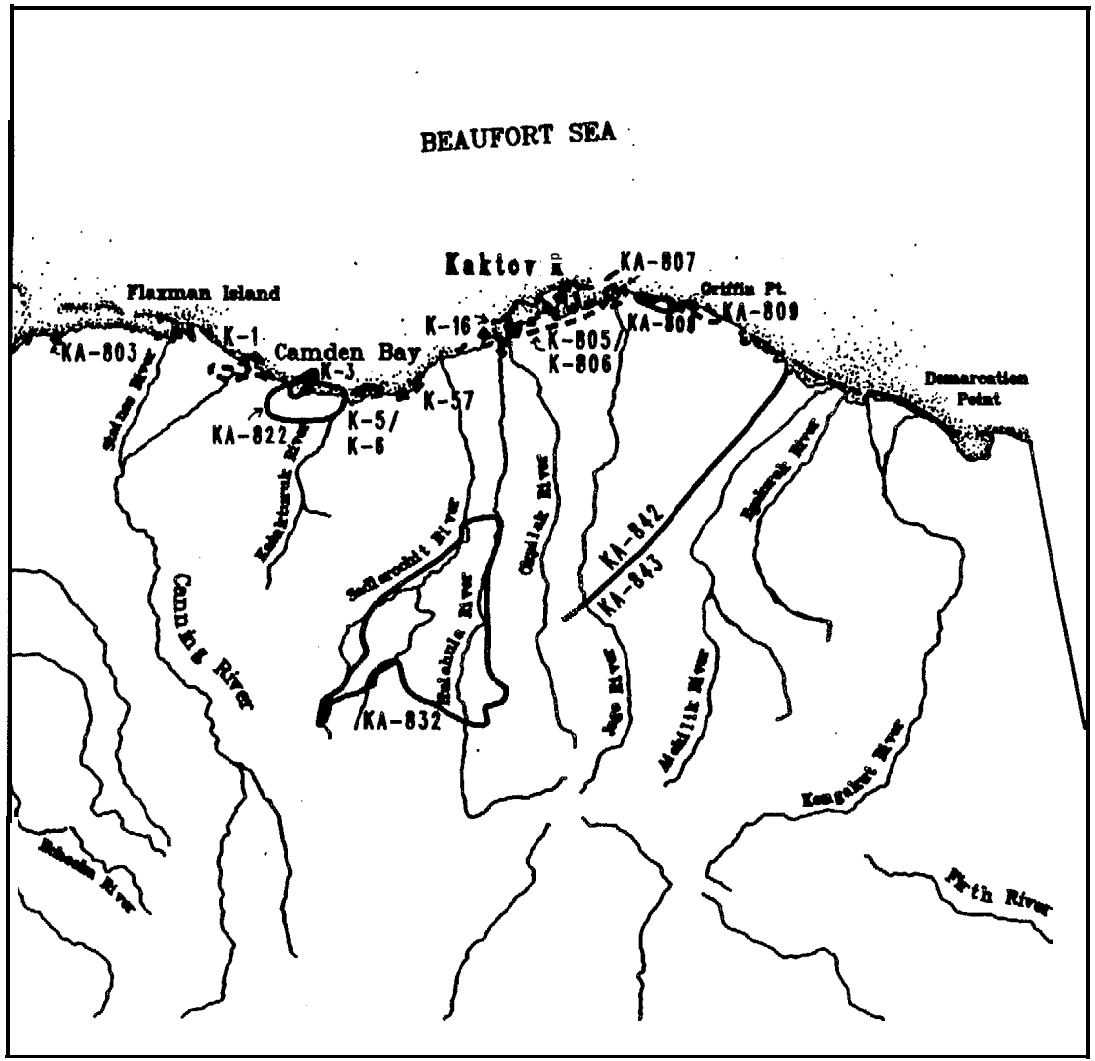
Worl, Rosita
1980 The North Slope Inupiat Whaling Complex in Y. Kotani and W. Workman (cd). Alaska Native Culture and History. National Museum of Ethnology: Osaka.

Worl, Rosita and Charles W. Smythe
1986 Barrow: A Decade of Modernization. Minerals Management Service, Alaska OCS Region, Alaska OCS Social and Economic Studies Program Technical Report No. 125: Anchorage.

