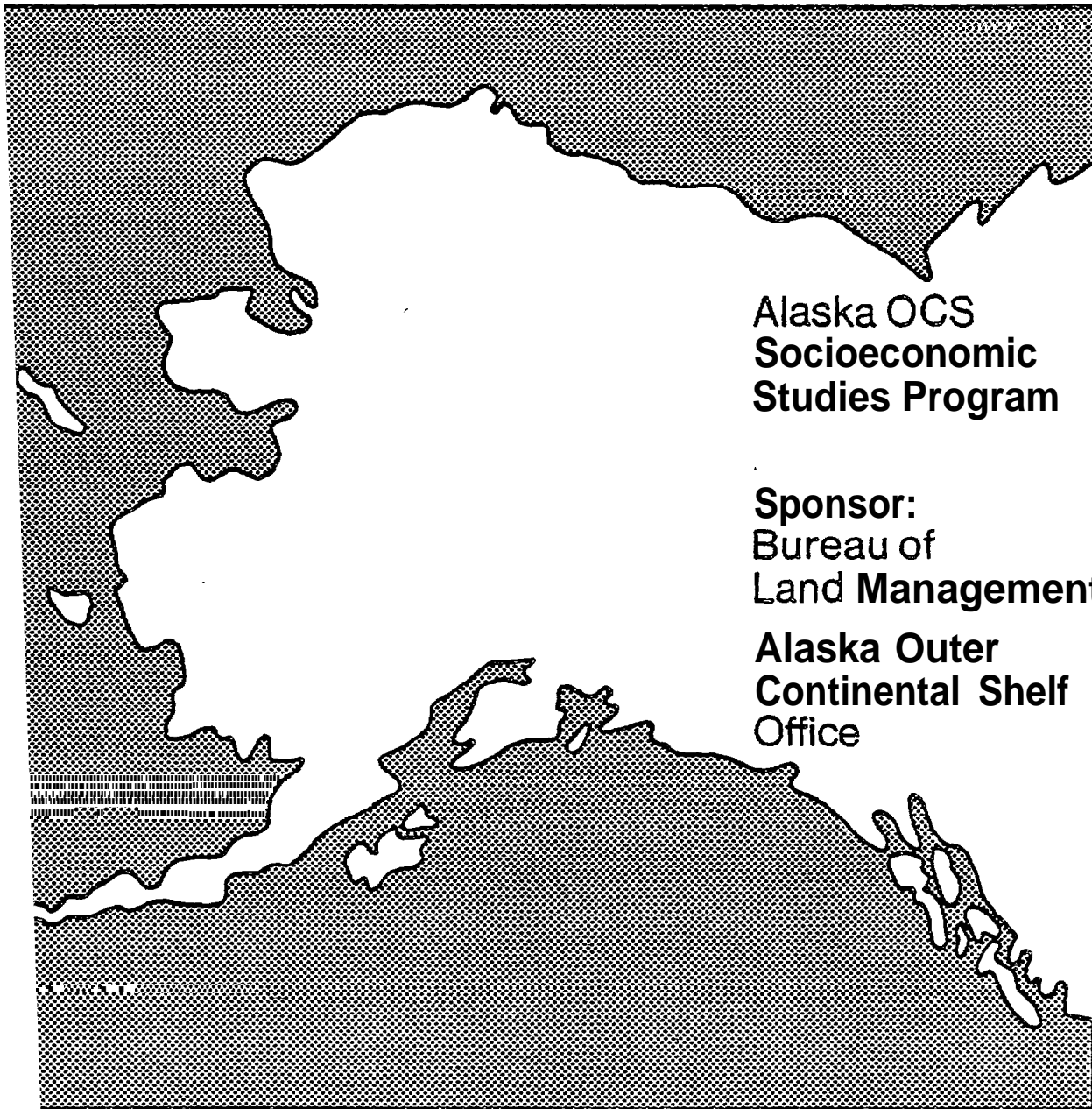


**Technical Report
Number 15**



**Alaska OCS
Socioeconomic
Studies Program**

**Sponsor:
Bureau of
Land Management**

**Alaska Outer
Continental Shelf
Office**

**Historical Indicators of Alaska
Native Culture Change**

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

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

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

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

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ALASKA OCS SOCIOECONOMIC STUDIES PROGRAM

HISTORICAL INDICATORS OF ALASKA NATIVE CULTURE CHANGE

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PREPARED BY

NANCY YAW DAVIS
CULTURAL DYNAMICS .

PREPARED FOR

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT
ALASKA OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF OFFICE

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August 1978

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HISTORICAL INDICATORS OF ALASKA NATIVE CULTURE CHANGE

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report is one of several research papers prepared for the Socio-economic Studies Program of the Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Office, Bureau of Land Management, U. S. Department of the Interior. The objective of this paper is to identify **sociocultural** aspects of Alaskan Native communities that are susceptible to change induced by OCS and other **activities**. The findings provide baseline and background information which will assist in assessments of complex and diverse communities and which will aid in projecting the chains of consequences likely to flow from current trends and OCS activities.

The report is based on a search of the anthropological literature on the culture and history of Alaskan Native coastal **communities** and **populations** and considers the previous impact of modernization on social and cultural change. None of the available anthropological studies focus specifically on the range of factors and consequences likely to result from intensive industrial activities, such as OCS development. This report seeks to synthesize the relevant parts of the anthropological literature to identify historically documented change, and to suggest, where possible, how those previous changes now influence contemporary indicators of further change. Originally it was requested that a comparative analysis of selected communities be accomplished but the literature did not provide for such a comparison.

The major anthropological studies published during the period from 1940 to 1970 form the core of the report. Approximately 43 books and

65 journal articles were surveyed; from these sources, **32** books (including **14 monographs**), 36 journal articles, and 13 other publications (newspaper articles, Congressional testimony, unpublished papers, etc.) were judged to obtain especially relevant material. These sources are listed in the bibliography.

This first chapter addresses the context and method of the study, provides basic definitions, and surveys the literature from which insights on **sociocultural** change were drawn. The chapters which follow are organized into three major headings: social organization, economic organization and political organization. The **last** chapter summarizes the major findings especially as they relate to past, current, and probable directions of change.

The Context

To understand the nature of this report, it is helpful to place the study within the larger context of the leasing process. An Overview of the Federal Role in the OCS Oil and Gas Development prepared by the Oceans Program of the Office of Technology Assessment (1977) identified a total of **47** steps between the leasing planning schedule and actual production. Within these 47 steps are six major decision points. Reports are prepared by **15** agencies. The length of time involved in the process is approximately six years for "established areas," such as the **Gulf of Mexico**, but extends to approximately eight years for "frontier" areas, **such** as the Mid-Atlantic and Alaska. The environmental impact statement preparation is only one step in this process.

Major concerns of the required studies include **geology, geophysics,** biological environment, oceanography and meteorology. (The social sciences are not mentioned in the OTA report.) **When** we consider how relatively little we know about oceans, or about possible ramifications of oil and gas development on and in them, we can better appreciate the new integration of scientific information which must be made in preparation for each of the key decision points.

The development of oil and gas resources from the outer continental shelf involves a possible total of 25 agencies (including state ones), three major federal departments, and five recent Congressional Acts. The three major federal departments are: The Department of Commerce, especially the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the Department of Interior, especially the Bureau of Land Management, and the Department of Energy. The five recent Congressional Acts include the National Environmental Protection Act of 1969, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, the Outer Continental Shelf Development Act of 1972, the Coastal Zone Management Act of 1973, and the Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976. Subsequent amendments to these laws may also become a part of this growing legal framework. Yet another major factor, the international dimensions of the Law of the Sea, must be added. These are some of the most complicated, poorly **under-**stood, and important issues of the last quarter of this century.

The Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program is a multi-year research effort which endeavors to predict and evaluate the effects of Alaska OCS Petroleum Development upon the physical, social and economic

environments within the state. This particular report contributes an historical perspective for understanding ethnically distinctive coastal communities which may be participants in the OCS development process.

Definitions

IMPACT

For the purposes of this report, impact means a process of change initiated by an externally introduced event or events which results in significant modification of previous conditions. That is, an event or series of events stimulates a process which leads to an identifiable modification of what formerly existed. The three key words are event, process, and modification.

The initial event may be sudden, such as an earthquake or tornado, or it may be less rapid, such as the building of a cannery or exploration for oil and anticipation of its development. The main point is that the event is external to the thing being modified. The process which results from the influence of an event with a community is the active rearrangement> addition, or loss (or all three) of elements within the community. The modification can be an acceleration of on-going change, such as generally increased industrialization and involvement in a wage economy. **It** can be the redirection of previous change, or it can be the introduction of a new direction of change.

Usually we think of impact as meaning a one-directional modification

process. For example, the impact of industry on land, water, air, fish, wildlife, birds, or people is assessed. Impacts, however, can be **two-**directional. For example, let us say that A is an oil industry and B is a small Native village located within 25 miles of an onshore site location that A is planning to lease. The resources of A often are **great**; they are rich and influential, specialists in industrial **tech-**nology. In contrast, the power of B may appear small and insignificant. The village is poor, isolated and appears fragmented. It is easy to assume that A will radically modify the village, B.

However, the process need not be destructive, nor need it be one-directional. The people of village B may well influence, modify and "impact" A, the industry. Thus, both A and B will be modified and influenced by the process, leading to new dimensions of A as well as new dimensions of B. A new set of relationships can be created with new conditions for both.

One purpose of this study is to provide information which might assist both A and B to cope creatively so that the negative impact of A on B might be mitigated and the positive impact of A on B **maximized**, and to assist A, and the government, to know something about B so that appropriate decisions relative to both A and B can be made.

INDICATORS

The "indicators" referred to in this paper are not quantitative social statistics. Rather they are suggestions of connections between social

phenomena; connections which have a time depth, a history. Although these indicators are not measured in this paper, this does not mean they are not measurable. But the concentration here **is** to attempt to locate those special characteristics of Native coastal communities which are **susceptible to** modification. This is a search for historical referents to alert us to what **to** look for, and, possibly, someday **to** measure.

Method of Study

Nineteen topics were identified by the Socioeconomic Studies Program as candidate topics for synthesis. These were

- Technology
- Economic organization
- Division of labor
- Jobs and income distribution
- Relationship between subsistence and cash economies
- Dependency on government services and programs
- Language
- Homogeneity of local populations
- Social stratification
- Social horizons
- Family ties
- Reference group identification
- Effective social controls
- Political organization
- Consumption of alcohol
- Experience of racial conflict
- Patterns of migration
- Rate of acculturation
- Satisfaction with tradeoffs and **losses**

Additional topics recommended for consideration were

- Type of community
- State of community development
- Stage and type of industrial development
- The response capacity of community institutions
- Key elements which sustain culture

The first part of the effort was marked by an attempt to understand

impacts so that they might be identified in the literature. The end result was the definition given above (see page 4). Concurrent with the search for a workable definition was a study of the distribution of the coastal communities in Alaska, and a growing insight into the distinctiveness of sea-oriented communities, since much anthropological research has been based on peasant or agricultural societies. Some general ideas about internal community changes induced by external sources were derived from disaster research studies.

The second part of the study focused on selection of the relevant literature. A previously held notion that the anthropological literature would not contain much about rapid culture change (Davis 1976) was only slightly modified. From the survey of the literature, the major references were selected for analysis. Also chosen for the time depth they provide were articles and books dealing primarily with ethnohistory.

Readers should be aware that the literature analyzed is almost exclusively anthropological work published prior to 1970 and that there is a growing body of literature, from both anthropological and other diverse sources, containing suggestions about the magnitude and nature of changes occurring since then. For example, the implementation of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and the construction of the **Trans-Alaska** pipeline has had an impact on some communities. However, the long-range changes resulting from these post-1970 events have yet to be determined.

The third phase, analyzing the literature, began with a search by geographic area for insights into causal relationships for the twenty-four

topics. The main body of this report is the result of this literature analysis.

To expedite **the** analysis, the topics were alphabetized, and the indexes of eight major references consulted. Most of the topics were not **in-**indexed. For example, the index of **one** three-volume series (de Laguna 1972) had not a single one of the topics. There was no reference in any of eight books to the following seven topics: community development, homogeneity, indicators of change, response capacity of **community** institutions, social horizons, stage of community development, or type of community. **No single** topic was addressed by **all** eight books. Six of the volumes did include references to family ties, and five mentioned language and subsistence. Only four indexed **cash**, or change, and three addressed the topics of alcohol, social controls and technology. But only one included the topic of acculturation and one, racial conflict. Thus, the index search did not match well with the topics requested.

To try to improve the match, the 24 topics were divided into 41 categories judged more congruent with the traditional interests of anthropology, such as "settlement patterns" and "kinship." However, even that was not very productive, because the context was lost if only an indexed topic was consulted. Thus, it became apparent that the books had to be read in their entirety. Extensive notes were taken on topics which appeared relevant, and information was gathered on related topics.

After this long process was completed, the comparative analysis of the few roughly comparable sections was begun. One conclusion drawn was

that a comparison between areas, books, and anthropologists, each being greatly varied, is not very productive. The information on **only** three villages in all of coastal Alaska was generally comparable: those **stud**'es accomplished by Hughes in **Gambell** in 1954, by VanStone in Pt. Hope in 1955 and by **Oswalt** in Napaskiak in 1955. The other references **pro-**vided different information, **somet**:mes comparable, but usually not.

In sum, as a comparative study of selected case studies, this report is a failure. There **simply was** not much available that was comparable and there were too few case studies to select from. Therefore, the author took the liberty of reading as much as possible over a four-month period, deriving from the literature what could be located on the requested topics. The meshing of the topics with the literature was often difficult, and sometimes impossible. This highlights the fact that not much is known about village life in Alaska, and what is available is both limited and often dated.

The concluding phase of the effort was a synthesis of the information. The synthesis can be divided into two parts: ideas derived from the extant anthropological literature and ideas generated by the author in part indirectly from the published literature and in part from previous research with Native peoples of Alaska. Those ideas which have no specific, identifiable source in the literature are a combination of the unique view of the author as anthropologist and the things that people have taught me, both through books and conversations. The author takes full responsibility for both the interpretation of the literature, the

manner in which **it** is quoted in this report, and for the other **dimen-**
sions of the synthesis which are the author's attempt to pull the **dis-**
parate information together.

Partly because of the nature of this study, but largely because much of
the synthesis is intuitive, a statement concerning the conscious biases
of the author is **called** for. The strongest bias comes from the fact
that people are my species. Just as biologists, oceanographers, and
foresters have their special animals and plants, be it **bear**, spruce,
seals or salmon, I too have a specialty - People. For the purposes of
this study, that interest is focused toward Alaskan coastal villages.

Further bias is also inevitable because the author was born and raised
in Sitka, a fact which has permanently shaped how I look out on the rest
of the world. It was a personal, friendly, small coastal town, phy-
sically isolated, as are most communities in Alaska. The environment
included the **ocean**, woods, rocks, fishing, hunting, **boats**, canneries
and people. Field work with an Indian village which remained **committed**
to fishing and hunting, even though the residents could rarely fish or
hunt, has shaped my perspective that the fishing fever dies hard, or,
more often, does not die at **all**. The accident of being in Anchorage in
1964 during the Alaskan Earthquake led to disaster research with several
North Pacific villages whose residents taught me much of what I now know
about culture change. In spite of these biases, a conscious effort was
made to provide as objective an analysis of the literature as possible.

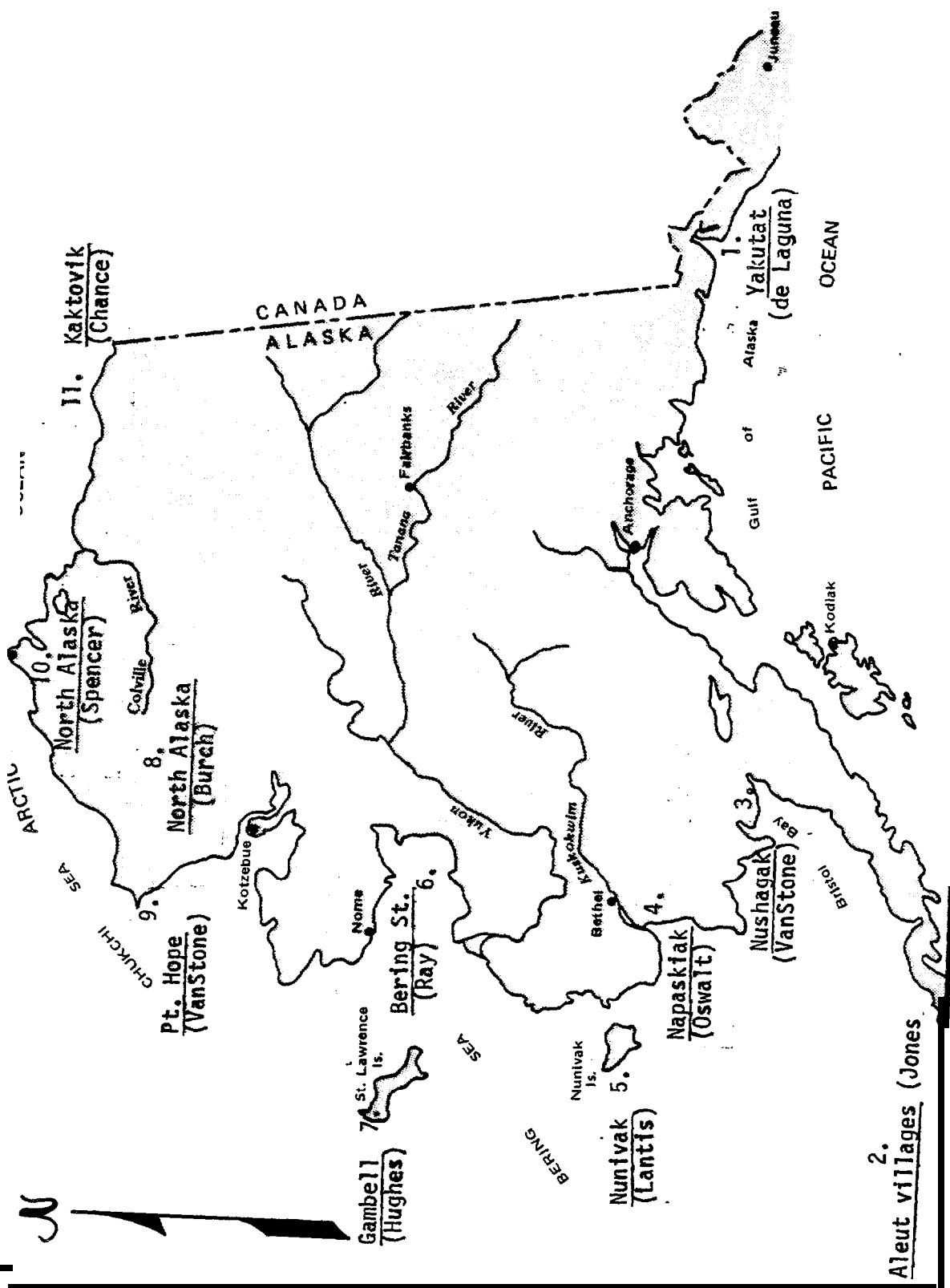
The Anthropological Literature

This analysis of published anthropological literature concerning coastal Native Alaska peoples is based primarily on eleven book-length studies selected for the comprehensive perspective they provide. These studies are divided into two major geographic areas: the first set of five begins with the Yakutat **Tlingit** (de **Laguna** 1972), continues westward up the coast to the Aleutian Islands (Jones 1976), the Bristol Bay area (VanStone 1967) and ends with a short run up the Kuskokwim (**Oswalt** 1963) and out to Nuni vak Island (**Lantis** 1946). The second set of studies begins with **Unalakleet** and continues north along the coast (Ray 1975), with a stop at St. Lawrence Island (Hughes 1960) and Pt. Hope (VanStone 1962), ending on the North **Slope** (Spencer 1959; Chance 1960; **Burch** 1975). (See Table 1 and Figure 1.) The combined input of these various works covers a period of thirty years of field work, includes three generations of anthropologists from many different university settings, and reflects a general shifting of emphasis from comprehensive **whole ethnographies** to more topically limited research.

The five southern studies include two **ethnographies**. One, by **Lantis** (1946), was accomplished in 1940-41 and remains the most thorough description of a traditional Alaskan Eskimo society available. The other is a more recent **ethnography** but with a similar effort to record a traditional society in great detail: de **Laguna's** three volumes on Yakutat, based on a study beginning in 1949, continuing during 1952, **1953**, and **1954**, and published in 1972. The first volume is the most relevant for the purposes of this study. Both **Lantis** and de **Laguna**

AUTHOR	DATE OF FIELDWORK	DATE PUBLISHED	VILLAGE AREA	ORIENTATION OF AUTHOR
<u>Southern Area</u>				
1. DeLaguna, F.	1949, 1952, 1953, 1954	1972	Yakutat	Ethnography
2. Jones, D.	1967, 1969	1976	2 Aleut Villages	Culture Change
3. VanStone, J.	1964-65	1967	Nushagak	Culture Change
4. Oswalt, W.	1955-56	1963	Napaskiak	Ethnography
5. Lantis, M.	1939-40, 1946, 1961, 1970	1946 1972	Nunivak	Ethnography
<u>Northern Area</u>				
6. Ray, D.	1961-	1975	Bering Strait	Ethnohistory
7. Hughes, C.	1954-55	1960	Gambell, St. Lawrence Is.	Sociocultural Change
8. Burch, E.	1960-70	1975	North Ak. Eskimo	Ethnohistory, Kin- ship & Sot. Change
9. VanStone, J.	1955-56	1962	Pt. Hope	Culture Change
10. Spencer, R.	1952-53	1959	North Ak. Eskimo (mainly Barrow)	Ethnography Human Ecology
11. Chance, N.	1958-62	1966	North Ak. Eskimo (mainly Kaktovik)	Psychocultural Change

Table 1 Major References



Map of Alaska

began their Alaskan studies in the 1930's and have continued their interest throughout the intervening years. **Lantis'** emphasis has been applied anthropology, and the ethnohistory of the **Aleut** and southern Eskimo. De **Laguna**, with a continuing interest in Indians, especially the **Tlingits** and **Ahtna**, has complemented her **ethnography** with archaeology.

A different generation of anthropologists and another geographic area are reflected in the single village study of Napaskiak by **Oswalt** and in the **ethnohistory** of the **Nushagak** by VanStone. These two conducted their field work in the 1950's and 1960's respectively. Yet another period of research is reflected in the work of Jones, whose report of two **Aleut** villages from research in the late " 960's, is of special value for this study. Her emphasis is on **Native/White** economic and social relationships.

These book-length studies of the southern portions of the **Alaska** coast reflect three generations of studies and four different emphases: **ethnography** (**Lantis** and de **Laguna**); **ethnohistory** (**VanStone**); social anthropology (**Oswalt**) and sociology with a strong emphasis in anthropology (Jones). From these various approaches, at three different time **periods**, we have descriptive data on four distinctive villages: Yakutat, two **Aleut** villages, identified by pseudonyms (**Iliaka** and New Harbor), and **Napaskiak**, a **Yupik** village on the lower Kuskokwim River.

