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Social and Economic Studies Program
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Minerals Management Service
Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region

Social Indicators -for OCS Impact Monitoring

Volume 3 of 3: Baseline Ethnographic Description of the NANA and Aleutian Pribilof Regions
The United States Department of Interior was designated by the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) Lands Act of 1953 to carry out the majority of the Act's provisions for administering the mineral leasing and development of offshore areas of the United States under federal jurisdiction. Within the Department, the Minerals Management Service (MMS) has the responsibility to meet requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) as well as other legislation and regulations dealing with the effects of offshore development. In Alaska, unique cultural differences and climatic conditions create a need for developing additional socioeconomic and environmental information to improve OCS decisionmaking at all governmental levels. In fulfillment of its federal responsibilities and with an awareness of these additional information needs, several investigative programs have been initiated, one of which is the Alaska OCS Social and Economic Studies Program (SESP).

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

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

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

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

SOCIAL INDICATORS FOR OCS IMPACT MONITORING

Prepared for

Minerals Management Service
Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region

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VOLUME III

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

Volume III is designed to provide a brief description of the populations of the Aleutian-Pribilof Islands region (including the Alaska Peninsula villages northeast as far as Egegik) and the NANA regions. The purpose of this volume is to establish a cultural context for the Social Indicators Study by describing the primary cultural orientations of these populations in terms of the local economies, social structures and institutions, the values, sentiments and habits that underlie them, and the historical changes that have in
part shaped them. In anthropological parlance these are "ethnographic sketches". They have been designed, however, to advance the larger study objectives, and in doing so will focus specifically on historical changes and the sociocultural adjustments that accompany them. The perspective is not neutral, but instead geared toward descriptive and analytic data that will help lay the groundwork for the next phases of research.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Traditional Culture, Then and Now

A. Subsistence and the Local Economy

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

These observations have often led social scientists and others to postulate topological categories of subsistence, or clusters of villages or subregional areas that are accorded a uniform “subsistence orientation”. These topologies are familiar in terms like “sea mammal hunters”, “inland caribou hunters” and the like. After all, it seems that if these regularities can be observed, then villages or entire peoples can be classified on the basis of terrain, climate, animal concentrations, etc. Here we begin...
to walk on dangerous ground, however. Although assertions developed on the basis of this logic seem to make common sense, the empirical data often show a different picture. A review of basic and traditional practices in the region will help to identify some of the regularities; after this review such generalizations will be analyzed in more depth.

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

Today the picture is quite different. The Buckland people continue to hunt beluga in the late spring and early summer, but seldom do they remain afterwards to hunt seal. The trade fair at Sisualik or Kotzebue is a memory at best, and commercial and trade needs are channeled through the local village store. After the beluga hunt, people return quickly to Buckland, to fishing and jobs, or for some, neither. Expenses for hunting and fishing are too high to allow a vague and undirected roaming search for seals or any other natural product. The goal today, as in the past, is a predictable return for the investment made in time and money. Gas and other prices are high,
thus hunting trips or other journeys must have a reasonable expectation of success. Today, snow machines are used nearly exclusively for (1) hunting expeditions, (2) water hauling (ice), and (3) trash hauling. The number one factor that causes people in this area to refrain from hunting as they would like is lack of essential cash (Moore 1980). The Deering people no longer go to Espenberg, even though people know there is a virtual bounty of seals and fowl there. Today, it is simply too far. Very few Deering people hunt for seals in the spring now as they did in the past. Although they still fish during the summer, it is notable that this is an activity that can be carried out in the village; no major expenditure for travel is necessary. Otherwise they are involved in wage jobs, often outside the village, or in reindeer herding. After the turn of the century the caribou were absent from the entire Seward Peninsula area perhaps due to overhunting, or possible simply as a result of capricious migration route shifts far to the east. Reindeer were imported to this area that was most afflicted by the loss, and the industry today is the main economic base aside from State and Federal government in Deering. Most residents are employed at some time or another, and can be paid in either cash or meat (most temporary workers prefer meat). Today, Deering residents nearly uniformly prefer the taste of reindeer to caribou, a fact that highlights the magnitude of the recent change and the rapidity of adjustment (cf. Karmun, personal interview).