APPENDIX A

This appendix consists of ten maps depicting the areas used for certain subsistence activities in the study area. Each map is dedicated to a single species with information displayed on a regional basis. As discussed in the preface, this mode of presentation was a result of compromises between the data to be presented and the limitations of the map desired (8.5" by 11", in black and white). It was not possible to produce similar point site maps, due to time and budget constraints.

The areas represented are not meant to define the complete use areas for the species in question. The mapped areas are merely those areas discussed in the text. These are the most commonly used areas and in the majority of cases probably constitute a good part of the total use area, but Inupiat subsistence patterns are so flexible that all boundaries are artificial and misleading. These maps are not definitive and should be used only in conjunction with interpretative information from the text.



Produced by: *Impact Assessment, Inc., 1990*

SUBSISTENCE HARVEST AREAS A TO

Caribou Areas Discussed n Text*

LEGEND

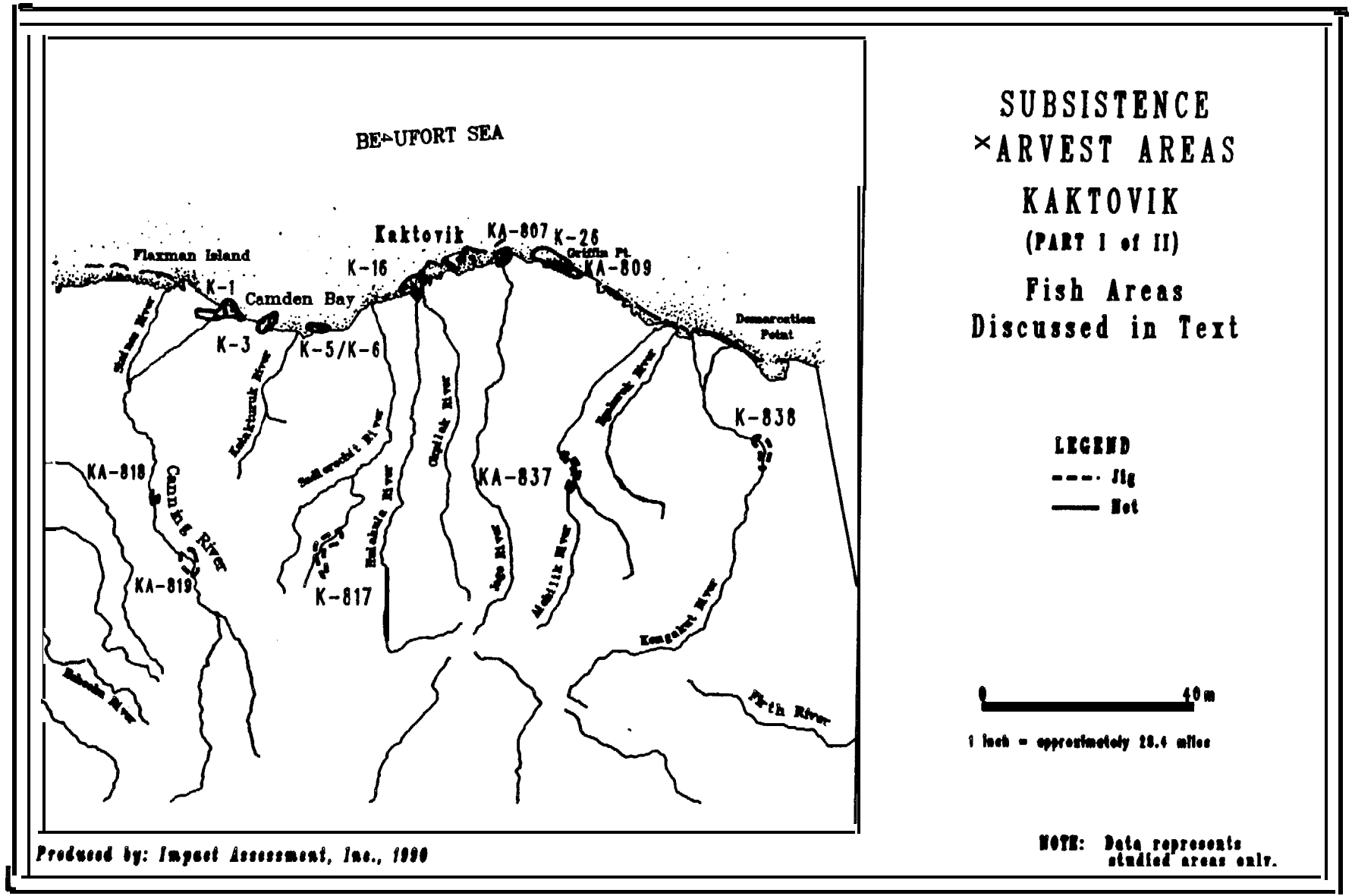
- Summer
- Winter
- Winter, m

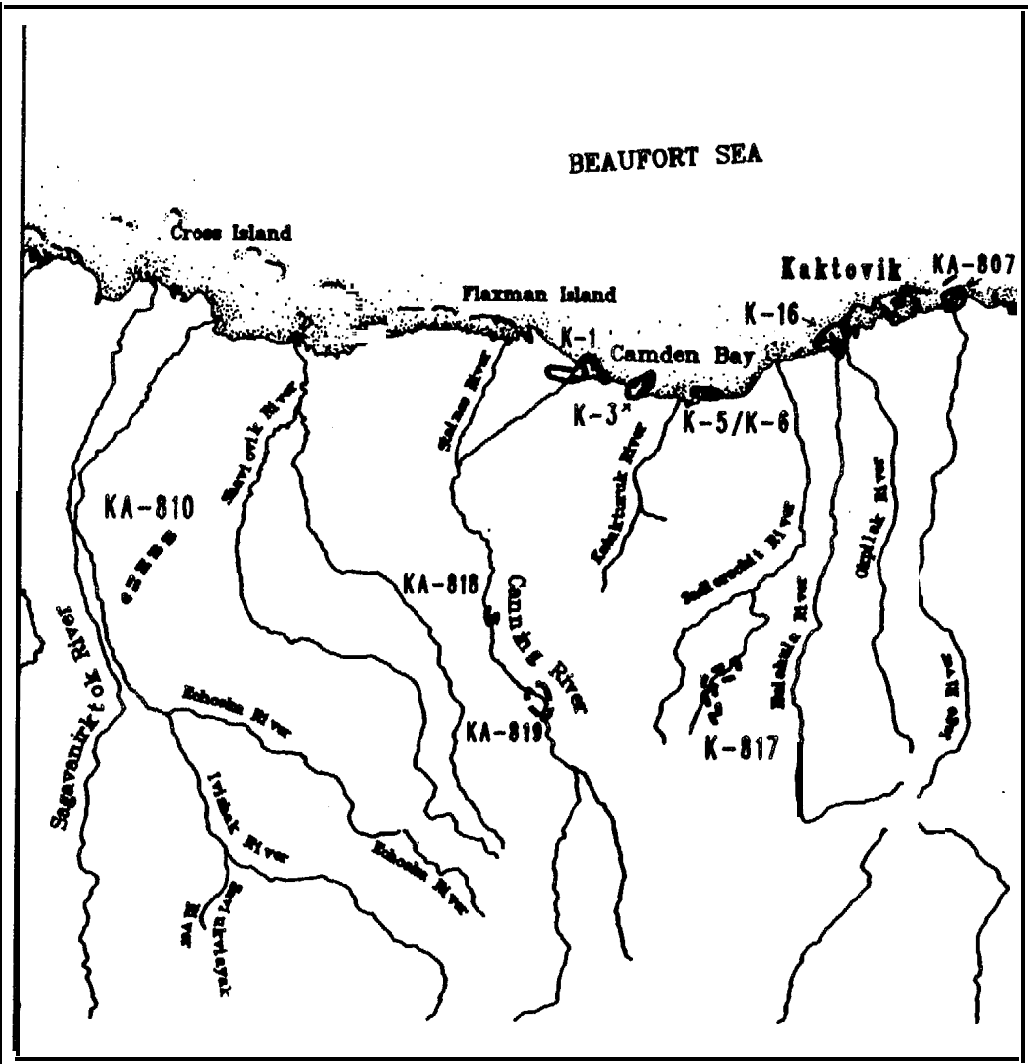
* Map requires textual interpretation - see text.

0 20 40 miles

Inch = approximately 20.4 miles

NOTE: Data represents studied areas only.