The studies of northern Alaskan Eskimos **also** may be divided in terms of time, emphasis, and orientation of the anthropologists. The six selected books include three based on work accomplished in the 1950's:

Spencer, Hughes, and VanStone. These studies were undertaken in a sequence of three research years beginning in 1952 (Spencer); 1954 (Hughes) and 1955 (**VanStone**). Chance's work (1960), based primarily at Kaktovik, began in 1958 and continued periodically into the 1960's. **Burch** (1975) began his studies in 1960 and covered the decade. Ray (1975) began her studies in 1961.

Spencer's work (1959) is a basic **ethnography**. Two others are village studies; Hughes' (1960) is of **Gambell** and VanStone's (1962) is of Point Hope. Two major **ethnohistorical** studies are included. Ray addressed the period of 1650 to 1898 in the Bering Strait **area**, and **Burch** reconstructed changing family patterns over a period of 120 years, from 1850 to 1970. Ray concentrates on the area from **Unalakleet** north, including the Seward Peninsula. **Burch** worked with historical **accounts** and field notes for the area beginning in Kotzebue Sound and continuing to the Canadian border, with a concentration on kinship and social change in family patterns.

Other studies of the north reflect the increasing specialization of anthropological interests in the 1960's; for example, Hall's extensive report (1975) on **folktales** of the Noatak area, and Nelson's detailed report (1969) on subsistence techniques and knowledge at **Wainwright**.

A clear emphasis on change is reflected in the works of Hughes, VanStone, Chance and **Burch**. Baseline perspectives for change are provided in the **ethnography** by Spencer and the **ethnohistory** of Ray. The emphasis of Hughes and Chance was, respectively, psychological and psychocultural.

A shared interest in culture change and health is reflected in their works. The rigorous exercise of drawing insights from these eleven studies into causal linkages of change was complemented by **an** analysis of selected articles, often by the same authors. A gap in the anthropological literature appears in the absence of any extensive, contemporary study of an Alaskan coastal village since the 1960's. The shorter term problem-specific studies of Davis and Jones are exceptions. The absence of basic research in the traditional life of people on the North Pacific and Southwestern Alaska is a particular shortcoming because it is here that the greatest concentration of Native people live. These areas most urgently need baseline data for understanding **possible** directions of change during the last quarter of this century.

Another gap is of case studies which **will** allow for comparisons to be drawn. Only four publications devoted to comparative studies of Alaskan coastal people were found. They are: 1) Hughes' work at **Gambell** in 1954-55, which had a baseline for comparison of the 1940 summer field notes by the **Leightons**, 2) VanStone and **Oswalt**, who did their work in Pt. Hope and Napaskiak during the same period and published one article which compared the two villages with each other and with one in Canada, 3) VanStone, who includes one short and excellent chapter on a general comparison of the northern and southern Eskimo in his **ethnohistorical** book on the **Nushagak**, and 4) Jones' comparison of two quite different **Aleut** fishing communities.

In sum, this analysis is based on three major **ethnographies**, de Laguna on the **Tlingit**, **Lantis** on southwestern island Eskimo, and Spencer on

the North Alaskan Eskimo, and three major ethnohistorical reconstructions: VanStone on the **Nushagak** in Bristol Bay, Ray for the Bering Straits, and **Burch** for North Alaska. Village studies which emphasize the contemporary (at the time of the field work) include Jones, **Oswalt**, VanStone, Hughes, and Chance, but **only** three of these are classic village studies **in** the anthropological sense.

People are an integral part of the environment, a dynamic part of the ecosystem. An understanding is needed of how people and their cultures interact with the biomass of coastal regions, for people have special kinds of reciprocal and symbiotic relationships with the land and with the sea. This report concentrates on one segment of that complex system: the people in small Native communities in Alaska that intercept both the land and the sea.

Approximately 120 Native communities are located along Alaska's coast. They belong to ten Native Regions, and include many distinct ethnic groups, such as the Tsimshian, Haida and **Tlingit** Indians in southeast Alaska, **Chugach** of Prince William Sound, **Sugcestun** and Tanaina of Cook Inlet, **Koniag** of Kodiak, **Aleuts** on the Aleutian Chain, many **Yupik** groups (Southern Eskimo) from Bristol Bay to Bering Strait, and Inupiat (Northern Eskimo) from Bering Strait to the Canadian border. This report cannot address the significant and continuing differences between these many groups, but hopefully it will inform the reader of some of the variations, and, importantly, how much we have yet to learn.

II. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Introduction

How were people organized in relation **to** others, and how have those relationships changed?

This chapter addresses a series of topics, beginning first with the **fam-ily**, especially the meaning of kinship and changes in household **organiza-tion**, then expanding to another level to look at a whole village with special attention directed to two relatively new institutions: the church and school. Brief reference **to** traditional and changing social **stratifi-cation** reveals both the endurance of kinship and the increasing social complexity of small communities.

Secondly, a series of topics especially related to impact concerns is considered. They include homogeneity of the villages, historical and current patterns of migration, reference group identification, and social horizons. Examples of racial conflict and of satisfactions with tradeoffs of advances and losses found in the literature are discussed next. A review of the role of language and the other arts closes the chapter, which seeks an understanding of the special people-to-people relationships of **small** Native communities in Alaska.

Family Ties

KINSHIP

"It is difficult to convey to the non-Eskimo

reader of the late twentieth century an **under-**standing of just **how** important kinship solidarity was to the Northwest Alaskans. . . The overwhelming **majority** of Northwest Alaskan Eskimos found their greatest personal satisfaction in associating with their fellows, and, to an extent that is difficult for most of us to conceive, these relations were with kinsmen" (Burch 1975: 232).

"In virtually every respect the aboriginal family structure carries through into the present. However much the inroads of modern living have disrupted other aspects of the cultures of the north Alaskan **slope**, the system of mutual aid, of social control, and of reciprocal obligations inherent in the family remains paramount" (Spencer 1959: 62).

Since family and kin are consistently reported as being key to Native life (also Oswalt 1964: 57; VanStone 1962: 167), if **change occurs within** these relationships, we may assume important change has occurred. Therefore, an understanding of the traditional patterns and suggestions of current directions must be thoughtfully addressed.

Traditionally, a poor person was someone who lacked relatives (Spencer 1959: 157). To be rich in kin is still a dominant value in many villages. The rise and fall of kinship groups shapes personal well being, not just the rise and fall of the market, or the current availability of jobs. Kin is a criterion of success in the village.

Family ties extend far beyond village boundaries. They serve as the primary link which binds the networks of villages together and, nowadays, the villages to the urban areas. The ties of kinship, however, can become a

difficulty for a village entrepreneur attempting to establish a viable business, and they may also create difficulties for those moving to towns and cities. Modernization, jobs, and alternatives away from village life involve increased stratification within groups of **people** who consider themselves related to one another. However, the total **number** of kin does not necessarily shrink with success in the modern world; the traditional kin expectations may persist. What may be interpreted in the White world as mooching by "lazy relatives" often is expected generosity in the village world view. In the city, balancing cash, accommodations, and relatives is required of the modern urban Native.

A shifting of dependence from each other, i.e., relatives, to a dependence on cash appears to be part of modernization. High risk is involved in both arrangements, but if the **people** you depend on are your relatives, then some built-in protection against difficulty is available, especially if there are enough relatives. Dependence on cash is a qualitatively different kind of phenomena. It involves non-relatives, a fluctuating job market, and its own peculiar **seasonality**. Cash is peculiar and impersonal. Relatives are familiar and personal.

One of the many problems encountered in becoming "modern" may be the **gradual** lessening of the circle of relatives. A regular job can render a person selectively independent from some categories of relatives. However, **unless** the relatives also are employed and also able to release unemployed kin from their circle of dependence an awkward imbalance of anticipated reciprocity may exist. An employed person may not need as many kin, but may continue to be needed. And who knows, sometimes in the future, if the **cur-**

rent cash flow is interrupted those continuing relationships may again assume considerable importance.

The fierce individualism formerly thought to be necessarily concomitant with modernization is being questioned (McClelland 1977). Perhaps segmentation of the family need not occur among the modernizing Native. With current methods of communication, relatives can now be tied to each other in new ways. Radios, tape recorders, and telephones permit verbal contact; new airfields and snowmobiles, assisted by some affluence, enhance physical mobility. Combined, these factors allow for the frequent renewal of kinship ties (Burch 1975: 41-42).

CHANGE IN FAMILIES

Burch (1975) outlined three major factors which have influenced the change in families over time. One has been the adoption of Western values concerning divorce and remarriage. Although in the Western framework, divorce has become easier, for the Eskimo it has become more difficult. Secondly, with the reduction in infant and child mortality, there has been an increase in the average number of offspring each marital pair has had to raise; this has modified family structure, membership, content, and sentiment. Thirdly, other individuals, non-Eskimo and non-kin, have become increasingly important in connection with the cash and wage economy (Burch 1975: 301-302).

Household Changes

Oswalt noted that a great change in household composition has occurred in the

last 60 years as a result of **the** demise of the **Kashgee** (1963: 55). Previously the men and boys lived in the **Kashgee**, or men's house, and the women stayed together in separate **matrilocal** households. The modifications in family life associated with having **men, women,** and children in the same household most of the year has yet to **be** analyzed.

Old Age

Three studies mentioned change in the relationship of the elderly to their families. The aged used to be feared and have considerable power, but Van Stone reported that **at Pt. Hope** they were no longer feared, though **still** respected (1962: 93). This change may be related to the introduction of old age assistance payments, which to some extent free parents from dependence on their children. Now the **elders** may have the money and the children can be dependent on them (Oswalt 1963). A son may use cash from his aged parents, buy ammunition, and then supply them with food in return (Burch 1975: 139). Also as a direct result of old age assistance, more of the elderly can live independently, in separate households (Oswalt 1963).

Divorce

In traditional times, the termination of a marriage apparently was easy to accomplish; remarriage **also** often occurred. Lantis reported much separation, and a complex sequence of marriages on **Nunivak** (1946: 159; 1960). VanStone stated that divorce was easier in earlier times (1962: 90). **Hughes** noted that obtaining a divorce at **Gambell** was more difficult in the 1950's than **it** had been earlier (1960: 283, 369). Finally, Burch found a loss of

freedom to divorce (1975: 93). As a result, he indicated, new difficulties of holding a spouse responsible for inactivity appeared "since separation and remarriage were not as easy as they had been" (1975: 97). Church doctrine and legal requirements now inhibit marriage modifications which **formerly** were more easily accommodated.

Outmigration and Marriage

Some variation in the migration of men and women out of villages is suggested by the literature based on work in the 1950's. For example, VanStone (1962: 90) noted that men were marrying women from other villages, reflecting a general decline of village **endogamy**. Also women were going off to school and not returning. However, Chance (1966: 50) noted that men were going outside the village, and the women apparently staying home.

Milan in his 1968 demographic analysis of the population at **Wainwright**, found that of 124 **women**, 41 were over the age of 20. Ten (nearly one-fourth) had married White men, and left the village. Eight other women had married Eskimos outside the village, and five had remained in **Wainwright** to marry **Wainwright** men. In 1968, there were five unmarried women between the ages of 20 and 29. In contrast, there were 13 bachelors. At that time it appeared that the **Wainwright** women had a different kind of physical and social **mobility** than did men (Milan 1970: 31).

This suggests that **outmigration** may affect different segments of the population at different times. During a period when marrying a non-villager was desirable from the Native woman's point of view, some women chose that **op-**

tion, leaving potential partners at home in the village, sometimes creating a seriously skewed sex ratio. VanStone reported that five women from Pt. Hope had married White men (in the 1950's) (VanStone 1962: 110). The presence of many bachelors in one **small** community can create a serious social problem. Studies published in the 1970's (Bloom 1973) on the psychopathology of Eskimo women based on choice of White spouse and city life provide more recent data on certain of these factors.

Changes in marriage patterns appear to accompany an influx of non-village individuals. The pattern used to be **endogamous**, marriage within a **group**, Native to Native. Then, with the end of fighting and increased trading in the nineteenth century, an Eskimo might meet and marry an Eskimo from further **away**, beyond tribal boundaries. This pattern of extending marriage ties next came to include men of many different nationalities especially at centers such as Kodiak, St. Michael, **Nome** and Barrow. This intermarriage began earliest along the North Pacific. For example, in 1809, one of the first explorers of the Arctic Slope area, Kashevarov, was born of a Native mother and Russian father in Kodiak. Intermarriage between villagers and non-villagers was not continuous, however. For example, a study of Kaguyak villagers in the 1960's indicated much nineteenth century mixing but no recent intermarriages.

The factors affecting marriage and **outmigration** are many and are complexly interrelated. Some of the economic factors are discussed in Chapter **III**. The effects of programs introduced in the **late** 1960's and 1970's, for example the boarding home arrangements and Upward Bound programs for village high school students, are not, of course, reflected in the literature **ex-**

amined for this report. Other factors to which there was no reference, such as the option of Native men marrying non-Native women and the consequences of increased affluence and mobility on the opportunity to select mates and establish homes beyond the village, would also have to be considered in a complete analysis of changing marriage patterns.

Based on the analysis of the literature and professional judgment, the author suspects that Native Alaskans will continue to marry both Natives and Whites but that there may be increased social pressure for Natives not to marry Whites.

Two examples can be given. In one case a Native woman married 25 years to a White man told me she was getting **harrassed** by her old boy friends. "How come we weren't good enough for you?" they asked. Because of her marriage to a White man, she had felt a new kind of discrimination which had not surfaced before. The problems of social marginality often adhere to mixed marriages and the children of mixed marriages, but there is differential acceptance of those marriages in social groups.

A second example was reflected in a kinship chart a Native student prepared in 1974. In diagraming her many aunts' several marriages, the student discovered that in recent years there was a shift away from marrying White men to marrying Native men in subsequent marriages. Whether or not this is an isolated example is not known.

If Native women leave their White husbands and return to the village, this could possibly mitigate, at least partially, one of the endemic problems of

small societies: the imbalance of the sex ratio. At least there would be some women present, though not necessarily available. However, new problems might arise if the returning women are more educated than their husbands and obtain the better, more steady jobs (Worl 1978: 149-152).

'Social ' Strati fication

The arrangement of people in a settlement was significantly different among the coastal Eskimos than among the coastal Indians. For example, the **Tlingits** had a complex ranked clan system and lived in large clan houses. Traditionally, for the **Tlingit**, the **clan** came first, and the community second. Members of the **clan**, or sib shared:

"a **common name**, body of historical and mythological traditions, possession of territories for hunting, fishing, and berrying, house sites and houses **in the village**, and a treasure of nonmaterial rights, together **with** their material or symbolic representations" (de **Laguna** 1972: 451).

These were strong, **matrilineal** clans with considerable power.

The St. Lawrence Island Eskimo had a **patrilineal** clan system which was not as complex, but which wielded considerable influence. **When** a woman married she lost her patrician affiliation and joined that of her **husband's**. For **Tlingits**, clan membership was not lost through marriage.

Lantis reports that the Eskimos on Nuni vak had no stratification (1946: 246), but later noted that the traditional system of distributing goods "did tend to range people from leading families to poor families," and she notes that inequity and competition were present traditionally (1972: 45).

Further, she reports that some lineages had higher status and more influence than others (1972: 56-57). **Burch** (1975: 209) also notes that social stratification based on **wealth** was evident in the coastal areas of North Alaska.

The addition of new elements in a village, such as the institutions required by **ANCSA** with their associated jobs, boards and committees, now provide new avenues for finer lines of **social** stratification to be drawn. Nothing in the literature was found which specifically addressed these kinds of recent **changes**, however.

Church and Change

The significance of the church in many' small villages is well documented. For example, the Russian Orthodox church at **Napaskiak** is reported to be "the most complex community organization (**Oswalt** 1963: 10). At **Gambell**, the Presbyterian church "serves as an organizing center for much of the village," and it has "established itself firmly in the power and cultural structure of the village" (Hughes 1960: 328, 330). At Pt. Hope the Episcopal church "is definitely a working part of the village and fully integrated into community life in a variety of ways" (VanStone 1962: 156).

When there is a single church in a village it can be "an important factor in creating solidarity and serves as a unifying force in the village" (Van Stone 1962: 157). However, when more than one church exists, or tries to exist in small villages, a situation of intense conflict can result. This section addresses the historical depth of church relationships in a few communities in Alaska, their role in change, and the implication this may hold

as a social indicator in the future.

Russian Orthodoxy was established early in the nineteenth century **along** the North Pacific from the Aleutians to **Sitka**. By **1818** Russian priests were **establishing** chapels **in** the **Nushagak** area, and **later** up the Kuskokwim and part of the Yukon. By the time of the transfer in 1867, a total of 96 churches had been established. Three of today's Native Regions are predominantly Russian Orthodox: The **Aleut, Koniag** and **Chugach**.

A second major period of mission activity began with Presbyterian work in **Wrangell** in 1876, and moved **up** the coast to Sitka in **1877**, to Haines in **1880**, and **Hoonah** in **1881**. Then, beginning in 1884 came a burst of mission activity. (See Table 2.) As a result, Native people became different from each other on new characteristics, compounding the already complex ethnic differences which existed. **For** example, the **Tlingit** at Yakutat became a different kind of **Tlingit** partly because, in contrast to the Presbyterian **Tlingit** to the south, the Swedish Covenant church came to their village in 1887.

Further north, in 1884 the **Moravian** mission began at Bethel, and, subsequently, residents in a number of Kuskokwim and Bristol Bay villages began to differ in religious beliefs from their relatives **in Russian** Orthodox communities (**Oswalt** 1963). The Episcopalians established a mission at Anvik on the Yukon in 1887, the same year the Swedish Covenant moved into **Unalakleet**. The Catholics began their work in 1888 at Holy Cross and continued their work on down the Lower Yukon, and along the coast to Nelson Island. Next, new missions and schools spread north in **1890**: Congregational to **Wales**, Anglican to Pt. Hope and Presbyterian to **Wainwright** and Barrow. In 1897 the

DATE	AREA	CHURCH
1760' s	Al euti an I sl and s	Russi an Orthodox
1794	Kodi ak I sl and	Russi an Orthodox
1799	Sitka	Russi an Orthodox
1818	Nushagak	Russi an Orthodox
1876	Wrangell	Presbyteri an
1877	Sitka	Presbyteri an
1880	Haines	Presbyteri an
1881	Hoonah	Presbyteri an
1887	Yakutat	Swedi sh Covenant
1886	Carmel, Nushagak	Moravian
1884	Bethel	Moravian
1887	Unalakleet	Swedi sh Covenant
1887	Anvi k	Epi scopal
1887	Hol y Cross	Cathol i c
1888	Wales	Congregati onal
1890	Pt. Hope	Angl i can
1890	Wainwright	Presbyteri an
1890	Barrow	Presbyteri an
1896	Kodi ak	Bapti st
1897	Kotzebue	Fri ends
1905	Napaskiak	Russi an Orthodox
1908	Sel awi k	Fri ends
1930	Aleknagik	Seventh Day Adventi st

Table 2 Early Mi ssi ons

Source: Compiled by the author.

Friends Society took the yet unclaimed area at Kotzebue. In the meantime, the Baptists were beginning a program in the Russian Orthodox area of Kodiak.

The early success of the Russian Orthodox church might be partly reflected in the instructions given to their priests to "learn the language, don't interfere with subsistence activities and don't meddle" (VanStone 1967: 31-33). In other areas, the churches were surprisingly successful even when the missionaries did not learn the language and did interfere. This may be explained in part by the apparent attraction of Christianity, by the personalities of some of the earlier mission workers, and by traditional fear of shamans. Ray reports that the Eskimos accepted Christianity for many reasons, "among them, a new found freedom from both fear in the present and after death" (1975: 250). The new religion offered them "a peaceful life in eternity based on how they lived rather than on how they died" (Ray 1975: 251). An additional explanation is offered by VanStone who noted the strength of the Church at Pt. Hope:

"In the village, ideal behavior patterns have always involved cooperation, helpfulness **loyalty** and the **like**, and the teaching of the Church tends to reinforce these" (VanStone 1962: 157).

An example of the church as an integral part of a village is reflected in **Oswalt's** account of the Russian Orthodox church at **Napaskiak**. There, the church was the most complex community organization, and it served many functions. The Brotherhood, organized in **1931**, provided services such as mutual aid and burials, and the Sisterhood, formed in 1952, provided assistance to families by directing teenage **girls** to help. However, when the Alaska Department of Welfare began to provide services, these village voluntary **as-**

sociations declined in significance, a process which appears to be continuing in some areas as more and more external programs are introduced and become part of the new developing village culture. Church-related, voluntary associations were also reported for **Gambell** where they had a women's society, a youth organization, an elder's board and deacons (Hughes 1960: 324). Pt. Hope too had societies for women, youth, lay readers, and a church council.

The church provided new avenues for leadership (Chance 1966: 61). Sometimes it provided a mechanism for the resolution of conflict; at **Gambell** the Church served as a liaison, arbitrating between the military and the village. However, the church sometimes became a focal point of factions (**Lantis** 1972). The difficulties created by a second church also have been reported. For example:

"Establishing a second church in these villages either creates or more frequently crystallizes splits between different segments of the population in such a way as to reduce the degree of homogeneity" (**Chance** 1966: 56).

Perhaps former kin-based factions within a village can be replaced by church-based factions. **Burch** noted that: "by 1970, (the two or more) churches had become the most divisive force in practically every village in Northwest Alaska" (**Burch** 1975: 286). Hughes also reported that the isolated few converts of Seventh Day Adventist missionary activities had led them to be "inheritors of **White** man's religious factionalism" (Hughes 1960: 332).

These kinds of religious tensions may extend between villages and from the villages to the towns, as suggested by the fact that the Episcopalians at

Pt. Hope allowed both Eskimo and American dancing, but the Friends Society at Kotzebue disapproved of both. The Friends were also against smoking, card playing and films. (" 'They don't have any fun anymore' ", VanStone 1962: 155). The Episcopalian and Catholic position allowed and sometimes encouraged Native dances, in contrast to the Friends and **Moravians** who did not. **The** implications of these moral positions for the continuity of portions of the former culture (or their demise) has yet to be explored.

In sum, the church as an established institution in some Alaskan villages provides a social center, an opportunity for leadership development, new integrative ties within the **village** and new kinds of ties to other **communities** and the **larger** world. It also is sometimes the source of intense **internal** conflict. In contrast to small rural **Western** communities where the church is one of many **social** institutions of a **town**, the church in village Alaska is sometimes the only integrating institution (Davis 1970). **It may** be the source of resistance to externally induced change, and as such may serve as a conservative indicator of change. Or, depending on the doctrine and leadership, the local **village** church may **be** the instigator of change. In any case, many village people feel very strongly about their church. **It** is an important part of their history and their **identity**, and it is, therefore, a key social indicator.