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

The low, moist habitats in the riverine delta areas to the northeast show some uniformities in resource utilization. Both Selawik and Noorvik are situated on slow moving rivers fairly close to the ocean, and lack access to the faster moving north-south tributaries, as on the Kobuk, and are fairly distant from mountainous terrain. Traditionally the Inupiat who dwelled in the lower Kobuk delta were dispersed in spring, the season of hunger and sometimes famine due to limited availability or resources. Just before break-
up people would be subsisting on ptarmigan and rabbits, or occasionally some early fish caught through the ice. Just prior to breakup people would make a dash downriver before travel became impossible. The women, with the assistance of the men, would establish fishing camps and await breakup. The men might remain to fish with their families, but might rush on to the coast to hunt early seal, and then proceed to the trade fair. Or, they might head back upriver and up one of the lower north-south tributaries (Squirrel River normally). Although they would not have time to hunt any caribou as the animals were moving toward the Brooks Range, they would be able to hunt bears. In summer the men would then return downriver to make contact with their families; those who had gone on to the trade fairs would also, all timing their return in order to meet their families and assist with the tail end of the salmon run. Then, before freeze-up, they would regroup with other families in order to communally trap fish during the extremely rich fall fishery (whitefish, some sheefish). Fall was ordinarily the time of greatest population density in the delta area.

After freeze-up the trapping would continue through the ice until the catch diminished. If resources of sufficient volume had been accumulated the families might winter over together. In most cases the people dispersed again, and went their own ways with families traveling alone and subsisting on accumulated stores and small game. All through this cycle the families would have been caching food at selected sites, so that in their travels they could intercept these caches at strategic intervals. In fall they might hunt a few caribou as they crossed the Kobuk, but this was rare; the caribou were normally too far to the east, and a sure bet was consistently the fall fishery. Burch (1980:289) indicates that Kobuk delta people made only short moves during the year within their territory, and that caribou were hunted in some significant numbers at breakup along the river, or during the summer in the Brooks Range. For some families this may have been the case, but it is more likely that breakup saw more emphasis on movement toward the coast for sealing prior to the trade fair and the establishment of summer fish camps. Very few people travelled to the Brooks Range since the distance was considerable, and most who began the journey up a north tributary would have time to hunt the numerous bears that inhabited the area in the summer, but not caribou on a normal basis.
Selawik drainage Inupiat followed a similar regime, but did not travel to the coast for the trade fair and sealing in the numbers that the delta people did. At freezeup most people would have gathered in fairly large numbers (several families) at fishing sites known for fish trapping potential or conducive to netting under the ice. During winter the Selawik Inupiat would continue to fish as long as fish were available, dispersing from time to time to hunt small game and caribou, especially in late fall and very early spring. In spring many would move west to Selawik Lake to fish through the ice; just prior to breakup most would drift back to the east while travel was still possible in order to establish fish camps for the summer, and for muskrat hunting. These activities would persist through the summer, and a few at most would attend the trade fair. By fall most families would be establishing residence near their winter sites, and caribou, not in their prime, would be intercepted on their move to the south.