BEAUFORT SEA
Flaxman Island
K-1
Camden Bay
K-3
K-5/K-6
K-16
Kaktovik
KA-807
K-26
Griffin Pt.
KA-809
Demarcation Point
K-838
Sakoon River
Kaktovruk River
Staines River
Canning River
KA-818
KA-819
K-817
Hulahula River
Okpilak River
Jago River
Aichilik River
KA-837
Ikpikpuk River
Kongakut River
Firth River
SUBSISTENCE
HARVEST AREAS
KAKTOVIK
(PART 1 of II)
Fish Areas
Discussed in Text
LEGEND
Jig
Net
0
40 m
1 inch = approximately 28.4 miles
NOTE: Data represents studied areas only.
Produced by: Impact Assessment, Inc., 1990



SUBSISTENCE HARVEST AREAS KAKTOVIK

(PART II of I)

Fish Areas Discussed in Text

LEGEND

---- Jig

—— Net

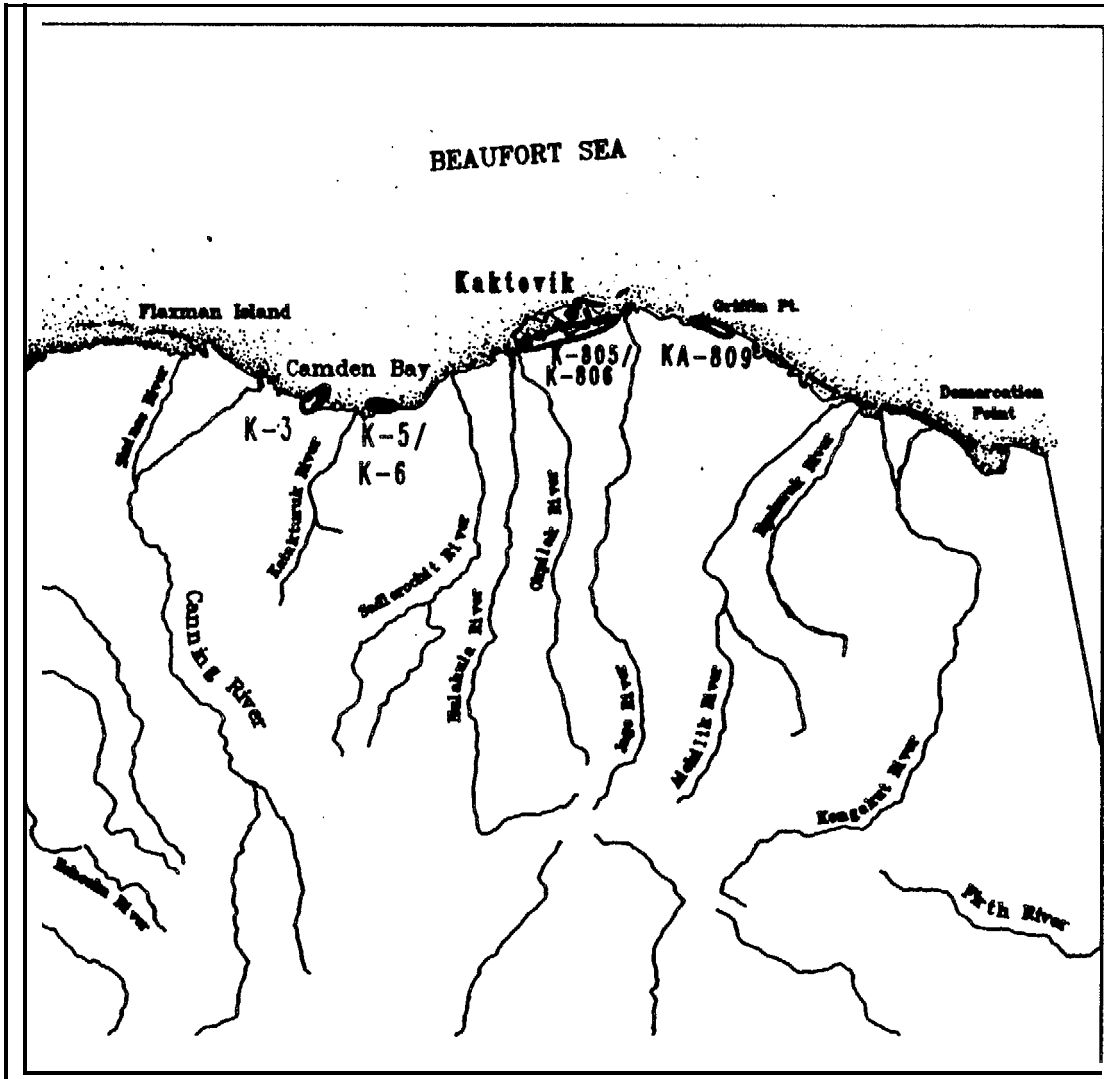
0 20 40 miles

1 inch = approximately 20.4 miles

NOTE: Data represents studied areas only.