Schools and Teachers

Like missions, schools are institutions of change, and teachers are agents of change. Their role in the modification of village life is an important one. Alaskan school systems have undergone extensive reorganization in the

last decade. These changes have resulted from legislative action and judicial review. The following discussion therefore must be seen as an historical introduction to school-related changes since the more recent alterations have occurred in the post-1970 period and were not reflected in the literature reviewed for this report.

Early schools were established in the nineteenth century in several key Russian settlements in the Aleutians and **Kodiak**, but they were directed first to the education of the few Russian children and **creoles**. In the **Nushagak** area, a Russian school had an early start, in **1848**, but its influence is not documented. Then in 1888, the **Moravians** began a school, followed by a hiatus of school development until about 1920 when **Dillingham's** school opened. Next, in 1930, the Seventh Day Adventists began a school at **Aleknagik**. By 1933 Ekwok had a school, but many schools in the Bristol Bay area had a relatively late beginning. For example: **Koliganak**, 1954; New Stuyahok, 1954; and Portgace Creek, 1963. Concerning this area of southwestern Alaska, Van Stone reports:

"a vast majority of the people of the region were largely untouched by any kind of education until after the end of the Second World War. This contrasts markedly with coastal regions, and even some interior areas, further to the north" (VanStone 1967: 66).

Sometimes the **schools** were established in new areas, and the Native people gathered around and settled. In other places, the **schools** came to the people. New permanency of settlements resulted.

Education for Native Alaskans has come from a variety of sources. From the

beginning there were church-sponsored mission schools. Federal efforts included services from the Bureau of Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. After statehood, the state began to take over the BIA schools in a State Operated School system, and Boroughs provided schools once they were established. The new local school districts were created as part of the legislative dissolution of the state-operated system. Some mission and BIA schools still remain.

The role of industrial schools should someday be explored as sources of increased technical knowledge in villages. For example, Kanakanak was open from 1924 to 1932; Eklutna Vocational School operated between 1924 and 1946; Mt. Edgecumbe has existed from 1946 to the present; and the Seward Skill Center has functioned in recent years.

The role of the school as an institution and as a social center could be considered as similar to that of the church. For example, the school at Gambell was

"a real community center for recreation, public meetings, and laundry and health facilities, and in these functions, as well as in its central purpose of educating the young, village sentiments strongly supported it" (Hughes 1960: 316).

The school at that time contributed to community solidarity by serving as a place for parties, movies, dances, and by providing the location of council meetings. Sometimes these functions were shared with the mission.

Perhaps more important than schools as institutions of change are the teachers as agents of change. Village teachers often filled several roles, in

addition to classroom instructors. For example, in the three 1952-55 village studies (Napaskiak, Pt. Hope and Gambell) the teacher provided the following services: health, radio communication, control of school building for village functions, and welfare agent. In addition, in Napaskiak and Gambell, the teacher also served as postmistress, ordered the movies, was in charge of civil defense and provided services in correspondence and social security. As Oswalt reported, the villagers "came to expect the teachers to provide all these services" (1963: 75).

Among the changes since the 1950's is the shift of these roles to Native individuals in the community. The roles have become formalized as health aide, welfare aide, legal adviser, etc. Political control, sometimes formerly held by teachers, is being taken by village councils and village corporations. Under the new state laws, local school boards have been vested with control of the village schools. As a result, some teachers with many years in rural Alaska see their influence being increasingly limited.

The consequences of these shifts probably are differentially felt. For example, in the Aleutians, Jones reports that the school administration and teachers were relatively powerless in one community which had few White students. However, in another village where the Whites represented 36 percent of the school population, the "school administration enjoy strong support from the White community" (Jones 1976: 51).

The schools and the teachers enjoyed considerable power in some villages in the past. The relationship between the schools and the villages is now changing; there are numerous causes for these changes. But because of its

importance in the social and cultural context of the village, the school remains a key social indicator.

Homogeneity of Local Populations

The homogeneity of populations can be viewed from two perspectives: biological, or genetic, and cultural, or social similarities.

Significant genetic mixing between Natives and non-Natives began with the Russians in a few locations in the Aleutians and North Pacific from about the 1760's on. By 1799, there were 225 Russian men in Russian America; the maximum reached 823 in 1839 (Fedorova 1975: 8). The creoles, mixed bloods resulting from marriages of Russian men with Native women, were given special status during Russian days. By 1831 there were about 300; by 1863, a reported 1,989 (the highest figure) and by 1867, about 1,500 creoles were living in the colonies (Fedorova 1975: 20). As a result of this early mixing, many Russian names appear throughout those areas occupied by the Russians in the first half of the nineteenth century.

However, the acceptance of mixed bloods may have varied by area. Ray found that there were few adults of mixed blood even as late as the 1860's in the Bering Strait area, and she suggests it was possible that infants of Eskimo-White unions were killed. They were without the sanction of the special status given the creoles to the south (Ray 1975).

The difficulties of mixed marriages and of mixed bloods in the Bering Sea area is reflected in a book written by a descendant, a third generation

Russian mixed blood. Emily Ivanoff Brown, "Ticasuk," (1974) wrote of her family at **Unalakleet**, including a narrative which is partly a reflection of the **Russianization** of an Eskimo family, or alternatively the **Eskimoization** of a Russian.

In aboriginal times there were clusters of villages with networks of **social** ties which linked them together. Some mixing, such as intermarriage, occurred between these villages. Mixing outside of the clusters with other groups also occurred periodically during times of expansion of territories, raids and wars. An excellent statement on recent prehistoric mixing of Gulf Coast tribes is available in de Laguna's work (1972). Where these movements were relatively recent, some vestigial hostility may yet exist. For example, de **Laguna** reports that Controller Bay was claimed by both **the Chugach** and the **Tlingit** Indians, and was disputed by both sides (1972: 102). Where these past conflicts are joined with new ones, such as land claims disputes under ANCSA, a complex situation may result.

These encounters with other groups were not always hostile. Evidence is beginning to appear that more often than not they were peaceful. When undertaken for the purposes of trade, the contacts were to the mutual benefit of all. What warfare was going on was put to a stop by the Russian traders when they arrived with new goods.

The sequence of contacts villagers have had with outsiders may be reflected in both the gene mix and culture today. Some areas have had greater **con-**tact over more time than others. For example, at **Yakutat** trade was managed by young Swedes, the **Carlson** brothers and the Andersen brothers, Nils and

Olaf (de Laguna 1972: 188). By 1911, **Yakutat** had two resident White men, Gee, a prospector, and Beasley, the storekeeper (de Laguna 1972). A wide range of people paraded through Yakutat, although genetic mixing did not always occur. For example:

"Other nationalities known to the Yakutat people because of their visits or residence in the area were Swedish (missionary), German (**prospectors**, traders, etc.), Italian (Alpinists), Japanese (cannery workers, seamen, photographers), and Filipino and Chinese (cannery workers). . . . A number of **American**, foreign **Whites**, and Orientals have married Native women" (de Laguna 1972: 217).

In the Aleutians, in addition to **the early** Russian mix, another wave of influence came with the cod fisheries during World War I; these contacts continued into the 1930's. European fishermen, primarily Scandinavian, sometimes jumped ship and married **Aleut** women, becoming members of the villages (Jones 1976: 24). At New Harbor, with the establishment of a **salmon** cannery in 1911, there occurred an **early** mix with Scandinavians. As a result about half the population in this village appear **White** (Jones 1976: 24). Jones explains that Scandinavians were similar to **Aleuts** in that they were accustomed to harsh climates, seasonal work and hearty drinking. **They**, too, **valued skill**, daring, self-sufficiency and independence. Through the Scandinavians the Native people in New Harbor learned new **skills** in commercial fishing and boat construction.

In contrast, the **Aleut** village, **Iliaka**, experienced a different kind of boom from the prospectors who stopped enroute to Nome during the **Gold** Rush. At that time the village had a hotel, dance hall, and 12 saloons, and for a few years jobs were abundant (Jones 1976: 26). Unfortunately, **like** so many

events of the past, the effects of the Gold **Rush**, and subsequent decline in activity, on this village and its Native residents was not reported. **However**, we may venture what appears **to** be an obvious conclusion that the long range impact of miners passing through **Iliaka** for a few years was **considerably** less than the long range impact of European fishermen who chose to marry and stay.

In the Nushagak area, the first contact with different peoples, other than **Russian**, occurred when the canneries were first established. Although few Eskimos participated in the work, they did gather at the canneries during the summer where they met the **Filipino**, Mexican and Chinese workers (Van Stone 1967: 63).

In 1954 **Oswalt** found only five White, or part **White**, persons living in **Napa-skiak** and **Oscarville** across the river. The original White influence was through the trader, a pattern which occurred elsewhere and needs yet to be more thoroughly documented. For example, in 1925, when the anthropologist **Hrdlička** traveled down the Yukon, he met and visited with residents of many nationalities: a Finn at Nenana, an Italian at Koyukuk, a Czech at Old Nulato, a German at Kaltag, a Jewish mail carrier at **Bonasila**, a Swede sailor-painter-musician near Paimute, a German near Russian Mission, and a Dane near **Kotlik** (**Hrdlička** 1930: 43, 52, 54, 55, 66, 69, 80).

Along the Seward Peninsula, yet another influence was experienced with the arrival of 113 Laplanders, Finlanders and Norwegians in 1898. In all, 63 herders were brought over to tend only 2,062 reindeer. Most of the herders either went home or to the gold fields (Ray 1975: 238). **Kjellman**, a native

of Sweden, was the reindeer superintendent at Teller; and **Brevig**, a native of Norway, was a missionary and teacher there in 1894 (Ray 1975: 224).

Further north, Caucasian admixture from the whalers has been noted (Spencer 1959: 379; Ray 1975: 245). Milan's studies of **Wainwright** indicated that in 1968 there were 67 hybrids in a population of 308. This hybridization occurred through marriage with whalers before 1900, and included Old Americans, Portuguese and a Kanaka from the South Seas (Milan 1970: 28).

Thus it appears that Native Alaskans in a number of different locations have had both periodic and **long** term contact with many different nationalities, perhaps setting the scene for recent international developments of the Native Regional Corporations. **As** one result of many generations of observing **people** of other cultures, including representatives of the Western world and other "foreigners," many Natives may be especially skilled in understanding the cultural differences encountered on international ventures.

Patterns of Migration

Closely related to the heterogeneity of local populations are the patterns of migration. A distinction between the migration of groups and the migration of individuals is required, however. VanStone (1967) found in the reconstruction of movements to the **Nushagak** River area evidence of a mixing of people from the **Kuskokwim** and the coast, which probably occurred in the prehistoric period through the nineteenth century. This mixing was further accentuated by the epidemics during the early twentieth century, which, "further obliterated the aboriginal distinction between coastal and **inland**

peoples" (1967: 121).

Ray's work on the Bering Strait area also describes the migration patterns of traditional groups. In the 1840's the Indians were apparently moving to the Upper **Unalakleet** River, adopting Eskimo customs (Ray 1975: 171). At the same time, Eskimos were moving up the Kuskokwim absorbing some Indians (**Oswalt** 1967). In the Aleutians the migration patterns were from many settlements to a few villages. Jones (1973) traces the change from several hundred villages at the time of Russian contact to about a dozen in 1970.

The reasons for group migration are many and varied. Trading was clearly one **motivating** factor in traditional times. Seasonal migration, for example to fish camps, has long been established (Davis 1976). Village relocation resulting from shifts in the availability of subsistence resources is well documented. Periods of forced migration, such as those experienced by the **Aleuts** during the Russian period and again during the Second **World War**, have also occurred.

In traditional times, many villages were well situated, and were large. Villages of 400 were not unknown. Wales and Pt. Hope for example were still large when the first written census of their population was taken, which was probably after epidemics had already decimated the population. The region of the North Pacific was particularly rich in resources and relatively dense with people.

In a recent report, **Alonzo** and Rust (1976) contend that

"The process of village consolidation can be

expected to continue. . . . We expect a **general** redistribution of population from the smallest villages -- under **100**, for example -- to ones now in the 300 to 500 range, and to the regional centers. In the smallest size **class**, many villages can be expected to decline or to be abandoned in the next decade" (1976: 3).

Their conclusions about the abandonment of villages is based on sites which are no longer **listed** on the census roster. They indicate a total of 48 sites disappeared between 1950 and 1970. On the other hand, 35 new sites were established in this period, a time when many forces were discouraging the very existence of villages.

Some of the new villages of the twentieth century are at the location of developments such as **stores**, missions and canneries, but if an actual count were to be made of extant villages of Alaska we would find that most of them are located on traditional sites, **and** that the stores, missions and canneries came to them. Where the sites for villages are "new," they were, in the past, summer camps for winter villages. The best sites in Alaska were explored and habited by the aboriginal **people**. When new immigrants arrived they often settled on those very sites for the same reasons that Natives did: they were good locations. For example, **Ketchikan, Sitka, Wrangell**, Juneau, Cordova, Anchorage, Kotzebue and Barrow are among the present cities and towns known to be located on Native sites.

The fact that new sites were established at **all** during the **last 20 years** is a phenomenon not to be ignored. The coast has experienced the rise and **fall** and the spatial movement of peoples for **millenia**. What might happen next will **be** yet more new communities arising around **oil** and gas developments.

Even if exploration does not lead to production, a few of the new people probably will remain after exploration, after a site is technically closed. People stayed on after whaling, the gold rush, **World** War II and the Pipeline. We can expect some will stay on after oil and gas exploration. New "**temporary**" camps could become permanent, new villages.

The migration of individuals has been discussed previously under kinship (cf. **supra** pp. 18 ff). One important factor to remember when considering individual movement is the fact that migration out of a village now means something quite different than it did ten or twenty years ago. Just as the options to go are greater now, so are the options to return. "Leaving the village" does not have the implication of ultimatum which used to accompany departure. The extensive networks of ties back to the village, and the methods to maintain and enhance those connections need to be considered. Also, new Native entrepreneurs are appearing in the more **viable** villages (Kwikpagmiut 1977).

Reference Group Identification

With whom do village people affiliate? Under what circumstances? **And**, how are those reference groups changing?

Reference group concepts began with **Hyman's** research in the early 1940's and were further developed by sociologists and social-psychologists writing during the 1950's and 1960's. **Berreman** employed them in his analysis of **Aleut** value systems during his work in 1952 and 1962.

A "reference group" exists "when a person's attitudes and behavior are influenced by a set of norms which he assumes are held by others" (Berreman 1964:232). In addition, a person belongs to a "membership group" which may or may not be the same as his "reference group." That is, a person may belong to a Native group, but be influenced by the values and behavior of a White group. In this case, the White group is his reference group, but his membership group remains Native.

Reference group alienation was identified by Berreman in Aleut behavior when the villagers appeared to want to be respected by the Whites, but were at the same time "heavily committed to their membership group of modern, White-oriented Aleuts, as distinct from White men" (Berreman 1964:233). He found Natives in one village behaved quite differently in social circumstances which included Whites, than in those including only Aleuts. Some individuals repudiated their Native "membership group" and attempted to join their White "reference group." If these mobility aspirations of wanting to move from one group to another are not realized, then the person may experience acute stress (Berreman 1964:246). This kind of ambivalence and alienation is likely to occur in situations of intense culture contact.

The reference group concept was also used by Hughes (1960), Chance (1966), and Lantis (1972). All three were addressing conditions as they found them in the 1950's and 1960's. At Gambell, Hughes found a change in reference group between 1940, when the Leightons did their work, to 1954 when he was there. He reports:

"The mainland has changed. . . from being a

contributing, utilitarian culture to being the dominant reference culture for the **Gambell** people (Hughes 1960:346).

The profile of the White world was envisioned as including:

“power, material abundance, skill, **cleverness**, health, cleanliness, long life, enjoyment, excitement, individual freedom, and above **all**, stability and security” (Hughes 1960:345).

Hughes noted that this “bright new world” perspective of the Mainland way of life was similar to the “revolution of rising expectations and motivations” often held by immigrants to the United States. This was a shift in sentiments, a “change in men’s minds, as much as - or much more than - a change in their ‘objective’ conditions of life” (Hughes **1960:346**). A set of aspirations may be dysfunctional if the group one wants to join is a closed social system. When access to the good things one wants simply is not available, considerable stress is generated.

In a discussion of positive reference group affiliation, Hughes (**1960:354**) noted the sense of “**universal** brotherhood” proclaimed by the church and presented by the **White** men to the **Gambell** Eskimos. The Eskimos envisioned themselves as American citizens and celebrated the national holidays, which strengthened their sense of being valuable citizens. Their “**Americanness**” was especially highlighted during the post-war ideological conflict with the Soviet Union, when they were instructed to stay away from their Russian Siberian relatives, just 38 miles away.

Chance also addresses the question of reference group identification. He

notes that a temporary compliance is a different phenomena than an actual identity change. However, Chance goes further in anticipating a continuing direction of Eskimo identity change. He states the Eskimo "tend to identify themselves more and more with Western society and **culture**, discarding in the process much of their ethnic **heritage**" (Chance 1966:80). And, he states: "The Eskimo of today is living in two worlds and he is not **always** sure which of the two he prefers" (1966:18).

Yet this anticipated change did not occur, as clearly reflected in the current Eskimo identity validation on the North Slope. However, in the early 1960's, there may have been more ambivalence, especially in the area which Chance visited and based most of his field work. Now, in **1978**, an alternative explanation for his statements about identity and "two worlds" **could** be that **it was always** one world with increasingly diverse parts, with wider range of alternatives available.

Under such an alternative explanation, the events of the 1960's that culminated with the **Alaska** Native Claims Settlement Act can be seen as assisting individuals in a "reference group" dilemma. That is, in the 1970's being Native is clearly **valued** in new and visible **ways**. That clarification may assist some persons from dissipating efforts at attempting to be a part of a valuation group which is separate from one's membership group. The Native reference group is now more congruent with the Native membership group.

Reference group analysis helped **Lantis** (1972) assess the differences between factions on Nunivak Island. The reference group for the church **faction** was the evangelistic parent church, and Whites. Another faction, the

Project group, had personal models which were more secular and based on **experiences** in school, military, canneries and hospitals, and personal **referents** including ships' **crews**, plane crews and visitors. Though there were differences between the degree of identifying with Whites, or opposing them, this group did share a desire for the material things of the **White** man's world. But they were taking different paths of **socio-cultural** adaptation to attain them (Lantis 1972:73).

However, not all villagers experienced ambivalence vis a vis the White world. VanStone found that in 1954, the "Pt. Hope people feel very strongly about their village" (1962:110) and "the villagers are proud that they inhabit one of the best hunting locations on the Arctic coast" (1962:161). He found few individuals who were caught in a "cultural bind."

The basic reference group for village people probably was always other village people, especially those in the same village. However, in some areas, there was a period when non-Natives provided a **different**, and sometimes dominant, reference point. What appears to be happening in Alaska today is a resolution of former reference group alienation which occurred for some individuals. That is, the reference group and the membership group is becoming the same group, whereas in the past, for some, a source of stress derived from being Native, but valuing greatly that which was White.

"Social Horizons"

Related to reference group identification and patterns of migration is the concept of social horizons, which for the purpose of this analysis means

the connections between communities and identification with the outside world. Only limited information was found in the literature, but the implications bear brief **discussion**. For example, the people in **Napaskiak** in 1954-55, traveled **to** various villages for subsistence purposes, **church meetings** and to see relatives. They went to the coast for fish camps and seal hunting, and up as far as Aniak for moose hunting, visiting relatives along the way (**Oswalt** 1963). The people of Pt. Hope also traveled to visit, south to Kotzebue and sometimes beyond. Although based primarily on census data changes, **Alonzo** and Rust in their more recent study note an increasing "movement of people back and forth between village and city" (1976:54).

In general, the traditional patterns of travel along the coasts and connecting interior waterways have increased in **extent, frequency**, means and cost. Traditionally there was the ritual **fall** hunt up river, or whaling season up the coast; nowadays other activities such as hospital visits, board meetings, National Guard encampments, educational training programs, and shopping tours have led to more people traveling more often to a greater variety of places for broader reasons. **In** addition to boats and dog **sleds, snowmobile**, aircraft, and cars provide new modes for travel. As long as cash is available, extensive travel between villages, and especially between **villages** and towns is **likely** to continue. Neighborly visits between extended kin continue and are important social behaviors. Only now the "neighborhood" has expanded and ties **people** not just from village to village but to town and beyond. If jobs and other sources of cash decline, this is an activity which **would** probably likewise decrease.

All the villages along the coasts and rivers of Alaska have connections to

a specific regional town, a town or city which, in most cases, has **devel-**
oped during this century on former Native sites. For instance, from south
to north: Juneau, Cordova, Kodiak, Anchorage, **Dillingham**, Bethel, **Nome**,
Kotzebue and Barrow. The role the regional towns play in the economic and
social life of the associated villages **will** probably continue. However, the
degree and extent of the ties between the villages and the regional town vary.
The variables include the age, size, history, or "roots" of the village, prox-
imity to the **town**, and availability of transportation services.

It would seem that the new villages and new towns developing in recent years
around externally introduced industry and services may be more amenable to
positive response **to** new industry, than old, traditional villages. However,
if the new towns which are already thriving become the centers for even fur-
ther development, then the distance between them and the surrounding villages
will be further accentuated. The village relatives may then seem more poor.

Like so many of the areas discussed in this **paper**, **changes** in social **hori-**
zons probably have a differential effect by area, village and individual.
Since the **1970's** a number of international ties have appeared with Alaskans.
The **Koniag** Regional Corporation has dealt with the Arabs, **Sealaska** and **Cal-**
ista with the Japanese. On the North Slope, contacts have been made with
Greenland and Canada in a pan-Arctic reaching out. But we need to know what
influence these activities are having on the people in the villages. There
is little doubt that trips to Tokyo, Washington, D.C., and London have some
influence on those who travel; the degree to which persons and households
in the villages are affected by these events is unknown.

Racial Conflict

Only occasionally is reference made in the anthropological literature to incidence of racial conflict. Rather, the emphasis is on the **intra-village** relationships of a particular group, with rare comment **about inter-racial** experiences. An unusual and valuable exception is found in the **section on interethnic** relations in a recent publication of the Socioeconomic Studies Program (World Associates 1978: 119-159).

Another exception Hughes (1960) discussed the positive experience the **Gambell people** had with the **Civil Aeronautics Administration** and, **in contrast**, the conflict which developed with personnel at a subsequent military installation. Chance (1966) indicated positive experiences between Whites and Eskimos at the DEW line site at Kaktovik. VanStone (1962) reports Pt. Hoppers had not yet experienced negative attitudes of Whites.