As for the northern Seward Peninsula Eskimos, the Selawik and Kobuk delta (Noorvik) people now follow a similar but more restricted subsistence schedule, compared to the past. As is the case throughout the region, most of the resources and methods that promise a substantial payoff considering the investment are still conspicuous. Caribou and fish are central mainstays of the locally extracted resource base; sea mammals and the many diverse smaller game resources, like rabbits, ptarmigan and the like, are not utilized today in the proportions they once were. Although many of these other resources that have an ancillary or subsidiary role were once important, they were important chiefly because they filled the gaps in a regime that would have been dangerously marginal if the people relied completely on the large, rich, and normally predictable resources like caribou and fish. Today these gaps are filled by cash and transfer payments. Again, it is too expensive to use gas and other purchased supplies to attempt to extract some of these resources. Nearly all of them are welcome additions to a sometimes monotonous diet, and they still have a high intrinsic value to the people. But their overall “purchase” price is now too high, unless they are apprehended close to home or in the pursuit of other resources. This blend of old and new does not, however, point to a degradation of the subsistence economy. The subsistence formula remains the same; the same kind of logic is used to
weigh alternatives, determine potential gains and losses, and calculate the prices of natural resources and the opportunity cost associated with pursuing them or failing to do so. Cash has thus been integrated neatly into the traditional scheme.

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

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

In all but one major detail, the Kivalina-Wulik River Inupiat demonstrated a pattern much like those of the lower Noatak and Kotzebue people. Immediately after breakup many went to the Sisualik trade fair, while others moved inland to hunt caribou. By fall and before freezeup most had returned and were settled at choice fishing sites along local tributaries. Char were common fish resources during the fall fishery. During the fall and winter
char, other fish, small game and caribou were the economic mainstays of the area. In early spring before breakup they moved to the rim of the landfast ice and hunted seals, retreating to the coast as necessary to escape dangerous ice, continuing with seal hunting until breakup. At breakup some families participated in the bowhead whale hunt, the only bowhead-oriented hunt in the NANA region. At about this time they were also preparing for the move to the Sisualik area for trade.

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

Subsistence practices and wage-cash incomes are tightly integrated in a single economy here; it is in fact misleading to use separate terms to describe the whole. Although many activities are disappearing, like trapping and small game hunting, they frequently re-emerge anew in times of economic uncertainty. During the last year when CETA and other cutbacks threatened the economic stability of most villages, there was a resurgence of subsistence activities that had been practiced only marginally for many years. Young men were out hunting muskrats for clothing in large numbers; new trap lines were established, and to cut down on outrageous gas prices new dog teams came into being. In some villages the number of Inupiat mushers has doubled in two years.
(McNabb, personal observation). Even given the “snow machine revolution” the numbers of dogs and available sleds has not decreased in the area in the last 15 years (cf. Foote 1965; Moore 1980). They remain an available resource, one that people, at least some people, are willing to use again.

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

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

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

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

Other recent studies support the conclusions here. Moore (1981) describes the special caribou hunt allowed in the Buckland area recently, and illustrates the connections between subsistence activities and cash very clearly, especially in regard to the various costs that allow or prevent
FIGURE NUMBER 1

KIANA 1976 FISHING RECORD
summer seine and set nets

whitefish =
salmon =••••••••••••

# FISH

DATE

June
25
27
29

July
1
3
5
7
9
11
13
15
17
19
21
23
25
27
29
31

August
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
24
26
28

III - E - 13
TABLE NUMBER 1

KIANA SUMMER CALENDAR 1976

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

(A): Vacation Bible School parties.
(B): weather rainy, high water.
(C): planning begins for 4th of July festivities and Bicentennial Celebration, hosted in Kiana this year.
(D): 4th of July festivities, Bicentennial activities, several days.
(E): BLM fire-fighting call for two crews (38) persons; PHS sewer work with local employment begins.
(F): Quarterly Friends Church Meetings begin in Kotzebue, Kiana participants depart.
(G): local frustration due to bad fishing harvest; some local people leave for Kotzebue, Fairbanks, Anchorage to look for jobs; sporadic drinking sprees erupt.
(H): complaints by residents about local bickering, feuds, and factions increase.
people from carrying out the subsistence activities they are accustomed to. Moore (1980) also provides subsistence fishing data from both Kiana and Noorvik for 1980 that support the figures used in the Kiana fishing record calculations, as well as the earlier (1972) harvest base that was used in the regional comparisons.