Produced by: Impact Assessment, Inc., 1990

SUBSISTENCE
HARVEST AREAS
KAKTOVIK
Furbearer Areas
Discussed in Text
LEGEND
Past
Present
Present, estimated
BEAUFORT SEA
Kaktovik
Camden Bay
Flaxman Island
Cross Island
KA-820
K-812
KA-811
Canning River
Sagavanirktok River
Ivishak River
Sagavanirktok River
Produced by: Impact Assessment, Inc., 1990



SUBSISTENCE HARVEST AREAS

KAKTOVIK

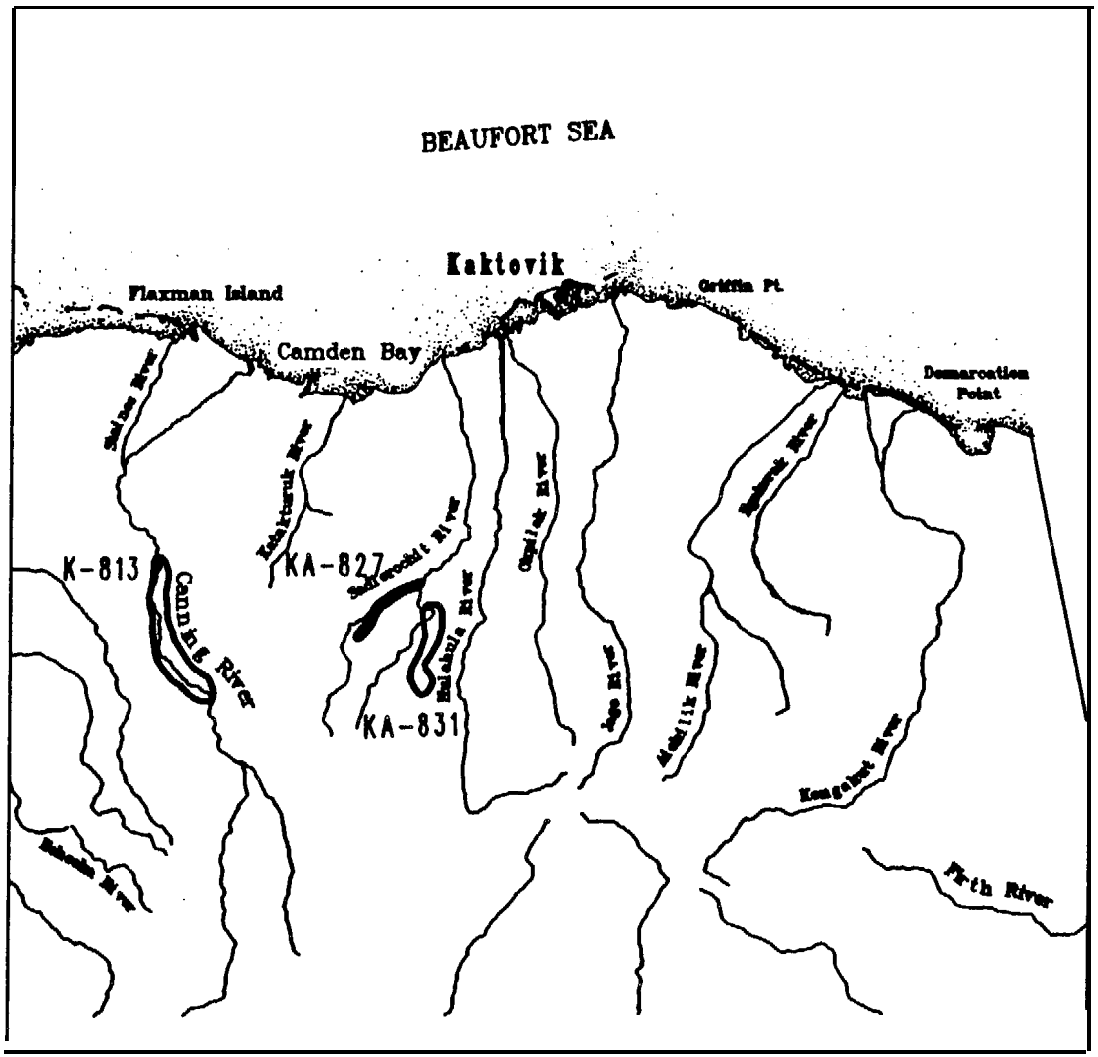
Geese Areas Discussed in Text

0 20 40 miles

1 inch = approximately 20.4 miles

NOTE: Data represents studied areas only.