In contrast, the literature concerning the **Aleuts** reflects greater **racial** conflict, as indicated in **Berremans**' article (1964) on reference group alienation and, **especially**, in the work of Jones (1972, 1973, 1976). Her report entitled "Race Relations in an **Alaska Native Village**" stands **alone** as an **article** which addresses the **intravillage** prejudice in a biracial, cannery-based **community**. In 1971, 316 residents were **Aleuts** and 68, White, but the town was dominated politically and economically by the White contingent. Although most **Whites** were clearly racist in their attitude and behavior, Jones reported a **slight** indication that the higher the education **level**, the **lower** the **level** of prejudice (1973: 181). However:

"Differences in racial attitudes based on

education may **be only rhetorical**, reflecting the better-educated **person's** greater **skill** in rationalization and verbal disguise" (Jones **1973:181**).

In her description and analysis, Jones noted the residential, economic and social segregation which occurs. Even the few inter-racial friendships appeared marred by insults. In conclusion, she states:

"By socializing Aleuts in denigrating and humiliating **ways**, by assigning them to a subservient status, and by opposing their assertiveness, whites succeeded in undermining **Aleut** confidence and self-esteem sufficiently to prevent them from achieving the standards whites set for them, and most importantly, to exclude them as serious competitors for economic, political and social status **rewards**" (Jones **1973:189**).

Among her examples was the way a cannery superintendent blocked **Aleut** interests in opening a warehouse, a bakery or a store by threats to withhold water and power, and by refusal to sell oil to an enterprising **Aleut** couple.

In another article, Jones (1972) addressed the important question of **social** adaptations of Whites who come to live in Alaskan Native villages. The **set-**ting is a cannery-run town where the Washington-based company has a monopoly on the fisheries. The company also owns most of the land and housing in the village, and owns and operates the utility services, theater, market and liquor store. Most of the Whites in the village are attracted there by the higher salaries available. increase in status, lower cost of living (**paid** travel expenses, low rent in company housing and free utilities) and **most** consider their stay to be limited.

The three main areas **of** stress experienced by the Whites are 1) the absence **of** a road system, 2) the absence of shopping facilities and accustomed commercial entertainment and 3) the "cabin fever syndrome" (Jones 1972:206). Although the Whites experience an intense need for friendship, they seem unable to develop friendship **either with** the few other **Whites** or **with** the far more numerous **Aleuts**. Concerning the **Aleuts**, Jones found that:

"Most whites in Rocky Bay perceive **Aleuts** as drunkards, clannish, dirty, unambitious, **im-**provident, non-assertive, stubborn, promiscuous, irresponsible and lacking in respect for law and property" (Jones 1972:210).

Although the Whites are similar to **each** other in religion, origin, class, racial **attitudes**, life styles, and in their common need for friends, the **White** inter-relationships are marked by "suspicion, hostility, contention, backbiting and gossip" (Jones 1972:211). Part **of** the explanation for this behavior is that they differ in age groups, **drinking patterns**, and **residential** areas. Why, then, do Whites stay and how do they maintain any health? The key reasons are that most Whites view their residence in the village as temporary, a means to more ultimate **goals** and therefore they find they can put **up** with the inconveniences.

Further:

"While **living** in Rocky Bay, the white's primary attachment is to the past, ties to the outside, and future rewards" (Jones 1972:215).

These two studies **by Jones** and her book on **Aleuts** in Transition (1976) **highlight** the importance **of the kind of White people who come** to small villages of the north. **In** order to better understand and predict the socioeconomic

ramifications on rural Alaskans **of** possible Outer Continental Shelf **develop-**
ments, we must have not **only** excellent studies with the **people** who are al-
ready **there**, but also, and importantly, an understanding of the White peo-
ple who may come. The content and direction of potential racial conflict
is determined not just by **Rural** Alaskans' past history of White/Native re-
lationships, but also by the **racial** attitudes and experiences of the in-
coming **Whites** (see Dixon 1978:75-76).

Another area which needs yet to be addressed is the differential integra-
tion of Whites into Native communities. Not all contacts have been **nega-**
tive, but the specific ingredients for successful human relationships be-
tween individuals of different ethnic groups seem poorly understood. Re-
search directed toward understanding the adoption, and the adaptation, of
some Whites into some Native communities needs to be accomplished for the
insights that might provide for constructive interethnic relations in the
future.

Satisfaction with Trade-offs" of Advances **and** Losses

Throughout the search of the literature specific references were sought to
the following question:

Are the coastal Native people satisfied with the
changes which have occurred?

Only one direct reference was found and it concerned a northern, **riverine**
Eskimo group at Noatak.

"One way in which the success of any change can
remeasured is whether or not those involved
are satisfied with the results. With a few ex-
ceptions, the Noatak people seem to be so" (Hall
1975:34).

As part of the author's work (Davis 1976) a question on a survey conducted at Old Harbor was directed toward assessing the villagers' sense of **satisfaction** with changes that had occurred there. The question read, simply:

"Are you happy about changes in this community?"

The responses indicate that at that time, and under the particular **circumstances** of the survey, the people of Old Harbor were indeed generally **satisfied** with the changes. A total of 63 persons (79 per cent) **of 80**, indicated "**yes**," and only 7 (9 per cent), five of them men, indicated "no." Four persons gave no answer, and six gave other answers such as "both yes and no" and "don't see the change."

Implications of relative satisfaction with changes are sometimes found in the literature. For example, VanStone found people in Pt. Hope awed that in traditional times people were able to survive without modern equipments and he found no indication of eagerness at that time to return to the **old** ways. Considering the rate of adoption of modern technology and apparent flexibility of the family and village organization to respond to fluctuations in both subsistence and the job market, it seems reasonable to conjecture that most village people most of the time have accepted the changes introduced in modern times. Organized rejection to change appears to be a rare phenomenon, without reference in the anthropological literature.

On the other hand, knowledge **of** ramifications of indiscriminate adoption of modern things and practices is growing; Native people are more **politically** organized and concerned with the current directions of change. Continued modernization of village life likely will be more consciously **controlled** in the future, perhaps especially in areas that have more of the

traditional way of life still intact. In contrast to some other areas, Southwest Alaska appears to express considerable dissatisfaction with losses and a serious questioning of the benefits of "advances" (YupiktaKBista 1974).

Language and Other Arts

How are changes affecting Native languages, arts, music and dance?

To comprehend the changes that have taken place, an historical perspective is needed. External influences on traditional languages, graphic arts, dance and music and folklore at first added new words and new themes. Aleut, Tanaina and Koniag incorporated Russian words; art forms diversified in materials, and topics. Dance, music and folklore told of the new encounters.

Then followed a period of negation of the language and the art forms; people worked diligently to learn new skills and forms. Ceremonies and dance were neglected; often they were actively opposed by missionaries, school teachers, and other representatives of the dominant culture. In addition, the indigenous people had to contend with other difficulties from contact such as epidemics, and the new stresses accompanying schools, councils, missions, and government.

Active renewal of languages and a revival of traditional art forms began in the 1960's. Through bilingual programs and the establishment of the Alaska Native Language Center (Krauss 1973), a concerted effort was made to save,

write, and revive Native languages. Through a variety of programs, such as Head Start, the old story teller was brought back to educate the children. In some areas, competitive dances thrived again and people began to potlatch openly. New technologies such as film, tape recordings, and printing were applied to enhance, and make public, segments of the old culture in the context of the new.

The recent revitalization of traditional art forms, language classes, Eskimo olympics, and public Native dances, has occurred since the studies reviewed here were made. Only two references were found in the literature. One is the observation by Lantis (1972) that Eskimo participation in the larger society had been through the graphic arts, rather than the performing arts. The other reference reflects the point of view prevalent at the time of the fieldwork. Based on his observation in Napaskiak in 1954-55, Oswalt noted:

"It seems likely that Yuk eventually will be displaced by English" (1963:111).

But this was written during an era when teaching only in English was the policy for BIA schools, in the time before the introduction of bilingual programs.

McClelland's work (1961, 1977) on modernization included an analysis of the themes found in children's literature. This suggests looking closely at the new literature being produced in the bilingual programs and, especially, the stories and journalism developing among Native youth. The publications of THETA, Kil-Kaas-Git, Kwipugmiut, Elwani, and Tundra Marsh tell us not only what teachers are encouraging, but also what young people are thinking and writing. These publications can be analyzed for the themes which reflect

both the level of modernization, and also the conscious maintenance of traditional knowledge.

Socialization toward a positive Native image appears to this author to be enhanced by these school productions and by other publications by Native authors, e.g., Ackerman (1975), **Brean** (1975), Carlo (1978), **Kawagley** (1975), Oman (1971), **Oquilluk** (1973), Senungetuk (1971), and **Ticusuk** (1974). These recent books and the continuing contributions of Tundra Times since 1962 provide significant validation to positive Native identity.

Summary

The family appears to be one of the most resilient and important aspects of Native Alaskan cultures. Kinship ties within and between communities will likely continue, and possibly increase. The time depth for the establishment of the church in some communities has been discussed, and its continuing **social** role in small villages considered. Schools and teachers as sources of modification of Native culture were noted briefly.

Other possible indicators of change such as homogeneity, reference group identification, and social horizons, suggest historic basis for the current directions of change observed. Finally, recent developments of renewed interest **in** traditional arts and language **i**ndicate continued validation of the distinct ethnic groups in Alaska.

III. ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

What were the traditional ways **of** organizing tasks, harvesting resources, and distributing products? And how have those ways been modified by industry, cash and jobs?

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the relation of people to their resources, both as these resources are found on the land and in the sea, and in the form of jobs and cash. Subsistence activities and associated division of labor are addressed first, highlighting the traditional and the seasonal aspects of those efforts. Secondly, a cursory outline of the history of some sources of jobs begins with the exploration of Alaska and notes a series of, industries which came and, often, **went**: trading, mining and commercial fishing. The implications of military installations and construction since World War **II** are briefly mentioned as one kind of experience with external influences. The emerging pattern of **seasonality** and fluctuation is **discussed**. Finally, the role of new technologies in rural life **calls** attention to the ways these pieces of modernity have modified and sometimes strengthened the Native way of life.

To begin, the following brief summary of small-scale economic systems is taken from a previous paper (Davis 1972).

"Characteristics of small-scale economic systems may **be** summarized by noting the following: **subsistence** for each member is guaranteed. Unemployment is not a threat, but uncertainties of the physical environment are. There are no full-time specialists; every adult knows most all that needs

to be **known** for survival. Work arrangements are constrained and directed **by** the physical environment and social structure, not **by** the market or labor price. Indeed market dependency is absent; kinship dependency dominates. Productive units are embedded in the social organization; there are no separate economic institutions. Disposition of produce is controlled through social obligations and reciprocity. Goods are distributed through feasts, gifts and some limited internal and external trade. Small-scale societies are not machine using, not market dominated; they are units where kinship permeates **all** social, economic and political relationships and actions.

"As communities move away from these characteristics into the market-dominated, price-controlled **world**, they become different kinds of human units reflecting increased internal social segmentation with associated economic and political differentiation" (Davis **1972:192**).

In the original small-scale societies along the Alaskan coast, most tasks were organized by sex and age. Individual skills within a **family** were combined and used differently at various tasks, during different times of the year. The technology and work organization involved in resource harvest also varied according to what was being harvested. Many subsistence activities were accomplished by individuals, each gathering, shooting, trapping, or fishing for separate households. Organized resource harvesting requiring larger groups occurred only at certain times of year, such as walrus, caribou, or whale hunting. Other basic harvest activities, such as berry **pick- ing**, gathering birds' eggs and "beach food" (e.g. **seaweed**, clams, cockles, chitons, mussels, crabs, sea urchins, and squid) could be accomplished by individuals **though** groups of **the same** sex for these activities were common (de Laguna **1972:403-405**).

Primary product distribution occurred within the household. Surplus was

distributed first according to kin and secondly according to the situation. For an example of the second, messenger feasts of the Eskimo and **potlatches** of the Indian included **the ritual giving-away of prized goods** accompanied with many other significant societal functions. These traditional economic activities were marked by **their** variety, by season, by size of work **unit**, and by resource availability. The resource **seasonality** also influenced settlement patterns at different times of the year, from **large winter villages**, to small summer fishing camps, and, in some locations, to trapping camps in the spring and fall.

Obviously the traditional economic patterns and organizations have been greatly modified in the direction of increased specialization within the village, use of new technology, and by the increase in cash and related **dependence** on outside funds, goods and jobs. Tasks are **still** organized largely by sex and age, but new variables of **skill**, education and external contacts now enter. Traditional resources continue to be harvested but they are done with new tools, new forms of transportation, at greater distances, and at newly regulated times of year. Products are **still** distributed within the household and village, but they also go into cans at the fish processors and to the store for **sale**.

Division of Labor

The high economic value of both sexes was noted for Eskimos by **Lantis (1946: 246)**, and for Indians **by de Laguna (1972:392)**. The many activities **traditionally** reserved for Eskimo women included sewing, hunting small game, hooking fish, snaring ptarmigan and **rabbits**, collecting vegetable products,

getting wood, and caring for dogs (**Burch 1975:88-89**). In the transition years there may have been a marked change of economic activities as more and more children survived. **Burch** noted that women became full-time babysitters. Also cooking became more demanding because there were more meals a day, more children to **feed**, fewer women in the household **to help**, a greater variety of foods to prepare, and dishes to wash (**Burch 1975:89**). Hughes also reports that women stayed home more at **Gambell** by 1955 than they had traditionally.

Alterations in the division of labor should serve as an index of social and cultural change. For example, if men and women participate increasingly in the cash economy, which at times demands traveling away from the village, the traditional village activities will have to be taken on by others. An examination of who hunts, who **gathers**, who babysits and who provides for the elderly under these circumstances would provide insight into these changes.

Subsistence, Cash, and Industry

LAND AND SEA

A keen sense of the environment and the human relationships involved with it was finely developed and maintained in traditional times. For example:

"The environment is not for the **Tlingit** simply the land and sea with natural resources to be exploited. It **is, as** we shall see, much more a community of living beings, where the **lines** which we would draw between man and beast or between the animate and the inanimate are blurred or do not exist" (de **Laguna 1972:211**).

The land and waters were **owned** by clans and lineages which held responsibility for their uses (de Laguna 1972:379, 361, 119). For example:

"According to the **Tlingit**, rights to exclusive use extended over many resources that the European **would** consider free: **fresh water, drift-wood, marine mammals and fish, land game, and wild plants**" (de Laguna 1972:119).

Thus not just land, but also offshore waters, and the rights to gather **wild** products were included in **Tlingit** sense of ownership and responsibility. Further, "each body of water had a **spirit** or soul" (818) and fish "have souls, and **salmon** are particular about how their bodies are handled" (832). A **special** kind of conservation took **place** to avoid "angering the animals or **frightening** them away from the hunting grounds" (de Laguna 1972:362).

The general subsistence security experienced in the nineteenth century by the Eskimos in the Bering Strait area is reflected by the following quote from Ray (1975:120):

"The inhabitants of the Bering Strait used their environment intensively. The food range was so wide over the seasons and throughout each **tribal territory** that there was little danger of starvation; yet, when threatened, they **could** rely on certain areas where some kind of food could always be **obtained**. The area as a whole had a variety of resources scarcely equaled in other Eskimo areas, and products not obtainable within tribal boundaries could be acquired through reciprocity of marriage, trading partners, use of other tribal territory, or requests made in the messenger feast. Many of the traded commodities or requests were considered to be luxury items, which these comparatively affluent tribes **could well afford**."

From reading the literature, the conclusion is **clear** that far more coastal Natives depend on the sea than **on** the **land**, but the land/sea ratio varies

from north to south and from community to community. **Also**, increased technological skill for ocean harvest appears to have led to greater populations and social complexity along the coasts and rivers. No such special development based on land animals in Alaska has occurred. Coasts appear more productive and fish and sea **mammals** more predictable than moose and caribou. "

FOOD PREFERENCES

The range of Native food preferences reflects not only variable local availability, but marked, culturally-determined desires for some kinds of food, with all others ranked below. For example, salmon is preferred among the **Tlingit** (de Laguna 1972:50). On southern Kodiak, sea lion is highly valued, and seal considered "too bloody." But at Nuni vak, any kind of seal, **mukluk** seal especially, is preferred to any other kind of food (Lantis 1946:158). Further north at **Wainwright** and Kaktovik seal meat is fed to the dogs, and caribou is much preferred (Milan 1964:28; Chance 1966:47). At **Gambell**, walrus is prized (Hughes 1960:102), but at Barrow walrus is far less **desirable** than whale (Spencer 1959:372).

For two communities on Kodiak I have data on what was prepared for the evening meal for one specific day in March, 1964. In one village of 36 persons, everyone had prepared food that was locally available: halibut, clams, fish pie and venison stew. These basic foods were supplemented by store-bought goods such as rice and potatoes. In a larger community of **198** persons, 68 persons (65 per cent of the sample) were preparing to eat traditional foods, including roast duck, sea **lion**, salt fish, seaweed, wild spuds, and clam chowder. The only persons riot eating traditional foods were members of

families with access to regular income such as the school janitor, the store owners and an elderly couple with old-age benefits and aid to the blind assistance (Davis 1972:7).

A question remains as to the extent tastes have expanded to include the wider variety of foods now available and how that varies by area and by generation. Some data are available from the U.S. Public Health Studies (Heller and Scott 1961) concerning the nutritional aspects of Native food preferences, and current issues in North Alaska have highlighted the significance of traditional food and related activities (World Associates 1978: 95-119). Certainly some "new" foods long ago became staples: e.g. tea, coffee, **milk**, sugar, **flour**, and rice, and they are now in a sense a part of the traditional foods. However, the generational differences of food preferences were not addressed in the literature reviewed, and it needs to be considered.

Previous experience outside the village, such as hospitalization and schooling may have influenced the content of the variety of food now a regular part of the traditional **diet**. One of the overall results of more children staying home for **all** of their schooling in the local schools may be less exposure to western food on a three-times-a-day schedule. Even with current **lunch** programs, it is likely that high school students living at home will eat more traditional foods, if they are available, than if they were attending **school** outside the state or one of the programs in Alaskan cities. The increased validation of traditional foods, combined with increased number of persons in the villages to eat **it**, may lead to increased pressures on the already regulated harvesting of Native foods.

SUBSISTENCE MAPS

Since subsistence resources are likely **to** persist in importance throughout Alaska, the subsistence cycles by specie, by time of year and by area **could** be illustrated on a series **of** overlay maps. Then the rise and **fall** and the movement of the different species could be tracked both in space and in time. If the subsistence preference of the local population **could** also be **superim-**posed on this series of maps, then a basis for decision making in the event of a future oil spill could be made. That is, if the tides, winds, and species are known, then if choices must be made concerning one species over **an-**other, the preferred subsistence of the local people could enter into those decisions especially if preferential care of **only** one species is possible. The time of year would be important to consider; the effects of a **spill** in August would likely be different than a spill in December, not just in the directions of wind and tide, but also in the relative degree of subsistence used on the coast at that particular time for the species most likely **to** be affected. For example, if a spill was heading for **Gambell** and there was time to take action for the protection of one species and not **several**, then the preferred would be the walrus. In contrast, to the south, where seal holds higher **priority**, greater effort might be concentrated on their survival and food sources.

CASH AND WAGES

Here I wish to differ with **Alonso** and Rust's prediction (1976:4) that "village life will continue to become more dependent upon outside sources of cash income to replace subsistence hunting and fishing." Cash does not

necessarily replace subsistence; rather, **it** takes some **of** the uncertainty out **of** it (VanStone 1962:64). Cash complements subsistence and **allows** for luxuries. Cash may now be required to obtain the equipment needed to preserve subsistence activities but working for a cash income rarely replaces hunting and fishing **in** village Alaska.

In 1973, one anthropologist noted there were 34 regular wage-paying jobs at Mekoryuk (Nowak 1975). Groceries cost up to **\$280** a month. At the same time, there were 200 snowmobiles or about 4.5 per **family** (over half operating) and about five outboard motors per family; these were pieces of equipment used in subsistence activities. **The** ability to obtain Native foods was a consequence of having this equipment available as **well** as having the time to hunt and fish. As a result, Nowak estimated that only one-fourth to a **little** over one-half **of** the food consumed **by** villagers was bought from a store (1975:30).

The relation of cash to subsistence **should** prove an index of **sociocultural** change. After much fluctuation over many years, a more steady level may be reached where a balance of the two appears. For **example**, as **long** as there is cash available for some families in some communities, there will be a greater dependence upon it than on the subsistence available. But when that cash source dries up then a return to greater use of subsistence is called for. **Also**, if the subsistence resource is over utilized, then it is time to change the resource, or perhaps shift to cash for awhile.

CASH AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

The addition of money to an already highly stratified society such as the **Tlingits** had a different effect than the addition of money to a more egalitarian society, such as the Eskimo. For example, at **Yakutat** rank was important. Social positions were **influenced** by clans, inheritance and the traditional scheme of the proper arrangements of people. **With** the addition of cash to subsistence, a blurring of former ranking system occurred, and the poor were able to **potlatch** and rapidly rise in rank (de **Laguna 1972:469**).

Yakutat experienced a period of prosperity early in the twentieth century. In addition to working in the cannery, women sold baskets, and moccasins to tourists. In addition to fishing for the cannery, men trapped and sold furs, and then in the winter cut ties for the railroad and firewood for the cannery (de **Laguna 1972:353**). So long as the salmon runs and catches were high, it was a time of prosperity; this led to the building of many houses, and people were able to furnish them with modern goods (322). Another response **to** prosperity was that it "enabled a number of men in junior positions to build named houses and thus establish themselves as petty chiefs" (de **Laguna 1972:462**). And it tended also to break up the former, traditional large household into single family units, with a general disregard for the traditional clan chief (469). The depletion of the salmon runs "brought poverty to almost everyone. . . . What little wealth there is has often been put in the hands of those who care nothing at **all** about **potlatching** or the acquisition of distinction according to the old system" (de **Laguna 1972:469**).

Whereas cash blurred former distinctions among the Tlingit, I suggest that cash created new distinctions among the Eskimo. This hypothesis remains to be documented, however.

Another element which needs to be investigated. **but** for which there was **no** information in the references is the relative prestige of jobs compared to subsistence activities, as well as the prestige of one job compared to another. A conflict for the social order may exist in this **area**. A **job** may have prestige value far beyond the cash involved, and perhaps jobs within a village are ranked in a manner quite differently than westerners might rank them. However, the constraints of a paying job may mean a set of hours and expectations which preclude active pursuit of game or fish at a time when relatives and friends are out of the village. The combination of a job, **cash**, **lessened** physical activity, also may lead to stresses in a village. In **small** villages, who gets the scarce jobs may be a source of tension. If too many jobs go to the same extended family, then other **fami-**lies, less fortunate, may gossip about them, and gossip is a powerful tool of social control. An even distribution of jobs, or the rotation of jobs from one family to another, may be an ongoing informal village pattern to guarantee that no one family, regardless of how large, holds more than their share of the jobs and resulting income.