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

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

These comparisons show that there are really at least three basic ways to cluster the NANA villages on the basis of subsistence. Each method gives
a different result, based on the kind of differences or similarities one is
talking about. In terms of land mammal versus fish use, we arrive at these
four categories or clusters of villages:

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

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

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

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

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

Villages can be grouped in many different ways. It depends on what you need
to know and what your underlying questions are. There is no single “good”
way to separate out the villages, just as there is no single “correct” way
to gauge how subsistence is changing. Planning, projections, impact fore-
casting and so on need to take this information into account. Only rarely
will some economic change or hazardous impact affect subsistence as a whole;
more often only some resources or areas will be directly affected, at least
at the outset. Villages will be affected in different ways, and village
patterns-will therefore change in variable ways. The analysis above shows
some of these differences, and identifies some of the factors that account
for these differences.
Maps 1, 2, and 3 graphically cluster the villages on the basis of these three kinds of differences. Map 1 shows the groupings on the basis of land mammal-fish differences. Map 2 provides a picture of the region in terms of sea mammal-fish differences. Noatak is partially blocked off to show that it is a marginal case. Map 3 shows the land mammal-sea mammal based clusters of villages.

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

The quantitative and aggregate data on the NANA regional economy will be covered in substantial depth in the second Technical Memorandum and so coverage of these data will be deferred. It is important to note at this point, though, that the structure of the economy encourages local Inupiat to be suspicious of the cash elements of their economy, and in the long run encourages as well more optimism about the advantages of maintaining a subsistence local resource regime. About 88% of the region's economy is based on government funds, in the form of wages, direct and indirect transfer and other payments, and State and Federal grants and contracts. Two-thirds of the regional income is based in Kotzebue and the remainder in the outlying villages, while Kotzebue represents half the population (Derbyshire and Associates, 1981). Government payments fuel the economy in a very real way, and the air charter services, taxis, Dairy Queen and other businesses are totally dependent on a continuing flow of government money into the region. This is felt acutely by the Inupiat, although it is hardly understood and is a constant source of mystery and confusion. Cutbacks come and go, and reliance on wages would be, in the minds of most, a foolish decision. Jobs are
capricious and unpredictable, as the recent CETA cutbacks brought home to the people. Nonetheless cash is a necessity, even in order to hunt and fish. The ambivalence and anxiety people show about money is pronounced; but now as probably in the past people see there is no way to escape their dependency on this fickle resource.

B. Polity and Social Organization

In traditional times the local community consisted for the most part of several households which represented a fairly large family, tightly linked by bonds of kinship. Authority was vested in the elders in matters of wide concern, while the umialik, by reason of proven skill, character and knowledge, held a position of respect and leadership. The angatkuq was a spiritual and ceremonial specialist. Nonetheless, the fundamental authority and leadership rested within each family; there were elements of stratification in this system based on riches or prestige, but overall the system was egalitarian. There was significant sharing and reciprocity within the community that was obligatory, for indeed it was at this level that kinship connections were most pronounced. Intermarriage and trade relations, as well as territorial overlap of a seasonal nature, encouraged somewhat weaker but nonetheless real bonds of obligation and mutual aid between communities and more distant families. Inupiaq values and ideals formed the framework of ideas and attitudes that made this system work and made it meaningful to the people who lived in it (cf. Burch 1975, 1980; Anderson 1977; Smith 1966). See section 1C for a treatment of Inupiaq worldview.

In its most basic form, politics, the economy, social control and education were rooted in the family. Generosity within the family or close kin group was not a virtue, but an obligation. It extended outwards to others, but the conditions under which it would be extended tended to be limited. Relationships with namesakes, certain relatives, trading and working partners, and so on were close, and might cross hundreds of miles of territory. Cultural values in general, qualities of leadership, harsh environmental conditions and the uncertainty they promoted, child-rearing practices, all tended to emphasize harmony, humor, high quality performance and self-reliance, dependency...
on the larger group and cooperation, generosity, and sensitivity to others' needs. Equally, they encouraged suspicion of outsiders (those who had no kinship connections or other obvious links to the family or community), strong needs for the approval of others, and a hard-headed pragmatism.