Produced by: Impact Assessment, Inc., 1990



SUBSISTENCE HARVEST AREAS KAKTOVIK

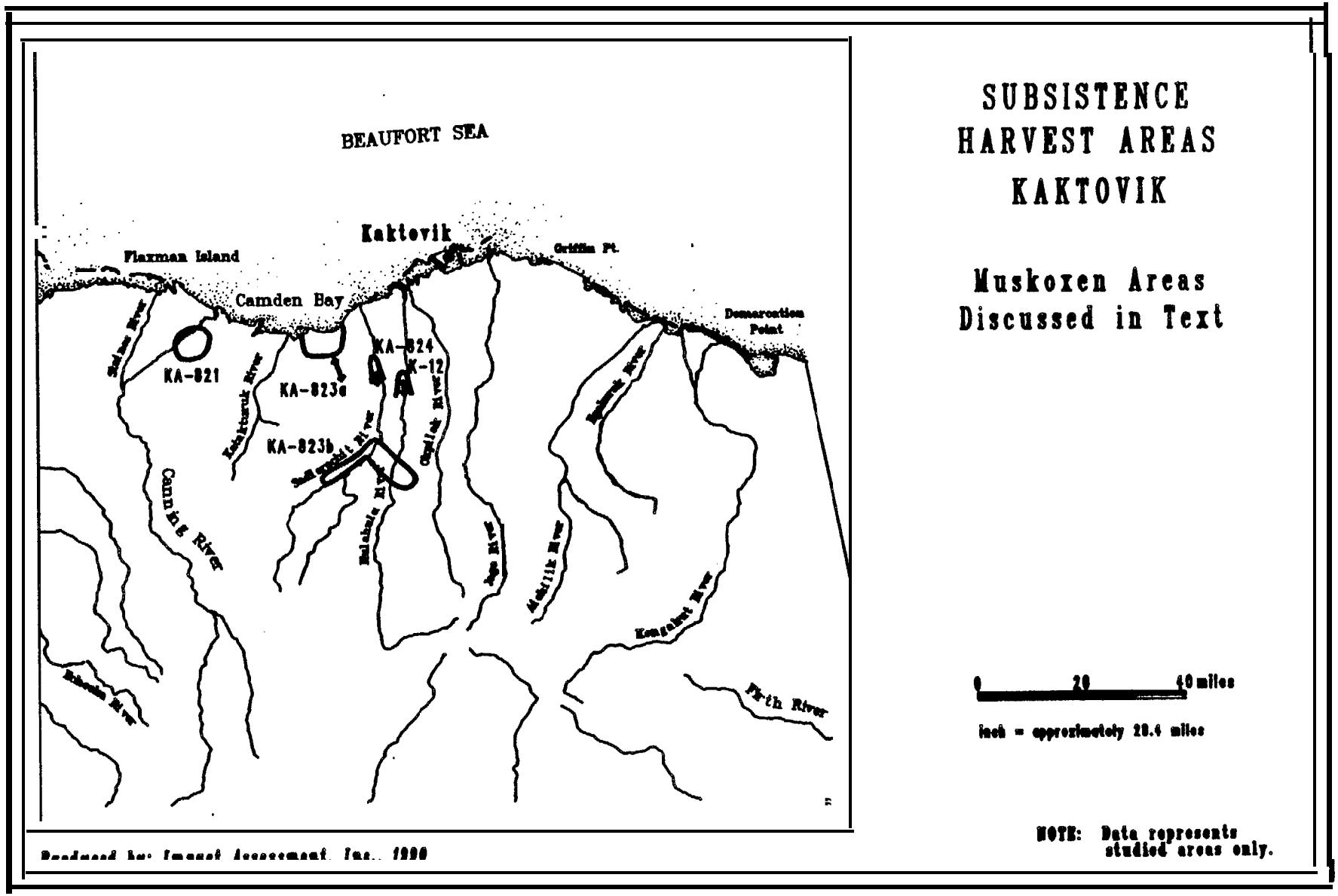
Moose Areas Discussed in Text

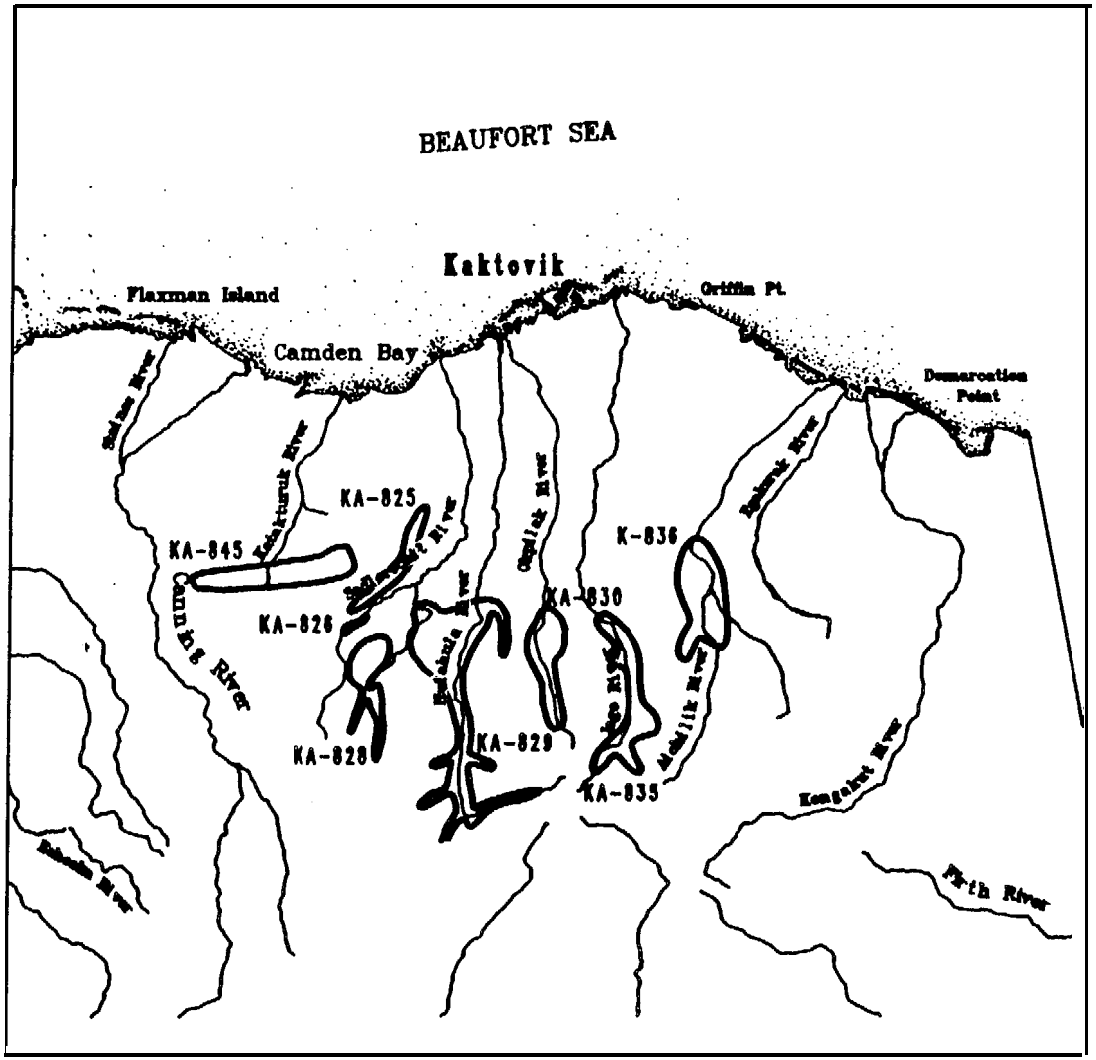
0 40 miles

1 inch = approximately 28.4 miles

NOTE: Data represents studied areas only.

Produced by: Impact Assessment, Inc., 1990


BEAUFORT SEA
Kaktovik
Flaxman Island
Camden Bay
Griffin Pt.
Demarcation Point
KA-821
KA-823a
KA-824
K-12
KA-823b
Canning River
Jago River
Kongakut River
Firth River
SUBSISTENCE
HARVEST AREAS
KAKTOVIK
Muskoxen Areas
Discussed in Text
0
20
40 miles
inch = approximately 28.4 miles
NOTE: Data represents
studied areas only.