The dynamics of kinship, and the **social** pressures inherent in **small** community living, may lead a competent person **to** choose not to take an available job; to do so would jeopardize **the** relationship of the **whole family** in the community. **This** may especially **be** the case when a spouse already has a good job. **Thus**, it is possible to have two college--educated persons in a

small community but only one will be employed. Any second job will go to someone else, even if less competent and less trained, **because** in **terms** of village relationships **it may** be necessary that the spouse of a working person not take a job. Jobs and income are too scarce. And, sometimes, human relationships too brittle.

As noted earlier in Chapter **II**, the network of kinship ties within the small communities is great and pervades a larger segment of human lives than would be the case in a similarly **sized** population in a city. Urban personal and social ties appear more diffused between work and neighborhood, with the former often taking precedence. In Native communities the family and village often take higher precedence. **Values** are ordered differently and those **val-**ues are significant in shaping response to the new options as they become available.

NEW OPTIONS

With the sequence of external contacts and new industry, many village people have already experienced considerable increase in their range of **op-****tions**. Traditionally, alternatives were minimal, and risky. For example, if a person could not make it as a hunter, his only alternative was to be a shaman, and that was not highly desirable (**Lantis 1946:201**), though the shaman is also reported as a vehicle for an otherwise unsuccessful man to gain some prestige (**Spencer 1959:303**). As Hughes observes;

"some men simply do not like to hunt as well as others do. They are not physically as able to endure the life, and they get less of a **thrill** from the chase and **kill**" (1960:369).

Most likely **in** any human group the need for alternatives always exists, **but** the range of options is limited for **small** hunting societies. With modernization come new, and often attractive, alternatives. First, with the whalers came the option **to** join the crew, although this meant leaving kin behind. Women were employed as cooks and seamstresses, and sometimes as prostitutes, a new category (**Burch 1975:29**). Later came the options of store keeper, reindeer herder, school janitor and cannery employee; in more recent times, fire fighter, welfare aide, health aide, bilingual **teacher**, and construction worker have become options. As the range increases, village life intercepts the **larger** world at more points, **or** alternatively, the **larger world** comes to **the** village **in** an increasing number of forms - jobs and otherwise.

An example of how village households deal with the new options was observed in **Napaskiak** by **Oswalt**, in **1955** when the job options were yet limited:

"In extended families one man usually works at the cannery, while a brother, father, or **son** stays at home to fish for the family. The man going to the cannery may or may not share his earnings with the individual who fished for him" (**Oswalt 1963:93**).

This statement gives a hint to one of the dilemmas created by the cash and wage economy. The rules concerning the distribution of fish and game have been established over many generations; they are implicitly understood. But what about the rules for the distribution of money? Does that require a different set of rules within the former set of expectations?

Some indication of the resistance to new options for **making** money was noted **in** the mid-1960's by VanStone during his fieldwork in the **Nushagak** area.

There, in the summer of 1964, he found that Natives were quite reluctant to forego a fishing season in order to build a school, even at high and guaranteed wages. The attraction and the risks of fishing, a traditional activity, held greater pull than the certain cash from construction. As a result, Indians from the Yukon were hired to build the school, and the Eskimos went fishing. This same choice of fishing over other occupations was noted in a village on Kodiak in 1975 (Davis 1976). Wherever the fishing fever bites, employment options, even at much higher rates, may not be attractive enough to compete.

INDUSTRY

Nearly every predominantly White community in Alaska was established around the extraction of a renewable resource, such as fish, or a non-renewable resource such as gold, coal, or copper. Many of these communities were built on or near Native villages. For example, Anchorage is located on a Tanaina Indian fish camp site; Juneau and Sitka, on Tlingit village sites.

Commercial development has affected some, but not all, Native communities, sometimes over and over again. This section addresses the question of what the limited anthropology literature tells us about those developments and Native response to them.

Traditional Trade Activity

To better understand the historical framework for village response to industry, a short section is provided here on the trade centers which were

ongoing at the time of European exploration. For example, the **Tlingits** had extensive trade routes up and down and coast and into the interior of Alaska. The Yakutats are reported to **be**:

"great travelers, accustomed to long journeys **by canoe** or on foot for purposes of hunting and fishing, trading, visiting **relatives** and attending **potlatches**, or warring on their enemies. Most trips combined several objectives" (de **Laguna 1972:346**).

Units of value were established (de Laguna **1972:353**), and considerable **inter-tribal** trade occurred **at** trade centers, such as **Lituya Bay**. Motives for trade and **travel** included wealth, fun, news, and stories. Songs and dances were among the items traded. Extensive trade **also** occurred between Kodiak and Cook **Inlet**, along all the major **rivers**, between Indians and **Eskimos**, **along** the northern coast, and **inland** (Burch 1970; VanStone 1962b).

Fur Trading

Early European trade extended traditional trade between groups by providing new and safe centers, such as Nuchek in Prince William Sound, where more goods, both Native and European, **could** be exchanged. Opportunities **to** become wealthy were considerably increased. But the effects **of early** trading patterns differed along the North Pacific. For example, **by** wiping out the Russian agricultural and trading community at **Yakutat** in 1805, the Indians established a reputation of such fierceness that the Russians made no **at-**tempt **to** involve them again in trade. The **Yakutat Tlingits** thereafter had to travel to engage in trading; the trade no longer came to them.

Upon this trading pattern came later a new Native industry: tourist trade (de Laguna 1972:183). By 1890, the tourists had bought up nearly **all** the fur and Native curios **available**, and a thriving market for new, Native-made goods developed. An example of an early and successful entrepreneur was the famous Mrs. **Tom**, a **Tlingit** trader from **Sitka** who was **called by Schwatka in** 1886 "a burley Amazon of the Northwest." She had two husbands, owned a schooner, and possessed riches reported to be valued between \$20,000 and \$45,000 (de Laguna 1972:191).

The fluctuations of fur trading have been documented (e.g. VanStone 1967; Ray 1975; **World Associates 1978:48-51**), but the extent and effects on Native economic systems need to be more thoroughly analyzed. Suffice it must be here to simply note that through fur trading former exchange systems were expanded, new goods added and the foundation for community stores established.

Mineral Development

Several of the coastal communities had experience with mineral industry developments. The people of **Yakutat** watched a short-lived gold rush in **1887-1888** when 40 to 50 prospectors came and went (de Laguna 1972:197) and also a short-lived **coal** field development up Yakutat Bay in 1887. A copper mine boom at **Katalla** followed in 1908 along with the opening and closing of 17 oil **wells**, and a refinery and absorption plant which operated until 1929. There was also oil exploration down the coast westward to Cape Yakutat (de Laguna 1972:98), and "oil from the drilling (in Icy Bay) is said to have killed **all** the fish in one of the streams" (de Laguna 1972:98).

When copper was discovered in commercial quantity in the Wrangell Mountains and the railroad was constructed from the coast to McCarthy, the Yakutat and Ahtna people had a new means of physical contact. This gave them a chance for an exchange of songs and common history (de Laguna 1972:214). There is nothing in the literature, however, which indicates what permanent change resulted from either the influx of miners or the easier mobility for the Natives.

Commercial Fishing Industry

The single most important industry on the North Pacific began in the 1880's with the establishment of canneries for the processing of fish. One early result of this new industry was that some former White traders were forced out of business by the new cannery stores (de Laguna 1972:205). The Copper River Indians were on the verge of starvation for the lack of fish for several years; the Coquenhena cannery on the Cooper River cut off the fish from upstream. That cannery was finally closed in 1896 (de Laguna 1972:103).

Settlement patterns were modified in response to the location of canneries. The present town site of Yakutat used to be a summer camp, but the Yakutat moved there permanently in order to be near the cannery (de Laguna 1972:326). The permanent settlements of Kodiak and along the Alaska Peninsula also appear to be based on cannery locations (Davis 1976). In some cases, such as at Yakutat in 1905 and Old Harbor in 1926, the locations of saltries became the location of canneries (de Laguna 1972:322; Befu 1970:30).

Canneries also introduced new ethnic groups into the area. Some Chinese

and Filipinos, like some traders and **miners**, chose to stay and marry.

Of particular interest for the OCS socioeconomic studies program is the comparative case study of two cannery-based **Aleut** communities by Jones (1976).

The contrasts between **Iliaka** and New Harbor (pseudonyms) are reflected partly in their differing histories. New Harbor villagers came from other communities and became, basically, a new cannery village, with a sense of control over their destiny. In contrast, **Iliaka** was an old village, subjected to a short-lived boom at the turn of the century, followed by recession, relocation during World War II and later return, without boats, to a village of destroyed homes and war debris. During the post-War commercial fishing boom, **Iliaka** was left out again, but New Harbor experienced more opportunities for economic growth and the purchase of larger boats. **Iliaka** Natives owned no fishing boats at all; New Harbor Natives owned 23, which contributed a sense of pride and self sufficiency to them.

In contrast to the cannery working conditions in New Harbor where women work hard to make sure their husbands' fish are processed, and where the fish are largely caught by **local, Native** fishermen, the Natives at **Iliaka** process fish caught by others, and in unpleasant conditions. The following statement best reflects that situation:

"In **Iliaka**, unstable jobs lead to a realistic acknowledgement of and adaptation to that instability. The job holds no promise of meeting needs other than the immediate need for money. The job is monotonous and drudging; it provides an insufficient income to adequately support a family, offers **no** opportunity to acquire skills or exercise initiatives brings **little** recognition from **peers**, holds virtually no promise for advancement, and exposes **Aleuts** to the humiliation of racist outbursts by superiors. Clearly, **Iliaka Aleuts** do not value such unstable, demeaning jobs" (Jones 1976: 45).

The reported misery of the Natives at **Iliaka** contrasts with the reported **confidence** of the Natives at New Harbor. However, they are both cannery towns:

"The fundamental economic fact of life in the Aleutians, overriding any differences between villages, is **the colonial-like position of the Aleut** people. The major benefits of natural resource development in the Aleutians go to outside interests, not to the **Aleut** people" (Jones 1976: 95).

For a more complete analysis, the reader is urged to read this short (125 pages) and comprehensive book.

Potential conflict between subsistence use and commercial use of fish can be anticipated to **be** great where the **relative** degree of subsistence **on** fish continues to be **high**, such as in the river delta areas of Western Alaska. If developing commercial fishing produces cash during the same time subsistence fishing produces **local** food, conflict would appear inevitable - not just over the **limited** fish **but also** over the alternatives for wages available. The literature reviewed, however, did not address this question.

Since factories provided **Inkeles and Smith with** significant indicators of modernization (**McClelland** 1977), **I** suggest we look at Alaska canneries as seasonal factories to see if some similar kinds of themes occur.

Military Installations

Differing responses to the military were found in **the** literature, **I** remain unsure to what extent **the** variations are a **result** of the nature of the military or the Native people, or an accident of when the anthropologists **re-**ported the response to contact with the military. Obviously, many variables are involved.

The general theme appears to be one of initially welcoming the social and economic diversity which the military installations provided, followed by experiencing difficulties in social relationships, and eventually missing the centers when they closed (Hughes 1960; Chance 1966; VanStone 1962).

The installation of military bases in remote areas may be the closest analogy available to oil exploration. For this reason, references to the military should be examined with care when specific geographic areas are addressed by the Socioeconomic Studies Program. Other developments comparable to the military which also might be examined are the whaling stations along the north coast and the mining communities of Prince William Sound.

Construction

Hughes (1960) was concerned that high wages, received by the residents of Gambell after several summers of construction jobs on the island, had created unrealistic expectations for continued summer employment and for continued high pay. Several summers' worth of employment influenced the effort made to hunt and fish in the fall, since there was plenty of money for store-bought goods. This led to a rush on the store, exhausting its limited supplies earlier than expected, which then led to an "emergency situation" and disaster relief funds and supplies were sent in.

Additional examples of discussion of Native involvement with construction may be found in VanStone (1962), Spencer (1959), and Worl Associates (1978: 51-53). Dixon (1978) and Naylor and Gooding (1978) address the issue of Native Hire on the Aleyska Pipeline, but time disallowed analysis of those

key sources. Another recent and relevant account reports the **impact** of oil exploration work on the Canadian **Inuit** community of **Coppermine (Kupfer and Hobart 1978:58-67)**.

A comparative analysis of the cultural differences inherent in commercial construction and **commercial** fishing needs to be accomplished for the relevance that might reveal on OCS issues. Initially the following may be considered: Fishing and ocean-oriented activities have a long traditional time depth. A shift from subsistence fishing to commercial fishing seems more closely attuned with traditions than either is with commercial construction. Construction work requires a **markedly** different set of **skills**, and a hierarchy of authority which is not found in either subsistence **activities**, or in commercial fishing. **Also, boats, outboard motors, water,** and fish are shared in both commercial and subsistence **fishing**, and not with construction.

Summary

This beginning **look at** the history of several industries indicated a sequence of temporary eras of prosperity for Native peoples in selected areas. **The** demise was often reported to be accompanied by real, **felt** deprivation, **which** appears to be a continuation of a traditional pattern of periods of relative **wealth**, followed by near famine. Hughes' analysis, especially, suggests that at **Gambell** the sporadic high wages **led** to sporadic manna, and to fewer **total** hours devoted to food-getting **activities**. The cyclical implications of wages -- spending -- **relief** -- wages **could** seriously undermine a **community** if the **cycle** deteriorated to a **wageless** season, followed by higher **levels** of welfare, and **only** marginal use of former food-getting skills. This **sug-**

gestion of perpetual fluctuation leads now to the next section.

Seasonality and Fluctuation

Analysis of the literature revealed three kinds of **seasonality**: 1) the traditional subsistence cycle, 2) the fluctuation of the subsistence resources and 3) the fluctuations of wage income, dependent on the market, construction, **military** installations, government programs, etc. Partly as a result of a combination of the above, the subsistence and cash ratio varied from time to time, and from place to place. The following is presented to provide a base for considering those variations. Perhaps a way of analyzing future fluctuations can be innovated to provide the **Socioeconomic** Studies Program with measurable indicators of change, unique to the special conditions in rural Alaska.

YEARLY SUBSISTENCE CYCLE

Hughes (1960:224) refers to the "astounding diversity and ingenuity of subsistence activities." The seasonal shifts and the constant variety of activities were also marked in **Lantis'** account on Nuni vak (1946:171-182). Ray, too, reflects on the continued **seasonality** of Eskimo life (1975:249-250). The range of traditional economic pursuits, the flexibility of those endeavors and the exercise of choices seemed particularly impressive in Spencer's discussion of the economic activities among the Northern Alaska Eskimos (1959:366-370), e.g., from whaling, to sealing, to summer fish camps, followed by duck hunting, caribou hunting and fall whaling.

The cycle of annual activities is well documented in the anthropological literature: for Barrow (Spencer 1959:140-143), for Pt. Hope (VanStone 1962: 28-64), for the Nushagak during the nineteenth century (VanStone 1967:122-130), for the Tlingit (de Laguna 1972), for Gambell (Hughes 1960), and for Nunivak (Lantis 1946).

Of particular interest are a series of statements in VanStone's works (1960, 1962, 1967). He notes that "the subsistence cycle is of the greatest significance for community well being" (1960:29). The Eskimos of the Nushagak area are still dependent on heavy subsistence fishing in mid-August (1967: 131). At Pt. Hope the subsistence cycle has "not changed greatly during more than 100 years of direct contact with European culture" (1962:63). If it is the case that subsistence is of great significance, that people are heavily dependent on it, and that it has not changed in a hundred years, then the persistence of these patterns should be expected. If subsistence preferences and activities have continued in the past century, are they likely to change in the next one?

References to both the change of activities and change in locations during the year were frequent. For example, for the Aleuts, "summer fish camps were the highlight of the year" (Jones 1976:28). At Point Hope people looked forward to spring and moving into tents (VanStone 1962:59). At Napa-skiak, jigging for fish was an excuse for an outing (Oswalt 1963:81).

"The family, through its isolation at spring camp, is drawn together more closely than when in the village" (Oswalt 1963:35).

The pattern of variety in activities and locations is another aspect of tra-

ditional life likely to persist. "Going to camp" provides a contrast with the routine of **life** and may be extremely important for the social health of the family. If so, there may be an increase of the pattern of leaving the village and/or town for camp. Kin now living in towns and cities may **re-**turn to family camp sites more frequently in the future. A "return to the land" movement may not yet be evident in some Native individuals who have just recently **left** the Bush, but others may find it an important way of **as-****sessing** their "roots" and validating their personal identity.

RENEWABLE RESOURCE FLUCTUATIONS

In the prehistoric past, significant modifications in **resource utilization** and settlement patterns were influenced by the constantly changing balance of species. For **example, the Thule culture** apparently developed directly out of **Birnik** in the Barrow area after 900 A.D. when the climate warmed, and there was a depletion of seal supply. Over-utilization of the scarce seals led to increased use of **whales** (Stanford 1976).

Cari bou, walrus, whales and fish all seem susceptible to rises and declines. The necessity for the people living off them to be equally flexible is obvious. For the record, the earliest reference to caribou decline I found was in the following quote from Ray, quoting from **Whymper** (1869) concerning the building of the Western Union Telegraph in 1856-67:

"Adams said that the Eskimos thought the telegraph line was the cause of scarcity of deer (caribou), but it could also have been because the Eskimos were beginning to use guns" (Ray **1975:159**).

By the **end** of the century the decline of the caribou herds was felt in many **areas**, causing a shifting of subsistence base to coastal products. Hall suggests that **it** was the decline of whales and **walrus** which placed increased pressure on caribou, leading to **their** decline. However, **by 1913 the** caribou were moving **back**, at least into the **Noatak** area (Hall 1975:28). Moose also change habitats. For example, in the **mid-1960's**, the moose were moving **in-** to the **Nushagak** area (VanStone 1967:132), **making** a new source of meat at least temporarily available.

Anthropologists in the 1950's noted how few whales were taken in certain areas. Spencer reported no **whales** taken **in** Barrow in 1952 (Spencer 1959: 368, 372). Only one had been caught in three years' time at **Wainwright** (**in** 1955) (Milan 1964:30), and **only** one was taken in 1955 at Pt. Hope (VanStone 1962: 54-55). In the next year, **1956**, two whales were taken and three wounded. Variability is **also** reflected in the records **of** number **of** **whales** caught much **earlier**, during **1889-1891**, at Wales. In 1889, the **peo-** **ple** in this large coastal village on the tip of the Seward Peninsula landed only one whale, and **lost** 12. **In 1890**, they landed no **whale**, and lost two. In 1891 they brought **in one** whale and **lost 29** (Ray 1975:111). This indicates the range of uncertainty in whale hunting even in those days.

By the 1890's the walrus had nearly disappeared from the Nushagak area (VanStone 1967: 1.29), and their erratic behavior especially affects the people on St. Lawrence Island. The fluctuation of **walrus kills** during the years between 1940-1955 at **Gambell** reflects something of the yearly risk of being a hunter there. For example, in **1940**, **313** walrus were **taken**; in **1954**, **only** 70 and in 1955, **120** (Hughes 1960). Reasons given for poor

hunting even in **the mid-1950's** include the possibility that there were fewer animals because they were disturbed by guns, smoke, **lights**, and airplane noise (Hughes 1960:142).

A current source of fluctuation that is not inherent in the resources themselves, but which affects the ability **to** harvest them when they are available, is the mass of new state and federal regulations on hunting and **fish-
ing**. These rules affect seasons, species, locations, and the methods of harvest.

INCOME FLUCTUATION

In addition to land animals, sea **mammals**, and fish, other resources have also come and gone. From 1850 to 1890 in North Alaska there was a great reduction in sources of wealth, both in terms of whale, walrus and caribou and also a serious loss of the social capital of kinsmen through famine and epidemics (**Burch 1975:221**). Attaining either traditional or new wealth during that period was nearly impossible.

Many communities experienced the rise and fall of fur prices in the 1920's and 1930's. Spencer noted that the reduced economy between 1930 and 1946 led **to** more cooperation and interpersonal dependence, a return to aboriginal social patterns, and even the organization of a community council (1959: 361-362). This response is also suggested by **Burch's** analysis of the Transitional period (1890-1940) ,

The importance of maintaining flexibility in social units and in resource

utilization, balancing both subsistence with **cash**, rather than depending almost solely on wages, is reflected in one **Aleut village**:

"The uncertain, unstable, volatile economy in **Iliaka** during the first forty years of the century had far-reaching effects on the **Aleuts'** self-image and culture. Although they had become dependent on a wage economy, **Iliaka Aleuts** had **also** learned to distrust it. Their jobs did not provide a meaningful occupational identity, an adequate income, or guidelines around which they could organize a new way of life. Their distrust of western economic institutions was accompanied by a growing conviction that they were unable to control events in their lives" (Jones 1976:28).

Here we must note again that **long** before written record, village economies were marked with degrees of **seasonality**, uncertainty and instability. That is not a new phenomenon of the last 200 **years** (as suggested by **Alonso and Rust 1976:54-55**). The rise and **fall** of **land** and sea resources, and the associated human population, was always there, more so in the north and interior than **along** the more productive, and predictable southern coasts. What has changed, however, is that the sources of **seasonality**, uncertainty and instability now include cash, jobs and government programs which come and go, and also an ever-changing set of government-induced regulations. These are new erratic sources, added to the **old**.

In a study of a Native community's response to industrial work in northern Canada, **Brody** (1977) reported that the willingness to participate in **oil** industry employment is "a sign of the instability and insecurity of traditional economic life" (1977:43). That **is**, instability was already **there**. But, **Brody** continues, there is also instability and uncertainty in **industrial** work. Therefore, the people cannot **fully** rely **on** traditional hunting

nor can they depend on jobs. As the mixed economy grows, Brody states that this "in some ways aggravates their already precarious economic situation, and introduces new uncertainty and ambiguity into their mode of economic life" (1977:44).

B

If we can attain an integrated understanding of the combined factors involved in persistent traditional subsistence cycles and activities, the continuous variations of the resources, and the effects of wage fluctuations, then added insight to probable directions of change in response to energy related industry might be more accurately projected. This discussion has indicated the historic base for many kinds of fluctuation which are part of Native village way of life. The implications for future projections need yet to be addressed.

Technology

What have been the ramifications of modern technology on Native Alaskan life?

One observation about many of the new items introduced into the north is that they are noisy: guns, outboard motors, generators, airplanes, trucks, radios, television and snowmobiles. But what consequence to the people result from their presence? According to one author "technological changes that have occurred over the past twenty years. . . have changed the whole structure of community social life" (Chance 1966:45). But another states that the addition of appliances, motors, and change in food habits did not disrupt cooperation and family ties (Spencer 1959:377). The following dis-

cussion will not resolve this apparent **controversy**, but **will** simply address the introduction and influences of several pieces of technology: e.g. guns, catalog-ordered items, especially clothing, housing and the snowmobile.