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

The Inupiat had a number of different partnership categories, ranging from generic types ("piqatigiik" = dual number, 'people together' or 'partners') that represented any sort of partnership, to others that were restricted in meaning and substance and available to only few people. An example would be "suruqqatigiik" (dual number, 'share everything partners'), a form of partnership that was restricted to non-kin and involved the complete unrestricted sharing of all possessions and complete cooperation in all endeavors. Although all partnerships were technically restricted to non-kin, the degree of relationship that counted as "non-kin" is unclear, and in most cases many exceptions were allowed. For the latter example, this was not the case; the partners must be able to uncover no evidence of any relationship. This example is also locally considered to be a special relationship that was an exemplar of the true partnership; furthermore, it was considered to be a feat to develop, a relation that might emerge after years of other sorts of partnership activities. It was thus in most normal cases restricted to the elderly. Many other types existed, for instance fishing and hunting partnerships, traveling partnerships, and wife-sharing partnerships (the latter was...
normally associated with a pre-existing hunting partnership among the male spouses, and was not open to all takers as the literature seems to indicate in other areas) (cf. Anderson, 1977, Burch, 1975).

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

Other “fictive” relations are evident today, although most are disappearing or already have. Soul-names (inua), a name given to a child in addition to his or her profane title, are rare today if they exist at all. But namesake relations (atiq) are very strong. Not only will children be named for others, normally for a recently deceased relative, but there is
some conscious attempt to make sure that the name is the same as others in neighboring villages. An Inupiaq person who has the same name as another is considered to enjoy a marginal but real kinship with the other person; in a sense, they are the same, or at least share some of the same traits that names are thought to confer. Because naming attaches the child to the person he or she is named for, and allows the deceased person to live again in a vicarious manner, then all with the same name are somehow the same person. This is not reincarnation in any sense, but is at one and the same time a method for keeping the deceased in living memory, maintaining continuity in the family, and anchoring the child in the past; it is also part of a strategy for creating bonds outside the family, since an atiq is apt to call on other namesakes in other villages in time of need if other closer kin are inaccessible. It is another network-building mechanism (Oswalt 1967, Anderson 1977; McNabb, personal observation).

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

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

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

Under the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, individual villages have formed IRA Councils (Tribal Governments). With the exception of Noatak, all villages are incorporated as second-class cities. In Kotzebue, which for many years was dominated by whites on the City Council (Smith 1966), Native participation in city government has increased. The establishment of a Rural Education Attendance Area in the region in 1976 boosted the level of Native participation in official organizations in Board or advisory capacities. These multiple overlays and checkerboards of authorities and
organizations have led to much confusion in the region, as is natural. The unique Alaskan dual form of government, with city councils on one side (recognized by the State but ignored by the Federal Government) and IRA Councils on the other (recognized by the Federal Government but ignored by the State), lead to complex planning and administrative problems for villagers. Participation or lack of participation in these institutions is frequently a political statement in itself. Noatak chose not to incorporate as a city precisely 'to avoid some of these problems, but most notably to continue exclusive IRA, Government organization which, as opposed to city government, would allow them to control the entry of Whites into their village (McNabb, personal observation).