SUBSISTENCE H EST AREAS KAKTOVIK

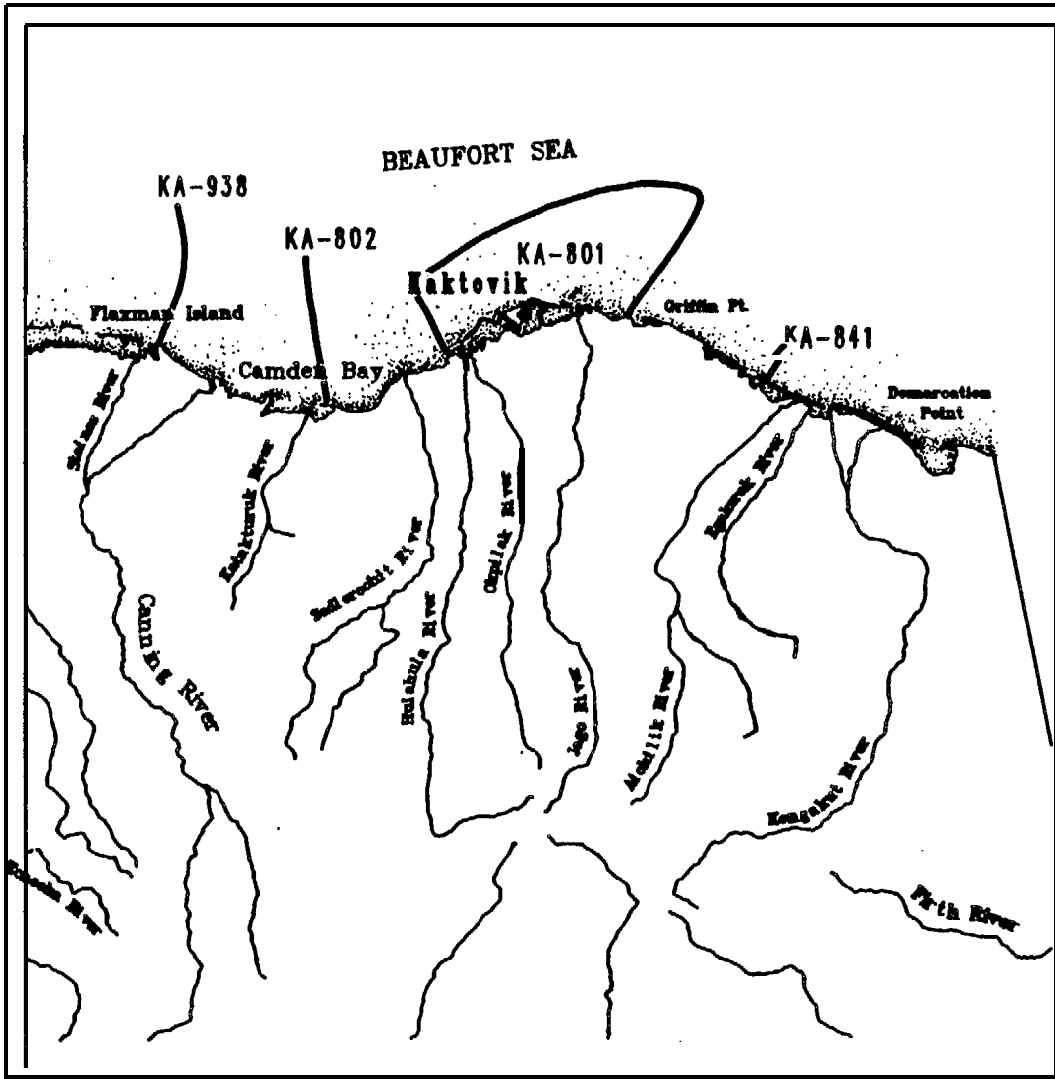
Sheep Areas Discussed in Text

40 miles

inch = approximately 28.4 miles

NOTE: Data represents studied areas only.

Produced by: Impact Assessment, Inc., 1990



SUBSISTENCE HARVEST AREAS KAKTOVIK

Whale Areas
Discussed in Text

0 20 40

1 inch = approximately 28.4 miles

NOTE: Data represents studied areas only.

Produced by: Impact Assessment, Inc., 1990

As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering the wisest use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to assure that their development is in the best interest of all our people. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in Island Territories under U.S. Administration,