Guns apparently were adopted rapidly whenever and wherever they became **avail-**able. Vancouver reported six guns at **Yakutat** in 1794, probably obtained from American traders, for the Russians had been instructed not to trade in guns (de **Laguna 1972:156**, 157, 197). **By** 1884 there were many guns there, even though the Natives were still forbidden to have modern weapons (de **Laguna 1972:187**). At that **time** the bow and arrow were **still** preferred for sea otter hunting.

In the **Nushagak** area, **Petroff** reported guns to be rare as late as 1890 (Van Stone **1967:127**). **But** further up the coast in Northwest **Alaska**, guns were available as **early** as **1819**, though not present **in** quantity until about 1850 when the American whalers came (VanStone **1977:76**). In 1890 at Wales, missionary Thornton counted a total of 179 guns of various kinds (Ray **1975:194**). (He was later shot by one of them.) Guns as a piece of modern technology have been available to Native Alaskans for a relatively long time.

The initial introduction of rifles **led** to some reduced need for team hunting in most North Alaskan **areas**, rendering individual hunters more independent from partners as a result (**Burch 1975:204**; Chance **1966 2**). Cartridges were obtained first by trade items, and later by **cash**, and were perhaps one of the first **items** requiring dependence on an external source **of** supply.

Nelson reports that at **Wainwright** the rifle made some resources more readily

available: marine mammals in open leads and near the ice edge. He also suggested that this new resource, combined with the decline of the caribou, influenced the move of inland Eskimos to the coast (Nelson 1969:302, 305). In general, the social and economic adaptations would appear to have been made long ago, gradually rendering a wide variety of traditional tools and weapons obsolete.

The differential adaptation of some items in the Bering Strait area is thoroughly discussed by Ray (1975). For example, she reports a general persistence during the nineteenth century of the parka, ivory **tools**, Native snares, the harpoon, **umiak** and kayak. New items were selectively adopted, and old items selectively maintained. Metal utensils were used for cooking, but wooden dishes were brought out for serving and eating. The gun was used for land hunting, and steel traps used for trapping, but the harpoon and other traditional implements for catching sea mammals were **still** preferred. This suggests the equipment related to land activities changed before sea equipment. This is further indicated from information about **Yakutat** during the nineteenth **century**, where the bow and arrow continued to be used for sea otter hunting long after guns had been introduced and widespread for land hunting (de Laguna 1972).

The events of the twentieth century did not come as a sudden surprise to the coastal people **who** had by then acquired many items of European material culture. For example, in the **Bering** Strait area:

"Even at the first meetings with Europeans their material culture already contained European objects. Economic adjustments that had been developing since the 1780's had interpenetrated **all** aspects of their **life**, including intertribal

affairs, and had prepared the **foundat**ion for changes during **the** twentieth century, The direction taken in this respect was a matter of degree, not kind" (Ray 1975:251).

As late as 1940 the people of **Gambell** added technological and material items to their inventory **of** regularly used **items**, and the new equipment "entered into what was basically an Eskimo social and cultural system" (Hughes 1960:343). This is a clear indication of the ease with which items can be added without significant loss of the overall culture. It is not the items themselves which change the way of life, it is what **it** takes to get them, and maintain them that is most apt to modify traditions? Money. For example, the combined expense of boats and guns increased hunting costs considerably by 1954 at **Gambell**.

"Not **only** are the boat motors of a larger horsepower, thereby requiring more **fuel**, but guns, ammunition and gasoline are more expensive, and the distances traveled for hunting are longer" (Hughes 1960:213).

Not counting **labor** costs, the estimated cost **per walrus** in 1950 was \$19.

On St. Lawrence Island a new and costly item was added to village life after **1940**: electric generators. By 1954 there were three generators, and their associated expense. Later, a community power plant was installed, but as often happens initially with externally introduced technologies, it failed to function **well** and eventually was closed down when bills were not **paid**. **Pt. I-I**lopers also **had** difficulties with a community electric power plant, and **bill** collectors (Chance 1966:64, 65), as did the **people in Old Harbor** (Davis 1971). An analysis of the difficulties the **Alaska Village Electric Cooperative** encountered in the introduction and maintenance of power **plants**

in three culturally different Alaskan villages was made by Cruikshank (1972).

Modern housing also modified villages for its construction **alters** the economic relationships between individuals. Modern houses are expensive to buy and expensive to maintain. In communities where wide discrepancies in wealth tend to be avoided (in the cases where jobs are spread throughout the village in an informal sharing arrangement), the purchase of a modern house may require amassing more money than is comfortable. A continued supply of cash is required to maintain this type of housing, thereby continuing any perceived discrepancies.

Furthermore, modern housing includes new conveniences such as oil heating. Oil requires cash for purchase. At the same **time, older** men no longer have the economic responsibility of gathering and cutting up driftwood. Now they are dependent on cash to buy, and on young men to install, the heavy oil drums needed (Davis **1971**). **With** respect to construction, group knowledge and participation in building a house are rarely drawn on. Instead, hired carpenters come in. Although the literature reviewed for this report did not discuss these factors in detail since much of the modern housing in rural Alaska has been constructed in the last decade, the ramifications of modern housing on the social and economic life of villages need **to** be addressed as a significant indicator of multi-faceted change.

Another item, clothing, appears to have been more rapidly modified in Southeastern Alaska than in Eskimo territory where cloth more slowly replaced skins. Traditional footwear may be one of the last items to succumb to the catalog (VanStone **1962:75**; Oswalt **1963:19**; Milan **1964:28**).

As one consequence, the shift from hand-tanned and sewn clothes to catalog, cash-bought clothing, modified the traditional role of women away from their former position as seamstresses. Whereas previously every able woman **contributed to** the enterprise of clothing a family, not every **woman can** now contribute to the cash needed for purchasing mass-produced goods .

At **Gambell** the only **sealskin** parkas during Hughes' period of fieldwork, 1954-**55**, were owned by White men (Hughes **1960:218**). This raises the question that perhaps some Whites value the exotic, and incidentally warm, Eskimo clothing, as a special kind of status **product**, and some Eskimos **value** the store-bought modern clothing, also as a kind of status symbol. **If** the **trend** continues of revaluing selected aspects of the traditional way of life, perhaps traditional clothing **will** someday again become widespread among more Native people of **Alaska**, as it has in many formerly colonial countries. Clothing is a **physical** and visible symbol of ethnic **identity**, and may be a useful social **indicator** of change.

Extensive **travel** along the coasts of Alaska, up the rivers, and more **rarely** across the tundra is well documented as a traditional pattern (**Burch** 1975, **1976**). Frequent reference to travel appears in the literature - the novelty of the trading expeditions, the excitement of going to fish camp. This supports my own observations that many Native people travel extensively and considerable money and effort is involved in that travel. Trips to the hospital, shopping, dog races, employment, visiting, church meetings, education, and holidays with relatives continue to be significant events. **If** we had new information on travel patterns, **I** anticipate we would find that people go where they used to **go**, **more** often, and that they also go **to**

many new places. Should access to jobs decrease, one of the deprivations which would be felt **by** many Native Alaskans would be cutting down on these much enjoyed trips. Alternatively, given a further boost in the state economy, we may anticipate continued expenditures for travel. The **frequency**, distances and expense of travel in and out of villages may be a measurable indicator of change.

One significant piece of travel equipment in some villages is the snowmobile, an invention of the last 20 years. Though their noisy permanence appears guaranteed, the total loss of dog power is unlikely. In some areas dog team racing now plays an increased recreational role. And **dogs**, of course, **continue** to be kept as pets, and sometimes as back-up when the machines break down. Indications that dog team running is still healthy in the lower Yukon may be found in Kwigpugmiut where a young high school student writes of his dog team adventures (Heckman 1977). The series of essays written by seventh and eighth graders in **Galena** and printed in the Tundra Times (October 26, 1977) reveals the fun, the entertainment, mobility, and adventure of driving a **snowmachine**. **Yet** hidden in one young writer's piece was the dilemma that, maybe, dogs are better.

In contrast **to** the idea that new technology is somehow destructive to Native culture. **here** are some examples of how technology may be strengthening modern Native life. First, Hall found **at Noatak a new response** to-the risks involved in **snowmobiling**: a voluntary association> the Ski Daddie Club, was formed to raise money to help defray the costs of searching for **Noatak** men whose broken snowmobiles left them stranded away from the village (**Hall 1971:254**). This is an example of a community creatively coping with

the new risks associated with a piece of modern technology.

Another insightful example of the impact of modern technology is provided by Burch. He reports that through tape recorders, airplanes, and snowmobiles there has been a resurgence in kin ties. Through these new means, ancient goals can be achieved.

"Relatives who would have belonged to a single local group in traditional times, but who were distributed in villages all over Northwest Alaska in 1970, not only re-established contact with one another, they positively thrived on their renewed associations" (Burch 1975: 232).

More people could now gather on special occasions such as Eskimo holidays, Thanksgiving, whaling feasts, Easter and church meetings, and the events could be tape recorded, filmed, and shared with others upon their return.

Overall, changes in technology have been cumulative. In the nineteenth century new items were additions to an already complex technical inventory. During the twentieth century the continuing adoption of modern technical tools led to the loss of some former knowledge, techniques, and equipment which has also led to ramifications in the division of labor, and the allocation of newly freed time, which allow both the more efficient use of resources and the development of new activities.

In the future, the adoption of additional technology will probably continue to be cumulative. I anticipate that significant ramifications on other parts of village life will not be as significant in the future as experienced in the past. The basic sociocultural changes from adoption of western technology have already been made.

Summary

Topics addressed in this chapter included the continuity of subsistence activities, the addition of cash, and experiences with industry. This led to a discussion which indicated the perpetual **seasonality** and fluctuation in the economies of small Native communities. Brief consideration of some technological changes suggests that modern material pieces are relatively easy to adapt to village cultures, and may in some instances enhance that way of life.

B

IV. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

How were public goals obtained and order maintained in **the** "olden days?" **What** forms of **social** control are effective today?

Introduction

The cultural arrangements by which a group shares rights in a territory and organizes for mutual services, including defense of that territory, may be **called** its "political organization" (Keesing 1958:287). Political organization includes **the** structure through which public goals **are** met. **Also**, membership, symbols, means for internal control and welfare **and** ways for handling external relations are a part of the political arena. **Differential** distribution of power among individuals; leadership characteristics; legitimacy through **consensual** power, coercion, or force; decisions and opposition; competition and factions are also topics which arise in the discussion of the political organizations of a group, and "politics" in general (Swartz, Turner, and Tuden 1966:1-41).

This chapter concerns only a few selected subjects: **traditional** political institutions, concept of tribe and one new political **institution**, the **council**. The informal and formal methods of social control, especially as they relate to alcohol consumption, are discussed as a part of this search for understanding the difficulties confronting **small**, rapidly changing communities as they endeavor to keep up with new **political** stratification and authority.

A political system is a subsystem of a larger social system, but for traditional Native Alaskan cultures, the separation of that which was "political" from that which was "economic" is difficult because the processes usually were not formally institutionalized. They were buried in, enmeshed with that which was family- and kinship-based. The issues around which political action was required were often also economic and social concerns.

For an example of how political power was meshed with traditional household activities, Lantis described a village getting ready for spring hunting. Each family was busy with preparation: "There was no feeling that the whole village should work together" (Lantis 1946:196). Indeed, they would have been offended if someone bossed anyone else. Rather, "the relations were man to man, not leader to group" (1946:249). An aversion to vertically structured authority has been widely reported among Native American groups. It just was not the Native way - to boss others, or to assume authority over others. However, even though household autonomy was the preferred mode, in fact leaders did arise, and periodically took the power to run things. Because of lack of formal political mechanisms sometimes an Eskimo village had a difficult time ridding themselves of despots (Davis 1967).

Political Institutions

What were the political institutions in traditional times and how have they been modified in recent years?

OLD TRIBES

To my knowledge, in aboriginal times no large scale "tribal" political

unity **existed, though** segments of **common** residence groups could, and did unite for specific events, such as defense of a commonly held territory or raiding a different group's territory. However, considerable confusion appears around the **issue** of tribe. On the one hand, Spencer declares there were no tribes **(1959:209)** but others refer to the groups in the same area **as** tribes **(Oswalt 1967)**. **Burch** refers to them as "societies" with a home district **(1975:10)**. The traditional "Eskimo societies" he identifies were "separate societal manifestations of a single culture with regional differences in subsistence base, house type and yearly cycle." However, during the recent transitional period, **Burch** refers to the communities as 28 permanent "villages" and "towns" **(1975:28)**.

Spencer recognized that each "village" had a well-defined territory, and each village had a distinct dialect **(1959:15)**. He differentiates between the coastal settlements "villages" and the **inland** "bands" which were more nomadic, and flexible **(1959:23)**. Ray refers to 22 tribes or "political units" in the Bering Strait Region **(1975:7)**. A tribe consisted of **people** with a "common language and culture who **live** within well-defined boundaries recognized by themselves and contiguous tribes" (Ray **1975:105**). That **territory** was usually the drainage area of one large river and its tributaries **as well** as smaller rivers in the area but sometimes it consisted of "**only** a piece of coastline" (Ray **1975:105-106**). To the **south**, VanStone refers to the "tribal" names in the **Nushagak** areas and notes the **location** and name confusion which existed **in** the historical record **(VanStone 1967:109-112)**.

Oswalt (1967) refers to the "twenty-one tribes of Alaskan Eskimos" **but** he goes on to note:

"that the term tribe is inexact when applied to these people, The Eskimos so classified did not form **distinct** political units; in **fact**, political structure might scarcely exist even at the village level. . . . A tribe is designated as the people in certain villages, hamlets, or camps who were considered by outsiders, and by themselves, as being set off from other such units and **having** a sense of in-group identity" (Oswalt 1967:2).

Even with the complex **Tlingit**, confusion exists about what is a "tribe," particularly with territorial meaning. Traditionally the main affiliation was with the sib, or clan, which had members located in many different villages. Sibs (na) were distinct from geographical groups (**qwan**) or villages ('an) (de Laguna 1972:212).

NEW TRIBES

The following discussion is based on my own observations; it is not documented in the published anthropological literature. However, it may be pertinent to understanding the complexities of current developments.

Recent trends seem to indicate increasing levels of political organization within and between Native groups. What appears to be emerging is a series of new "tribes," formed to meet new needs and new developments with various levels of government (Martin 1975).

At least four levels of "tribal" organizations appear to exist in Alaska today. Because some of these levels link disparate groups together, they should not be viewed as a single structure. In addition, there is some

overlap **of** the levels. Since affiliation may be required **by** western law in some instances (e.g., Land Claims Villages) but may be voluntary **in** others (**e.g.**, Alaska Federation of Natives), these levels are not formal political institutions in a strict **sense, but** rather, new forms of stratification **for** new purposes.

First of **all, most** of the original local communities, the villages, have been validated by the Land Claims Act and subsequent litigation. (There are over 220 villages.) These **villages, in** a sense, are each a kind of **tribe**, a political, social, and economic unit with some authority over **newly** bounded territory. Second, some of these villages are further clustered into regional groups which share generally contiguous areas, such as within the Regions of **Doyon, Calista,** and NANA.

Third, the Regional Corporations, for the purposes of the Alaska Native **Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA)**, form a new level of "Tribe." The 13 **Regional** Corporations are modern **organizations**, with newly **specified** territorial and economic rights and responsibilities. Each of the Regional organizations is evolving its own distinct relationships with its own people, **within**, with other Regions, and with the State and the Federal government.

The fourth "tribe" is the Alaska Federation of Natives, formed voluntarily in **1966**, which continues an advocacy position on behalf of the Regions and their villages.

Each of these new Tribes intercepts its own people and the larger world differently. That variance is based in part on traditional relationships, **on**

the differing histories each area has experienced, the accident of boundaries and resources, and the personalities of leadership.

The developing strength or weakness of each level is related to the other levels. For example, the village tribe of Angoon was historically strong, and, through the developments after the Land Claims, has perhaps **revalidated** that strength. As a village they are reluctant to release their contract bargaining position vis a vis the Federal government to the Regional non-profit branch of the **Tlingit-Haida** Association. In contrast, smaller and perhaps more vulnerable villages in other areas may need a new organization to be mediators on their behalf vis a vis the state government in Juneau and the Federal government in Washington.

Each of these **levels** are communities of people with a shared set of **responsibilities**. What appears needed is clearer articulation between the many sets of tribes, from the isolated village to the often equally isolated offices in urban centers. The profit corporations and the non-profit corporations at the regional level are in part providing this link. In one sense, these corporations are doing on a larger scale what the village used to do on a **small** scale: **defend** and utilize territorial rights and resources for their public good. Only these large-scale tribes must use new political and economic tools to do it.

The difficulty of linking the levels, which requires allocating funds and authority to the range of different kinds of "tribes" in Alaska, is reflected in the testimony of Byron **Mallott**, President of the **Alaska** Federation of Natives, Inc. (Tribal Definition Hearings, September 29, 1977.) He outlined

the possible Alaska tribes into five basic categories:

(1) **145** Traditional Councils (all Alaska villages receiving BIA services which have not organized under the Indian Reorganization Act or Alaska Reorganization **Act**);

(2) 70 Native Villages and Groups (such as Kenaitze Indians or **Kenai**) who organized under the IRA;

(3) Two Tribes: the **Tlingit** and **Haida** Central Council and **Tanana** Chiefs Conference established pursuant to federal statutes;

(4) 225 Native **Villages** defined in or established pursuant to the **Alaska Native Claims** Settlement Act;

(5) 12 Regional Profit Corporations defined in or **established** by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

New **tribes** not yet recognized on this listing are the non-profit Native Associations which have been referred to as "the traditional delivery system for Alaska Natives in the areas of manpower, health, education, **social** services, and many others" (**Mallott 1977:2**). Most interesting is this reference to the Native Associations as the "traditional" delivery system. Even though the Native Associations were not formed until the 1960's, they are by the **late** 1970's characterized as "traditional." Some are now providing many of the services, such as **health**, welfare, and **education**, that used to be available in different forms at the village **level**.

In the meantime, clarification of what **is** a tribe, with **all** the associated questions, such as who is eligible for what **funds**, remains **to** be established. If **Oswalt** thought it was difficult to draw boundaries on the traditional "tribes" for his book (1967) he should try it **now!**

BOUNDARIES AND RELATIONSHIPS

In most areas, concepts of the rights to use of land and sea resources were **well developed**, contrary to the idea that they were "communally held." The following references were found in the process of reading the literature, although Garfield's work does not apply directly to the coastal areas that are the main focus of this report.

Garfield's analysis of the historical aspects of **clans** in Angoon reflects an important sequence of splitting and regrouping of clans over time. She gives examples of five divisions, each initiated by conflict. For example, after a conflict of one clan in Angoon, they departed, "leaving their right of use and occupancy to another clan" (Garfield 1947:441). People left **Tequedi**, a winter village, after a murder caused by adultery (445-446). One clan surrendered their right to Tenekee Inlet to the Ravens "because of an accident to a Raven man not long ago" (Garfield 1947:450). Thus, new clans and communities were formed by the migration of clan members, migrations caused by quarrels, murder, disruption, and also by the natural increase of numbers. Her examples indicate how territories changed hands in the past. Finally, this quote reflects the traditional concepts of **Tlingit** use:

"According to **Tlingit** legal theory, bays, streams, and other productive areas are the private property of certain house groups or local divisions of clans. Once use and occupancy are established, these properties are inalienable" (Garfield 1947:451).

De **Laguna** also documents the history of clans, the coming, thriving and sometimes the demise of clans and their transfer of land and sea rights. "Land may be sold, given away, or lost through defeat in war" (de **Laguna**

1972:458). Conflicts over land and sea rights have a long history.

Further north, the Eskimos also had complex rules about **the use** of property, with **usufruct** rights to hunting and fishing stations (Spencer 1959:147). **Also**, personal property was **well** defined as to age, sex and **social** position (Spencer 1959:148). Permission to use items and areas had to be sought. Property marks are still used.

Along the **Kuskokwim**, ownership of areas was recognized. **Oswalt** reports "camping, fish-trapping and fur-trapping localities are recognized as belonging to one family line" (Oswalt 1963:82). Some camps were very **old** and "are known to have belonged to a family line for generations . . . Other sites are younger" (82). Succession to **these** rights **usually** follows the male **lines**, but a few **women** may **hold** rights in trust (Oswalt 1963:82).

The difficulty of moving from one village to another is compounded if you have no relatives in the new village. Without marrying into land rights, a person would be in **trouble**, and be forced to trespass on others' **established** rights. **Oswalt** notes that "a family which leaves one village to reside in another almost **always** does so because of difficulty in the former village" (Oswalt 1963:97). This, to some extent, limits mobility to areas where kinship ties are already established.

THE COUNCIL

A formalized village council was not a traditional institution. Rather, it evolved over the years as a means for coping with both old and new **prob-**

tems. In some instances, councils were formed at the suggestion of non-villagers seeking a point of contact or identifiable leader or leaders in a village. For example, the Pt. Hope council was organized by the church in 1920, and chartered in 1940 (VanStone 1962:102). The **Gambell** council was begun on the suggestion of a teacher in 1925 (Hughes 1965:257). Other areas had councils much **later**, after the Indian Reorganization Act called for them. The council at Napaskiak was organized by the teacher in 1945 (Oswalt 1964:67). The **Nunivak** and **Noatak** councils began in 1939.

The functions of the council often included dealing with topics such as health, welfare, marriage and family relations, economic problems, social welfare, recreation and crime (Hughes 1960:287). Both Pt. Hope and **Gambell's** councils levied a sales tax, and their councils functioned well for many years. VanStone especially found the Pt. Hope council "surprisingly effective as an enforcement agency" (1962:103). In contrast, the council **at Napaskiak** seemed less effective; their main concern was intoxicated individuals.

In some locations where the church is well established, tensions may **develop** between the church and council (Lantis 1972:49). The secular **council** may see their duty to deal in **moral** problems, which the church elders envision as more properly their domain.

In my own studies on the North Pacific I found that traditional power rested with **the** lay readers of the Russian Orthodox Church, and that secular authority was held by the council (Davis 1970). A tremendous increase in council activity occurred in the villages affected by the 1964 Earthquake (Davis

1971). From an inactive organization concerned primarily with once-a-year elections and once-a-year village **clean-up**, the council suddenly was confronted with new demands, problems, and conflicts.

A comprehensive analysis of the functions of a council is provided by Hughes in his article, "From Contest to Council" (1966), which traces the development of the council at **Gambell**. Traditionally, an informal council of elders handled **intra-clan** difficulties. Then in 1894, an outside mediator, the **missionary**, arrived and occasionally intervened in cases involving increased contact, and associated increased problems. The formal structure of the council was organized in **1925**. By use of public sanction **and** shaming they addressed topics such as: "domestic harmony, family **life**, permissible limits on animal kills, regulations on fox **trapping**, and ownership rights, in addition to judicial and punitive duties" (Hughes **1966:258**). The council and their actions were accepted as legitimate partly because they represented all major clans, continued to handle the **intraclan** problems, and were led for 15 years by the remarkable personality of a respected council **president**. This **leader** came from a small clan with few family ties, which may have allowed him to handle the problems more objectively (Hughes **1965:259**). During this period a Welfare Committee was formed and functioned as a kind of **extension** of the council.