C. Worldview

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

These concepts, or rather the values and underlying attitudes that they point to, signify what wisdom proper adjustment, and the "good life" stem from and mean in Inupiaq culture. In other words, they direct our attention to the Eskimo worldview or ethos. They are the ingredients of a proper life and outlook on the world; the positive elements of this roster represent the virtues to be fostered, idealized and hopefully achieved by Inupiat, just as their antonyms represent proscribed forms of life experience, personal or interpersonal states to be avoided.
Jean Briggs' study of Canadian Eskimo interpersonal style and adjustment (1970) is an extremely illuminating documentation of Eskimo worldview, one that is relevant to Eskimo societies everywhere. The delicacy and tact in interaction, concern for others, cooperation and sharing, self-sufficiency and non-assertiveness, and other qualities that she teases out of her observations bear striking resemblances to the elements of Northwest Alaskan Inupiaq ethos. But there is little reason to believe that these qualities as they stand are relevant to all Eskimo societies without qualification. Her own comparative studies show that Eskimo aggression management, for instance, is significantly different from one Canadian group to another. Even looking only at Alaska, the literature shows conspicuous discontinuities from place to place. Speaking of Eskimos in general, Oswalt (1967:205) says that:

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

Another observer states that:

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

An observer at Barrow states that:

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

Yet other observers say that:

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

and the same Barrow observer later can say:

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

It is difficult at first blush to reconcile these inconsistencies. Although it is true that the Inupiat of Alaska did practice warfare at times, and did indeed have outlets for displaying an assertive form of boasting and competition, these were exceptions or irregularities. It seems that it is most likely that the self-sufficient, nurturant, cooperative qualities noted by Briggs in Canada and other observers in Alaska were, and are, the "clear keynotes" of the Eskimo ethos.
Some researchers (Burch 1980; Smith 1968) have suggested that these qualities are only partly true as applied to the Inupiat of Northwest Alaska. They feel that the wide-spread kinship connections and feelings of mutual assistance that cross large territories are not traditional, but are rather the result of large population movements at the end of the 19th century that blended a variety of very distinct societies, all of which were separate and, to a degree, hostile to one another. The Eskimos of the area, far from being a "peaceable, friendly people" were "aggressive fighters who had developed a relatively elaborate pattern of conducting warfare" (Burch 1980: 272). The friendly, open, outgoing exterior one sees today was an adaptation to interaction with Western society; although they displayed these characteristics to family members, the Inupiat were in other settings aggressive, competitive, tough and emotionally restrained.

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

These traits or preferred qualities and virtues are not strung together haphazardly, but are integrated within emotional and cultural structures that
tie one to another, and make it "sensible" and meaningful to be non-assertive, sharing, nurturant, calm and accepting, self sufficient, and highly dependent on the attitudes and feelings of those around you. Research by the author points to the existence of a tripartite scheme of constructs that inform an Eskimo philosophy of adjustment and social behavior. The major of central Inupiaq emotional concepts and ethical virtues are linguistically derived from, or are perceived to cluster around, three basic meanings: these include Isruma (in coastal dialects isuma), which signifies thinking, thought, rationality reason, intellect and the like; naglik, which signifies love, mercy, compassion, pity and care; and suqut, which represents attentiveness to others, awareness in an active sense. Each is a root stem without linguistic elaboration, and dozens of words in common usage are derived from them Isrumaaluk, for instance, is etymologically "bad thought" but means worry. Each base concept is the kernel upon which both negative and positive concepts are built.

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{isruma} \\
\text{(a)} \\
\text{suqut} \\
\text{naqlik} \\
\text{(b)} \\
\text{(c)} \\
\end{array}
\]