These harmonious **intravillage** political operations were changed after **World War II**. For one thing, the problems extended far beyond internal village conflicts. Now they included relations between the village and the outside **world**, involving **military**, education, public health, tourism, and commercial interests. These new dimensions resulted in increased feelings of uncertainty

about the council members' abilities. This happened during a time of increased valuation of the White mainland culture. Further, the council came to be dominated by one clan and thus became a divisive element. The welfare committee, which was at first composed of members from each clan, changed in 1954 to a membership made up of persons who were unsuccessful candidates for the council. Thus the representation on the two formal **organizations** changed, which added to the loss of effectiveness.

FACTIONS

One way of coping with conflict is simply not to resolve it at all, but to have the issues become a part of internal factionalism. Although factionalism may appear dysfunctional, polarities over issues may actually be one effective manner of sharpening a community's awareness of itself, and in some communities may be a way of life; people would miss the creative **tension** if factions ever were resolved.

In her thorough analysis of four factions and their leadership in one **community**, Lantis (1972) suggests that the ambiguity of **sociocultural** norms in situations of accelerated change may **lead** to the growth of factionalism. There are new opportunities for leadership and new topics and issues for conflict. For example, many of the issues debated by the four factions were simply not available as sources of conflict 50 years ago. In 1961 the village had a church faction, a reindeer project faction, and the "innovators" and "traditionalists," represented by different persons and different approaches to the modern world.

Cline (1974) reports on factionalism in the villages where he taught. Factions seemed to be accentuated by the school board, the stores and the White/ **Native** conflict inherent in the situation. In one village I found pervasive factionalism as a form of strengthening the identity of the villagers vis a vis "others" outside. However, a distinction should be drawn between the creative tension of healthy differences on **issues**, and the destructive kinds of pervasive factionalism which renders a community incapable of decision making.

Modernization and Leadership

McClelland (1977) addresses the question of causal relationships: is it modern human beings or modern institutions which lead to modernization? His studies and those of **Inkeles** and Smith are concerned with "what men think and want and believe"; the emphasis is on that "core of the development process."

The four human characteristics **Inkeles** and Smith found most closely related to modernization were:

- 1) a sense of efficacy, **i.e.**, getting more output for **less** input;
- 2) a readiness for innovation and openness toward **system-**atic change;
- 3) a concern for planning and keeping track of time;
- 4) a respect for subordinates.

These represent a "set of common attitudes" which characterize the modern man.

McClelland used his own previous studies and analysis of children's literature, Bergthold's study of Ethiopian students, and Inkeles and Smith's study of factories in six countries to derive empirically-based conclusions about the value climates which support modernization. Of particular interest is the finding that the traditional elite in Ethiopia resisted modernization norms even though they were exposed to them the most (McClelland 1977:59). Those individuals who were most likely to "succeed" in modernization processes were those who came from modern families with minority status, i.e., those families with less investment in the old norms and already moving in the direction of modernization. They had less to lose, and more to gain. In contrast, the traditional elite, those already wealthy in the old system, were more resistant and showed less inclination to display the psychological characteristics which McClelland identifies as those promoting modernization.

McClelland (1977) also reports the finding that an individualistic emphasis is not necessary for modernization. That is, studies are indicating that the individualism which is characteristic of western countries need not be a key value for developing countries seeking modernization.

McClelland believes that the modernization movement is an ideology rather than a set of institutions. This suggests that we look at changing Alaska not only in terms of recently introduced institutions: stores, schools, councils, programs and industry, but also at the distinctive value orientations which have been identified as characterizing modernization. It may be the "value climates" of the schools, the cannery, the media, the city which shape human characteristics, not the institutions. However, insofar as the institutions are easier to study, they may still be used as one kind

of indication, or **class** of indicators, for modernization,

Another relevant question **is this:**

“Who is most **likely** to pick up the essential psychological characteristics which promote development?” (McClell and 1977:65).

Again, in general, individuals who come from poorer or minority families are reported to be more likely to become modern than those who are traditionally wealthy. This suggests the following considerations when seeking to understand small Alaskan villages. (Again, these are my own undocumented observations.)

One characteristic of modern political Native leaders in Alaska is that some may have been marginal in their own Native society either by a mixed **parentage**, or by unusual educational or orphanage experiences. As one **result** of this marginality in their original Native village or town, they were more exposed to and became skilled within another society, that of the non-Native, modern order with its western economic and political institutions. These individuals are **intelligent**, educated, **and** have successfully incorporated many of the values of the modern western world. Some have become leaders who have chosen to reaffiliate with their Native heritage and Native relatives in an attempt to understand, translate, and articulate this heritage to the modern world.

While these individuals were being educated in one direction, **i.e.**, out of the village, there were at the same time equally intelligent individuals from large and socially “wealthy” families in the village who were not

marginal by birth and whose education combined the traditional with the modern. By wealthy families, I mean that **by** birth some families are rich **in** the traditional sense of having more successful hunters and fishermen and **craftswomen** than other families. The sons and daughters of full Native parentage of established families in the traditional villages are the most knowledgeable of the skills of living in small, kinship-based, isolated villages. These families have vested power in numbers, in production, in leadership, and in prestige. They have more to lose in joining the modern society because they have more in the old society to start with. It is my contention that these individuals in the villages, the village leaders whose education includes deep socialization in the norms, values, skills, and knowledge of the traditional society, are today maintaining the very small villages.

Thus, I think we have in Alaska, on what may be a small scale, what is **happening** elsewhere in the developing third world. That is, we have the **continuity** of small villages, each with resilience of traditional values, representing continuity with the past. At the same **time, we** have the siphoning off from those villages, over several generations, a-growing urban Native population providing now some **of** the skilled and experienced Native leaders in the new Native corporations.

Social Control

How was law and order maintained in traditional days, and to what extent are those social controls operative today?

As already indicated, the formal institutions familiar to western societies did not exist in traditional Alaskan Native villages. Order was maintained by informal **social** sanctions, not by organized structures responsible for **its** maintenance. In this section, we examine some of **the** traditional methods of social control.

The traditional means of revenge, murder, is no **"longer social ly' sanctioned.** As one result of government intervention? it has become safer to live **alone.**

The role of the men's house and the **elders** in it was a strong force of **so-**
cial control in traditional days. In some areas the **kashgee**, or men's house, was operating **as** recently as **1951 (Oswalt 1963)**. Silence **and** mocking are reported as traditional means of control among **Aleuts (Jones 1976:13)**. There, and among the **Tlingits**, the maternal **uncle** was responsible for **the** behavior and the discipline of his nephews.

A method of conflict resolution used to be to do nothing, to withdraw and stay out of it (Spencer **1959:160**). One of the most effective means of **re-**
solving a problem in the village was to simply leave (Milan **1964:55; Spen-**
cer 1959:100; Oswalt 1964:64-65). This is an effective form of conflict avoidance.

During the late 1900's, the **Yakutat Tlingit** locked their doors to avoid **steal-**
ing while they were at sealing camps (de La. guns **1972:192**). The danger of **losing** items from caches by **the** intrusion of incoming Whites is **also** reported at St. Michael; the caches had to be locked (Ray 1975:241).

One example of a new form of social control is a kind of economic **ostracism**: A council directed a store not to sell goods to someone as a form of punishment (Lantis 1972:52). It appears some informal social controls which used to be effective **still** are, to some extent, but the problems have increased in range and **kind, and** the traditional system of shaming and **teasing** does not seem to work as well on some new forms of deviant behavior.

During the middle years of contact, after the schools and missions were established, the councils may have played a role in extending informal social controls to cover new problems encountered in relations with the new **category** of White outsiders. The councils were slightly more formalized, though family pressure continued. But the development of formal systems of social control seem not to have kept pace with the need for them. One **old** means of resolution of a conflict, i.e., leaving town (the community) **still** seems viable. Only now, sometimes it takes the additional assistance of the state trooper.

The literature addressed was published before the new village jails and policemen were established. My observation, however, indicates that **arresting** a relative may be as difficult for the local policeman as denying a relative credit is difficult for a new local store keeper. Further, if the trouble maker is a non-relative then the presumption of arresting that person may be even more difficult. That kind of authority over other people's lives was not vesting in a single individual, traditionally. The formal institution of "policeman" and "jail" may be difficult for some villages to accept. The tenure of the local policeman, who reports whom, under what circumstances? may provide a kind of social indicator of change. (One

wonders if successful policemen might be known descendants of shamans.)

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION

Nearly all authors of major monographs mention drinking, but the time frame of the comments is important to note. In 1834, under Russian rule, the sale of alcohol to Natives was forbidden. However, the Tlingits learned the art of distillation sometime between 1867 and 1877 after the transfer to the United States and American soldiers were withdrawn. De Laguna reports that "hooch" or "hoochenoo" was first, or at least more prolifically, made at Xutsnuwu, or "Brown Bear Fort," on Admiralty Island (de Laguna 1972:181). This new knowledge then spread northward. By the time Seton-Karr visited Yakutat in 1886, the Indians were distilling a "good deal of the vile spirit like vodki from sugar," and they were "frequently drunk" (de Laguna 1972:188).

Alcohol became a part of potlatching, and, in 1907, two men died of liquor served at a potlatch (de Laguna 1972:604). In addition to many references to drinking in songs, whisky played a part in the folklore. For example, one story tells of getting Raven drunk: "people off the schooner want to see him feel good" (de Laguna 1972:873). In more recent years liquor could be obtained from Juneau and it was also carried by fish buyers. De Laguna concludes a short discussion on drinking with:

"Aside from the hard times due to the depletion of the salmon runs, it is safe to say that drinking constitutes the most serious problem in Yakutat today", (de Laguna 1972:411).

(Remember that the time period of her fieldwork was the early 1950's.)

In the Nushagak area, VanStone reports alcohol was introduced to **the** Natives by the White and Chinese employees of the canneries. A Temperance Society was formed during 1894 by the Whites in Nushagak Bay, led by the **Moravian** missionaries (VanStone 1967:42-43). But, in 1900, a missionary report read:

"The great curse of the natives is still drink . . . The people earn so much at the canneries that they do not know what to do with their money" (VanStone 1967:76).

(At that time Native employees received \$1 to \$1.50 a day.)

In 1954-55, **Oswalt** found drinking at Napaskiak was a community problem, but he also noted that "drinking is one of the most satisfying forms of diversion for certain individuals" (**Oswalt 1963:116**). Even at that time it was possible to order alcohol by telegram for delivery from Anchorage by air. Drinking was highly secretive then, but many of the councils' rules, and problems concerned drinking, and what to do with a constant violator.

Lantis made many return trips to Nuni vak, and usually wrote rather glowing reports about the Islanders and their successful adaptation to the modernization. I found only one small reference to drinking:

"Deviant behavior takes chiefly the form of heavy drinking, which Nuni vak was spared until recently but few other communities have escaped. The drinking is an expression and veritable **symbol** of response to a social situation that cannot be managed, or feelings of personal inadequacy" (Lantis 1972:63).

Over a period of years, Nowak noted a change in drinking on Nuni vak. In 1967, there was no noticeable problem; but in 1970, the enforcement of a ban on alcohol was a failure, and even the new city police force and jail

did not seem to help in 1973. He also noted that **drinking** might be **con-**
sidered, for some, a form of adaptation to **living** on Nunivak (Nowak 1973:34).

The **people on** St. Lawrence **Island** had some early experiences with **alcohol** when whaling ships made additional profit by trading rum or whisky **in** return for baleen, **sealskins,** and ivory (Hughes 1960:13). However, drinking was not reported as a severe problem in Hughes' monograph, with one **excep-**
tion: a reference to the disaster in 1878 - 1879 when an estimated **two-**
thirds of the population on the **island** died from mysterious causes. **What** has been suggested was that whalers stopped on the way south with **liquor** **in** October, hunters missed the **walrus** herds on the November **ice,** and severe famine followed. However, apparently some deny this and an alternative explanation was given to Hughes that southerly winds kept the winter ice, with the walrus, away from the island, and the **people** suffered subsequent extreme starvation (Hughes 1960:13).

For the Bering Strait area, Ray has documented that the liquor trade began in 1848 when the whalers began to arrive; they sold it by the **barrel at** Kotzebue Sound in 1867 (Ray 1975:179). By 1868 liquor was making its appearance everywhere, and at least 11 vessels sold liquor **in** the north during 1878. Also stills were part of the whaling stations in the 1880's (Ray 1975:169, 179 > 191). Further Ray makes this note:

"A point that must not be overlooked is that the Eskimo drank excessively from the first sip of liquor, **which** was at a time in history when he **felt no** stress from a 'clash' of **cul-**
tures. He drank because **he liked** what it did to him" (Ray 1975: 252).

There were no permanent White people in the area for another forty years.

4

The Pt. Hoppers also learned how to make home brew from whalers, but at the time of VanStone's study, the village was dry by local option. Young men did place orders from Nome and Fairbanks (alcohol was not available through Kotzebue). At Pt. Hope, as elsewhere, people who never drank in the village may have drunk heavily when away from the village. The Alaska National Guard encampment was infamous for the heavy drinking which occurred there annually (VanStone 1962:136).

In the Barrow area Spencer reports that drinking in the early 1950's was not a problem, though it had been during the early stages of contact (Spencer 1959:378). Burch found that drinking was often a factor in the release of pent-up resentment over mistreatment in the past by parents. But if an adult should strike a parent, extreme depression and withdrawal followed (Burch 1975:144-145). Burch also noted that in 1960 "it was up to siblings, not to the Village Council, to restrain a drunk from wreaking havoc in the village" (Burch 1975:172). If the intoxicated person could not be controlled, then it was up to a sibling to make a formal complaint to the police,

This suggests that if we were to look at contemporary drinking reports, it is not just the number of persons that matters, but rather, and perhaps more importantly, who does the reporting. If it is relatives then perhaps the traditional family ties are still functioning as a form of social control.

Two comprehensive analyses of drinking behavior among Native Alaskans are by Berreman (1956) and more recently by Jones in her book on Aleuts in Transition (1976). Unfortunately both studies concern the Aleuts, which is hardly fair to them. However, Jones' work is especially valuable because of the

contrasts between two **communities**: one which appears "**healthy**," in control of life, and their drinking; and the other whose unfortunate history has been further compounded by the establishment of five crab processing **canneries**, the opening of a bar and **liquor** store and a sudden spurt in excessive drinking and violence (Jones 1976:86).

Apparently, the **Aleuts** readily adopted alcohol, as did other Native groups. Jones suggests that perhaps at first drinking was a substitute for **Aleut** ceremonials. Certainly drinking was social rather than solitary, and periodic, rather than constant. She found that even in New Harbor, the "healthy" community, drinking was a dominant **social** activity, participated in for the express purpose of getting drunk, at selected times. However, the parties **did** not last long.

For the **Aleut** adults in **Iliaka**, the **village** which was overwhelmed with outside industry (crab processing plants), "drinking is the dominant **leisure-time** activity" (Jones 1976:86). Further, she goes on to state:

. . . "They drink now, not as they once did, to celebrate a holiday, a hunting trip, or the **end** of fishing season but with a boundless desperation to **feel** for a drunken moment like a self-respecting person and a significant human being. Because of the widespread need for such release, drinking in **Iliaka** has become **one** of the most powerful symbols of group identity and membership" (Jones 1976 :87).

Indeed drinking may be a vehicle for the continuity of traditional values of sharing, of generosity and egalitarianism (Jones 1976:73). Finally, the utter monotony of working under White racist bosses at a cannery is reflected

in this quote by an Aleut:

"We're like robots. The same **thing** minute by minute, hour by **hour**, day by day. I worked every day **last week until I** felt like a limp vegetable. Then I thought, the hell with it **and** went on a beer bust" (Jones 1976:44).

What generalizations can we draw from these few references? One response to alcohol appears **to** have been its acceptance from the beginning, with consumption in large amounts occurring seasonally. The amounts appear to be related to availability and both have increased noticeably in recent years. Drinking is not a new pattern, but in some areas one well **established** and now a part **of** village **life style**. It is for some a dominant leisure time activity.

Village **Drinking**: One Example

The following excerpt is taken from a paper presented by the author at the First Annual Meeting of the Alaska School of Alcohol Studies, held in Anchorage in 1973:

"In the mid-60's I arrived in a small village on the same **plane** as a generous supply of locally preferred booze. A storm set **in** soon thereafter and I found myself five days in a village while a big party was going on. After I **completed** my assignment (what I could under the circumstances), I was able to indulge in questions about drinking behavior in that particular village. In this heavy drinking village, I found that talking about drinking was a common theme of conversation. The village had a notorious reputation which provided a special kind of identity. Some **folks were** busy keeping up that reputation while the rest were talking about it.

"Although **most** time was spent with sober villagers, the best interview I had was with the chief whose wife insisted he leave the party for a few minutes to talk to me.

Acting more drunk than he really was, he effectively told me where to go. He was fed up with people coming and going to and from his village without his permission, invading his privacy and the privacy of his people. He was angry, and rightfully so. He was **also** moderately drunk, and perhaps also rightfully so, considering how much stress he was under and the reputation of both he and the village. (And he appropriately scared me. Never again **will I** visit a village without an invitation and **clear** cut information for the villagers on why and for what purposes I come.)

"Other interviews, with sober members of the village, **led** to a kind of understanding of the range of village drinking and non-drinking which may be grouped in the following manner:

1. Heavy drinkers
2. Regular drinkers
3. Periodic drinkers
4. Abstainers

"Heavy drinkers include those individuals who drink a great **deal**, become violent when drunk, and have a reputation for aggressive behavior. **When they go to town** and get drunk they are **likely** to be thrown in **jail**, but in the village there may be no such control for **similar** behavior.

"The regular party drinkers are persons who **would** have **participated in** the party if they had been invited. They put on their own parties, drink whenever the opportunity arises, but do not become violent and disruptive during drinking. Their drinking is 'regular' in the sense that given the opportunity they would drink, but this does not imply they are always drinking. Rather I find village drinking has a marked **seasonality** to it.

"The periodic drinkers do not drink in the village at all. Out of respect for parents and children they limit their drinking to trips to town, called a 'toot,' at which time they will drink and have a good time, a different kind of good time than is available to them in the village.

"The abstainers are those individuals who never drink **at all**. These individuals include persons who had a vision in church, who for religious reasons avoid **all** alcohol, or in **one** case a person whose doctor had **con-**

vinced him he would die if he ever had another drop. Abstainers may be lifetime abstainers, or they may be reformed heavy drinkers. To my knowledge little pressure is put on them to participate in parties; rather their choice not to drink is respected.

"These four general categories relative to drinking and non-drinking represent clusters I found in one community at one time over 10 years ago. Any one community may have a different combination of these four groups; not every village will have all four groups represented. Some communities may have a mixture of abstainers and periodic drinkers, and no heavy drinkers. Another village may have four heavy drinkers and no abstainers this year, but next year the heavy drinkers may leave or die. In yet another village there may be whole families of abstainers this year but next year some individuals may join the regular drinkers. Each village has its own combination of drinkers, and its own history of drinking, which can vary from year to year. Thus a community that used to have a proud reputation for being a dry village may change and attain a reputation as a heavy drinking town. Once a village gets a reputation for heavy drinking it may be very difficult to live it down; it may be much easier to live it up" (Davis 1973).

In the early 1950's Berreman (1956) witnessed the same kind of drinking as I did, including similar participation, some individuals acting more drunk than they were, the local leader as a heavy drinker, and the activities of children such as bolting doors while the adults are drinking. In the early 1970's Breilsford observed and reported in greater detail and analysis the drinking patterns in an Indian community (Breilsford 1976).

Breilsford's observation and research concerning the role of transportation of alcohol into the community, and Honigmann's study (1965) of Northern Canadian Eskimo townsmen's drinking patterns suggests that availability may be a highly significant dimension of the heavy, sporadic drinking in some small communities. Further, Oswalt reports the council of Napaskiak was

concerned about the transportation by air of **alcohol** from Bethel **in** the **mid-1950's**, and Hopson's recent written concern about airline bootleg specials from Barrow (Tundra Times, 1978), all combine to strongly suggest that transportation and the associated availability of alcohol is a key factor, and one which has been a concern for many years.

Thus, we might conjecture that one potential result from Outer Continental Shelf developments, or any other industrial development which involves increased transportation services, will increase the likelihood of greater alcohol availability and consumption. Transportation may **be** found to be more significant in the amount of alcohol-related problems than the total amount of cash earned and available. Perhaps the great increase in the average annual alcohol death rates for Alaska Natives reported for the years 1969 - 1974 by Kraus and **Buffler (1976)** could be correlated with the increased air traffic **patterns**, and **business**, during those years.

It has been proposed that drinking takes the place of former ceremonialism, but it may take the place of much more. As many as 160 Native items are no longer manufactured, and few constructive substitutes seem to have been found to fill the newly acquired leisure and accompanying boredom.

Summary

This chapter has addressed a **few** selected topics to provide a background for **considering** possible indicators of **social** change in political **organiza-tion**. Not analyzed here was the important period of the 1960's which **was** politically active (and ultimately led to the Land Claims Act). That period

is reviewed by Lantis (1973) and specific events in one region recently reported by Worl Associates (1978:71-84). A comprehensive background text on the Land Claims is available (Arnold 1976), and papers primarily concerned with legal matters indicate some of the complexities developing during the 1970's (Lazarus and West 1976; Price 1975). My own short report (1977) on the impact of the land claims was not included for I found that by 1976 little change had yet occurred, except in the development of new middle bureaucracies, and new government relationships and responsibilities. Obviously, much research remains to be done.

V. SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE

What have we learned about past rates and paths of change and what does that suggest concerning future directions?

Introduction

This chapter seeks to synthesize what emerged from the analysis of the anthropological literature concerning past rates and paths of change and to suggest possible future directions. Where not specifically referenced, this synthesis reflects the views of the author,

A constant, dynamic characteristic of human communities is change. **What** varies is the **rate**, the intensity, the source, the response, and the permanent ramifications of change. The analysis of the literature suggests that change in the coastal communities of Alaska has been sporadic, often **intensive, over** short periods, and has been followed by a slower process of adjustment which has resulted in permanently altered communities. For example, the initial impact of the whalers was short and intense in the summer, followed by a recovery period **dur-**ing the winter when they were gone. Traders came sporadically in the nineteenth **century**, and they settled only in a few places. Miners came in mass, stayed at a few selected sites for a short, intensive time, and then most of them departed.

The historic pattern of sporadic, intensive interaction has been **car-**

ried into recent years, by some government programs. Representatives of these programs may make a quick visit to a village to gather information or scope a "problem." Occasionally statements are made which are viewed by the residents as promises which tend to raise their expectations (Davis 1969) . If the visit results in the funding of a project, there **will** be a spurt of activity. However, this may be followed by a reduction in the **pro-**gram funds, a decline of the **service**, and a subsequent regrouping by the villagers in adjustment to the change.

After each period of extensive contact, whether with **whalers, miners,** fishermen, traders, government personnel. **or** others, communities reflect some modifications from the contact. Communities do not spring back **to** what they used to be after an epidemic, after experiencing high prices for fox skins, or the high salaries of an active construction season. They become different kinds of communities, different in accumulated experiences and different in **level** of expectations. **What** exists in Alaska are not clusters of villages very much alike in their predicaments and contemporary social **milieu**, but rather over 200 small communities each distinct in its original **place** within the regional culture, reshaped by history, and moving into the future at varying rates. This cultural diversity is **likely** to persist and influence future responses to change.

General Comparisons

The following comparison of northern and southwestern parts of Alaska is derived from a chapter by VanStone (1967:157-166), He is the **only** anthropologist to have accomplished research in both the north and south; his

conclusions are based on **ethnohistoric** study and fieldwork during the 1950's and 1960's.

First of **all, early** exploration in the **south** was primarily for the purposes of **fur** trade; in the north, first exploration was accomplished to attain geographic knowledge. The missionaries arrived earlier in the south, but their efforts were more intensive in the north, where they often established a resident missionary who was a major agent of change. In addition, the **settlements** of the south were more **mobile** and scattered; to the north, they were more sedentary and concentrated. Formal education came to the southwest more recently, and was more scattered than in the north where it was both **early** (end of the nineteenth century) and more intensive.

The two major nineteenth century industries canneries and **whaling**, were both seasonal and agents of intensive change. However, fishing continued in the south, and whaling declined in the north. Also in the south, **people** were drawn to **canneries** which were not always located at established village sites; in the north, industry came to the larger, concentrated villages. The reindeer industry was marginal in the south, but in the north, this industry introduced **the** Eskimos to new economic methods, including corporations, stock, shareholders, and boards **of** directors. (One wonders if that early experience in the north with corporations **will** make the managing of new village and regional corporations easier than **in** the south where the main **industry**, canneries, **were** owned and operated **by** out-of-state firms.)

VanStone found that the wage economy was more disruptive in the south, and **led** to greater overall dependence on wages, than in the north, where the

combination of summer jobs for cash worked well with the traditional **yearly** cycles. In the north, summer was a **slow time** of year, a time easily devoted to earning wages. In contrast, to the south, summer was **the** time of critical subsistence **harvest**, and jobs came **in** more **direct** conflict with traditional activities.

This comparison demonstrates once again regional differences and emphasizes the dangers of treating all rural, or coastal, communities as if they were quite similar. It also highlights the problems involved in tracing past changes and forecasting future ones. **What** may be an adequate index for one community may not be relevant to another one. Even shared factors, such as seasonal employments are different for the two areas.

Change and Acculturation

Acculturation is a process of change occurring when different cultures come in contact with one another. Like many terms in anthropology, acculturation has varied uses and there are several definitions, some with conflicting elements. The differences in and limitations of the various definitions are discussed thoroughly by **Beals** (1953). A broad definition is, given by Goldstein (1956) who suggests that acculturation is concerned "with the types of changes which occur in a culture as a function of contact with another group whose practices and feelings are in some way **significantly** different from **their own.**"

Several cautions **should** be invoked when using the concept. one is to avoid treating it as a static notion. **Beals** notes that, although often defined as

a dynamic process, it is often used in a static manner, such as outlining a taxonomy of stages of acculturation. Another difficulty is to assume that it is a disintegrative process. Chance (1960) says disruption is not a necessary concomitant to acculturation and cites evidence **that** the process need not be tension producing. A third pitfall is to assume that it is one-directional. Village cultures are sometimes seen as changing only in the direction of modern, urban cultures. This appears to be one shortcoming in the analysis by **Alonso** and Rust (1976). When two cultures come in contact, the process of acculturation can involve both when each responds with changes (often creative) to the other's distinctiveness (Davis 1976).

The analysis of the literature suggests that in Alaskan villages **acculturation** has been sporadic in time and spotty in space. Some communities have had a steady sequence of waves of external influences, and accompanying **modifications** to accommodate them. Other villages have been more on the margin of developments elsewhere, and their relative isolation has allowed them a different, and perhaps more even, rate of acculturation. The accidents of contact of the past are likely to be repeated in the future. The forces of acculturation again will accompany the discovery of desirable resources in **the** vicinity of certain villages, but not near others. Not knowing who **will** be spared, or **who will** benefit, makes the response difficult to determine and the possibility of options hard to calculate.

A central element in the concept of acculturation is the emphasis on feelings and values. **While** the adoption **of** material aspects of a culture is a visible, and therefore easily measured **index**, the more important aspects are **the inter-**actions of values between the cultures that are in contact. The literature

provides some **insights** into this process.

The historical sequence has been, in general, one in which the first White residents often valued the Native way of life - and indeed they were sometimes dependent on the Natives for survival (Ray 1975). During those initial contacts, Natives came to value, selectively, certain aspects of the western material items and to become increasingly (but only periodically) involved in a wage economy in order to obtain those items.

Now a general pattern seems to be emerging, similar perhaps to the late nineteenth century period. That is, Whites value, selectively, aspects of the Native culture such as curios, art forms, **dance, mukluks** and parkas. And the Native people continue to value and aspire to obtain, also selectively, items and services of the dominant culture. But what may be **developing** in Alaska that is unique to the present is a more tolerant, and balanced, pluralistic social perspective which **can**, without threat to identity, openly value the diversity of cultures.

One hypothesis discussed by Chance (1972) identifies three "levels of **critical** consciousness" which, if applied here, may partly explain some of the developments in Native Alaska during the last 20 years. The first level is characterized by a "culture of silence" in which the minority members are seen as an object by others. . . . "at this **level**, they remain inarticulate, even in the face of extreme economic hardship or social conflict (Chance 1972:176).

The second or transitional level of consciousness, which appears to have

been occurring increasingly since 1960, develops when the people become more fully aware of the dichotomy between themselves and others.

"They not only realize that **they** are alienated from-the dominant sector of **society**, and as such are largely powerless, but that this alienation has deep societal **roots**" (Chance 1972:176).

At this level the minority members begin to take action to remove that alienation and that action then creates a backlash or reaction which further increases their understanding of the contradictions between the **ideal** reality, and the social reality.

The third, transforming **level** of consciousness is initiated when the people not only denounce de-humanizing **social** institutions and practices, but actively begin to formulate new humanizing institutions and values (Chance 1972:176).

In Alaska there may be some small villages which are **still** "silent," but their number is decreasing. Far more have moved in recent years to active dymystification of the **social** world and toward revaluing their Native traditions, encouraged by a return of Native leaders to their communities of origin. An example of the third **transforming** level, reflecting new and more sensitive institutions> is found in the non-profit corporations such as the Cook Inlet Native Association, and efforts to make the Self-Determination Act of 1975 **functional, as indicated** by the efforts of the North Pacific Rim **Native** Corporation and their **health** evaluation (Brelsford 1978).

Modernization

Like acculturation modernization **is** a theoretical concept used to explain changes observed in **rural**, non-industrialized cultures as they interact with urban, industrialized societies. As defined by Moore (1977:33), modernization is "the process of rationalization of social behavior and social **organization**."

"Modernization, as a politically articulated goal, also includes the expansion of education as a kind of universally accepted prescription for personal improvement, and medical and public health facilities, recognizing that health and longevity are also values that know no cultural boundaries" (Moore 1977:34).

Forms of rationalization in the modernization process include monetization and commercialization, **technification** of production and distribution, **education**, bureaucratization, demographic rationalizations and secularization (Moore 1977:35).

As with acculturation, caution should be exercised when using the concept. A particular difficulty is assuming that, with modernization, villages become similar to urban entities. **Alonso** and Rust appear to imply this:

"Village life will continue to become more urban in style and more closely interconnected with the major cities" (1976:4).

Villages will certainly continue to change **in** new and different ways, and the networks of connections **will** continue with other communities, but this does not mean they become more urban. **Rather**, villages responding to new connections with the city become different kinds of villages. They do not become new kinds of cities.

Part of this difficulty comes from focusing solely on the influence of the urban areas on the **village**, the attraction of **people** out of village to the **city**, and the increasing connections only with urban areas. Also needed is an understanding of the special relationships which regional towns have with the surrounding villages and which the villages have with one another. And again **like** acculturation? the concept must not be assumed to imply change in one direction only. Modernization does not mean only that villages **will** become more dependent upon cities; the contributions of villages to urban areas must also be considered.

With respect to monetization and commercialization, the **role** of cash and of certain industries has already been explored in Chapter **III**. Suffice it to say that as indices of modernization they reflect the same diversity found **in** other areas. Money has been circulating in some parts of **Alaska** for over **100 years**, but in other parts **it** did not enter into everyday exchange until as recently as the 1930's.

There is **little** doubt that technification of production and distribution is **taking** place in village Alaska. The introduction of community-wide **electrification** is one visible example. The role of education as an agent of modernization has already been discussed. The bureaucratization taking **place** has occurred mainly in response to the changes since **1970**, particularly the implementation of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (Davis **1977**). For this reason, it was not reflected in the literature analyzed for this report. Similarly, examples of demographic rationalization will be most evident in the post-1970 period with the imposition of regional and village boundaries by **ANCSA**. Secularization most **likely will** display geographic variation **in**

light of the varied influence of the church. . This topic **also** has been **dis-**
cussed in an earlier chapter.

Change and Continuity

Each generation creates a new cultural synthesis, for as Hughes states, "no generation **will** ever exactly reproduce the cultural forms of its predecessor even under the most stable conditions" (1960:357). The changes occurring now, in the **last** quarter of the twentieth century, are far different from those that occurred in the first three-fourths of the century. Former devastating epidemics are largely controlled and the great losses to families through these forms of death are unlikely. Indeed, the population is growing. The ideological changes introduced by Christian missionaries are essentially completed. The major new institutions of the church, school, store and council have long been established. New technologies have been adopted and often there is little of the old material inventory left to change. Industry in various forms has come; in some cases, as with canneries, it has endured; in other cases, as with mines, it has gone.

Although some conscious selection was involved in the adoption of new material things and personal choice was exercised in taking the new opportunities provided by the modern world, little attention has been directed to assessing if the people were fully aware of the processes impinging on them and if they are pleased with the results. Until recently it would appear that most Natives were not unduly concerned about the loss of some aspects of their **culture**; the attraction of the new appeared unquestioned. However, the mood of Alaska has changed, and continues to change in the direction of revaluing

that which is **Native**, and in the direction of questioning the ultimate **value** of further changes, especially **if** they mean more losses to Native cultures. The movement is likely to have a moderating effect on future change, and it clearly has increased the **level** of consciousness of what is Native and what is not. **Institutional** support is being provided for this revaluing. Locally-controlled schools, **the** responsibilities imposed by the **Claims** Act, Native publications, and similar factors add to the growing awareness. All are potentially powerful forces to slow and control the directions of **future** change.

The following brief comment reflects one Native's questions about the future; and captures the spirit of current inquiry:

"There is impending development of offshore oil. How do we deal with it as a people? Are we again to be ripped off as in the **gold** rush? How do we benefit from this, or **better yet**, how do we keep what is left of our culture **and lifestyle?**" (**Tes-timony**, Charles Johnson, September 29, 1977.)

A Look Ahead

Projections by anthropologists about the future of Native Alaskan groups are rare, but they include a range of tentative suggestions from "they **will** survive" to the "doomsday" prediction. For example, Spencer anticipates that "As long as the family system remains intact, . . . the **future** remains a bright one" (1959:350). **Lantis** predicts a loss of church influences and a shifting to leaders in community enterprises on **Nunivak** (1972:60). Van Stone noted that Pt. Hoppers were forward looking and eager to achieve as high a standard of living as possible, which is also reported by **Burch** (1975:206); however, VanStone added a cautionary note

"If the time should **come** when summer employment away from **the village no longer satisfies** new felt **needs**, a movement of people from the village to urban centers can be expected" (1962:166).

B Finally, one author gave the doomsday forecast. Hughes, in his last chapter entitled "The Broken Tribe," states:

"The day of the hunter is passed. The industrialized world has moved too much into the arctic regions and has disturbed ancient animal migration routes; it has destroyed plant and animal **life** on which an Eskimo economy is based; and through the medium of contact and presentation of alternative models for **behavior**, it has sapped the strength of sentiments supporting the old way of life" (Hughes 1960: 389).

And, that was probably an accurate picture of how things **looked** in the 1950's in some areas. However, there were significant changes in the 1960's which modified the tide of events. Here is Hughes' current commentary:

"I was back out on the **Island** last year (1977). . . I spent only a little more than a week altogether then, but was much impressed with (paradoxically) both the changes and the continuities. Changes in technology, obviously -- T.V., **snowmachines**, **C.B.** radios, walkie-talkies, **etc**; and continuities in the social culture -- the clan system and extended family structure, also continuities in the ethos and values related to hunting.

"The villages do continue as viable communities; there is no question of that" (Hughes, March 31, **1978**, personal communication.).

This continuity and flexibility of families and **villages** to adjust to change has been noted by others. In **1965**, **Burch** predicted the rapid demise of a village; he was surprised "to find it thoroughly rejuvenated just two years later (and still going strong in 1970). . ." This led him to comment:

"I have learned from this experience that caution is in order on predictions of this kind. During efforts to analyze my own error in judgment, I realized that the traditional Eskimos had been notable for their ability to modify their lifestyle in order to cope with the changing problems of survival; their descendants in the recent period were simply applying the traditional approach to the new situation -- and they were doing so quite successfully" (1975:303).

Finally, to conclude this section on change and continuity:

"Change is not extinction; indeed, change often functions to prevent that very outcome" (Burch 1975:302).

Against this background of continuity and viability of villages, we must next ask: How will the development of OCS oil and gas resources influence the coastal villages? And how do reports such as this one and the broader effort of the Alaska Socioeconomic Studies Program fit in? The facts appear to be:

- Oil and gas are needed to maintain the Nation until cost efficient alternative sources become available.
- Decisions must be made concerning the leasing of off-shore tracts.
- If exploration leads to discovery, subsequent decisions must be made concerning the location of on-shore facilities.
- Decision makers in both government and industry need the best and the most complete information possible, presented in the most effective, sharp, clear manner.
- That information cannot be adequately prepared without significant community input. It takes more than economic forecasting and social model building to achieve completeness, especially with culturally distinctive Native communities.

One of the statements in the Draft Environmental Impact Statement for the Lower Cook Inlet Lease sales was the comment by the people of English Bay

that they found the DEIS "shockingly deficient in sociological and economic studies" (1976 ;254). If the village people of the coastal areas want equal time, attention, and research (equal with the fish and plankton), then they must join and participate in studies to assure those documents will accurately reflect their present interests, preferred direction, and conscious values.

But, the price a community may have to pay for participating in a socioeconomic studies program is coping with, and training, social science strangers in their villages. The price of not participating and assisting in the necessary research would be to settle for no local input, and have decisions based on dated, inadequate documents, and a large measure of guesswork.

Somehow, participating in research must be made attractive, and valuable for the coastal communities. That can happen if the residents are part of the design, the data gathering, and become the recipients of the research product. And, more importantly, if they become the recipients of wiser, more informed decisions, Then, if the community residents are not satisfied with the outcome, they will have at least tried to provide the best possible information, and they will as a community be in a better position to respond creatively and as a unit, than if they had not been involved at all.

One of the values of the kinds of exercises required now by law, i.e., the social impact analysis, is that the process itself will have an impact on itself. One result of this kind of iteration will be a greater level of consciousness on a nationwide basis of exactly what it is we are about. New information, new kinds of awarenesses must be translated from the esoterica of the scientific world for those people who make decisions and for those who are recipients of the results of those decisions. Such a network of

exchange of new knowledge could provide a setting for the conscious, planned, reorganization of the moral and technical world to better mesh together and integrate its current fragments.

A Look Back

One stated objective of this study was, "using secondary source data, . . . to identify the causal links between rapid exogenous change and internal changes experienced by communities." The findings are to provide a guide for a "detailed examination and projection of likely changes due to OCS and other forces on local communities." In the process of reviewing the literature, it was hoped that "the riches and limitations of anthropological literature in the provision of indicators of change" could be assessed.

The fact of the matter, however, is that the anthropological literature published to date does not provide precise indicators of change which would be useful for the exact projection of future directions. On the other hand, the literature reviewed for this report does provide a background for understanding the cultural distinctions and various responses to changes in the past. From this information we can better understand the regional variations in Alaska and more accurately anticipate differential responses to future industrial development.

The unevenness of this report is partly the result of trying to apply anthropological information based on fieldwork over a thirty-year period to topics of current interest to the Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Socioeconomic Studies Program. There are a number of requested topics I was unable to address

adequately. One of **them**, dependency on, government services and programs, was mentioned only **rarely**, for example, in connection with the benefits of old age assistance. The lack of treatment here highlights the fact that much of what we see now **in** terms of government programs in Alaska is **re-**cent, introduced within the last 20 years. Much more attention to government services would be included in any study accomplished in the **1970's**.

Perhaps the most serious gap in this report is the fact that I cannot say anything **significant**, at this time, about types of communities, the stage of community development, the stage and type of industrial development or the response capacity of community institutions. These concepts were not addressed in the literature analyzed. Other areas which could not be **ad-**dressed in the time and scope of this report include issues of health, education and changing government policies affecting Native peoples. The significant contributions of recent developments in marine anthropology need yet to be addressed.

In addition to the gaps in the published literature, the studies themselves have certain shortcomings. The author of this report would make the following criticisms of the literature:

- There is too much emphasis on how Eskimos adapt to their environment and too **little** information on how they have adapted their environment to them.
- There exists some confusion concerning the degree and extent of changes introduced in the nineteenth century. For example Chance (1966:13,15) refers to the "dramatic changes **in** the 19th century" including rifles, whiskey, **diseases, and** demoralized village **life**. Others, **in-**

cluding Ray, indicate that the changes were moderate. She contends that the items were added and "Eskimoized," and that the Eskimos were, until the turn of the century, altogether in control of things.

- There is ambiguity about the effects of some economic changes. Chance (1966:16) says that the introduction of trapping split up a community; the events "quickly affected village cohesion." At the same time, however, he notes that the change gave other resources time to recover. Trap for fox, and the caribou will return (Chance 1966:16). He does not indicate whether cohesion was restored with the revival of the caribou.
- There has been scarce attempt to compare research, and only one longitudinal study has been accomplished.

Yet, in general, the literature reviewed was excellent anthropology; each major reference is a valuable contribution. However, it was far too lean on theoretical discussion which would allow for transfer to specific places and situations currently anticipating industrial development. The literature was excellent for what it was used for here: a historical perspective to provide a time depth, an awareness of the traditional and changing Native cultures of Alaska. However, these dated studies must be complemented, added to, and current issues addressed.

This report clearly indicates the coastal villages are poorly represented in the anthropological literature. Approximately 120 Alaskan villages are located on the ocean's coast and most other villages are located along the river systems connecting with those coasts. We have extremely few published accounts of the special cultural configurations of individual communities (only six) and none are contemporary.

In addition to these limitations, **one of** the difficulties encountered **in** the **review and** analysis **of** the literature and the attempt to understand **possible** linkages between past events **is reflected** in the following statement on the "interpretive approach" which recognizes that much of human activity is fundamentally new, innovative and **not** previously acted out.

"As such there **is** much in **it** (human activity) that is predictable only in a limited. . . sense; many of the most important things to be studied are those very aspects that have not yet occurred with any frequency, are not members of any identified category of phenomena, and therefore cannot be subjected to much of the methodology that has emerged from the positivistic approaches that have dominated the natural sciences **during** the past century" (Adams 1977:374).

In sum, human phenomena is complex, poorly understood and, literally, full of surprises. Yet part of this report has been an attempt to take some of the surprises out of possible future developments by taking into account what is known about past developments.

Summary of Findings

Toward that effort, the following is the author's beginning identification of those aspects of small Native Alaskan communities which appear least **susceptible** to change:

- We can anticipate **that the family will** continue to be one of the most **resilient aspects** of Native culture,
- A strong sense **of village** identity will continue. The sense of **belonging to** the village of **birth continues throughout** the life of most Native persons, **regardless of** where they may be **living**.
- **Seasonality** of yearly **activities will also likely** continue.

There are **times for fishing, hunting, jobs, picnics, clamming, trips, and times for local ceremonies.** Villagers are likely to **continue** established patterns of **diverse** activities throughout the year.

Next **is the author's** tentative identification of those aspects **of village culture** which appear most susceptible to change.

- Technology has proven **its** amenability to adoption in **many** different settings. Pieces of modern technology are **likely to** continue to accrue to the current technical **kit.**
- The **physical** mobility of people in and out of villages is **likely** to increase.
- The network of human relationships **will** increase **in** diversity **as** the social world of Native **villagers** expands.
- Political structures **will** continue to intercept the villages at more points.
- Increased conflict is likely, for there are more issues about which to differ.
- Relationships of cash-generating and subsistence **activities will** continue to fluctuate **according** to what is available and when it can be **obtained.**

The following additional **list** of tentative findings are not conclusions in the sense of documented facts or specific directions of change. They are, rather, suggestions **of** the kinds of things the Socioeconomic Studies Program might consider **as** they examine future developments.

- **Modifications of coast village life** as a **direct result of** recent events, **such as** the Land Claims and the pipeline, have **not yet** been documented,
- **Social** horizons are expanding to include **international dimensions, but** the **significance of this** at the **village level remains to** be documented.
- Ocean use appears to be **more** extensive and more dependable than **land use.**

- Technological changes related to land activity **may have** changed more rapidly than technological changes related to sea activities, suggesting a more conservative dependence on oceans.
- New institutions, the church, the school, store and council, **are** generally well established.
- The rate of acculturation may be slowing down. Perhaps many of the **sociocultural** changes which had **to** be made, have been.
- e Informal roles and responsibilities which used to be performed primarily by household units were first **partly** segmented **by government** programs and centered **in the person of an** outsider, such as a teacher, and now are being shifted back to Native persons in the form **of** newly structured jobs.
- Modern transportation and technology is enhancing traditional kinship and family-based ties in new ways. Location of kin are dispersed but connections continue.
- Reference group identification is shifting away from a former tendency toward White orientation to a revaluing and identification of Native affiliation.
- Continued interest in the Native languages is likely to generalize to other aspects of the traditional culture. As new levels of literacy are reached, more publications by Natives are likely, and these will enhance the current trends of ethnic validation.
- These recent trends and the present levels of sophistication among Native groups will **likely** significantly influence future response to industry-related developments.

This report is the result of an intensive exercise to locate, draw out and present data about Native Alaskan communities which is both documented in the limited anthropological literature and relevant to our understanding of the historical basis of contemporary differences. The author has included some additional insights which derived from this task. In sum, it is upon already complex and diverse small communities of the North that future modifications will occur, with or without OCS development.

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