It is further apparent that isruma in simple terms represents mental strength; naglik signifies emotional states, covert and interior conditions; and suqut stands for the active behaviora?, social sphere. In 'general terms it seems that the intersection of these major elements are significant; the intersection (a) of isruma and suqut could be signified by law, a product of rationality and social obligation. The intersection of isruma and naglik (b) could be glossed as personal maturity and inner balance. (c), the intersection of naglik and suqut, could best be summed up as morality and ethics, given that it represents social obligation and emotional commitment. These linguistic bases, incidentally, are closely related to the terms that Briggs found, namely isuma, naklik, and huqu.
Nearly all mental states, emotions, social obligations and the like are related to these basic constructs in the Inupiaq scheme of things. **Cooperation** is an act predicated on mental maturity, attentiveness to others’ needs, and emotional responsiveness; cooperation though is not a virtue per se, especially not among kin. It is an **obligation**, or more properly an act that flows in an obligatory, and really automatic, manner from the other traits, traits that are presumed to be present if a person is mature and proper. **Non-assertiveness** is a style of behaving that flows naturally from these traits, since a proper person doesn’t need to be assertive (they are self-sufficient in their own minds-isruma), since you are attentive to others’ feelings (suqut) and feel enough compassion (naglik) for them to avoid such acts that detract from others and draw attention to oneself. A well-adjusted person does not dwell on problems but instead withdraws from them or accepts them since worry represents a bad thought. The last example may be thought to be **linguistic determinism** but is not. Many Inupiat are quite conscious of the fact that mental maturity represents a state of being in which one knows how much to think about a problem and when to stop thinking about it. Too much though, too much consideration given to a problem is a sign of instability or childishness. The literature and personal anecdotes of many observers show that “thinking too much” is a sign of a troubled mind, and even **pathology** given the Eskimo worldview (Briggs 1970; Brady 1975; McNabb, personal observation; McNabb 1980)

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

A. Demographic Shifts and Mobility

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

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

Burch (1980:286-295) identifies ten original Inupiaq societies that existed independently in the NANA region during the 1800's. They are: Kivalina, Lower Noatak, Upper Noatak, Kotzebue, Kobuk Delta, Middle Kobuk, Upper Kobuk, Selawik, Buckland, and Goodhope Bay (near Deering). According to his data, all of these societies began to fragment in the middle of the 19th century; furthermore, Kivalina society was nearly exterminated during the
famine of 1882-84, kobuk Delta society was exterminated during the same famine, most of Kotzebue society was exterminated at this time, and most of the Lower Noatak society met the same fate. All of the other societies suffered to some degree during this famine, and those that survived somewhat intact were nearly completely dislocated by the Kobuk area gold rush of 1898, thereby losing what independence and autonomy they had.

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

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

These figures were compiled one year after the Kobuk gold rush and fifteen years after the famine of 1882-84. These figures, therefore, should provide the first written, solid documentation of the disruption and mortality.
that resulted from these great events. The figures are obviously far lower than the estimates Burch gave for 1840, but they can tell us more than that if we accept two assumptions: (1) dislocation will be evident in family structure and community make-up at the time, and (2) two groups normally suffer most in famines and similar catastrophes (like epidemics); the very young and the very old. In other words, we should expect to find wider dislocation (transients and the like) in the areas hit the hardest, and we should expect to see diminished numbers of youngsters and elderly or an otherwise disrupted family structure.

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

There was, however, a series of large-scale population movements in the region and from the region near the turn of the century. These movements, though, probably did not start until 1900 or soon afterwards. Their causes are due in part to these historical crises, but are due to other factors as well. The decline in the caribou herd late in the 19th century, epidemics
that were especially severe on the Arctic coast at the same time, and the economic opportunities provided by the presence of Western whalers in the Barrow to Herschel Island area, all served to draw people from the interior Northwest region to the north. By 1885 the original population of the Arctic coast had been halved due to disease, and this situation created a population vacuum that migrants from the upper Noatak and Kobuk Rivers started to fill; in addition, close to 170 whalers wintered over between Barrow and Herschel Island from 1889 to 1914 (Foote 1964). There were far more caribou in this area, and moreover the whalers who wintered over needed fresh meat which they would pay for in goods. The Arctic coastal area and the adjacent interior hinterlands became attractive sites for settlement by migrants from the South.

The whaling trade provided short term security for the Inupiat migrants, but security that was based on a fragile market. In addition, high social and economic costs were exacted by this adaptation. By the time the bottom dropped out of the whaling trade during the first decade of the 20th century, the Eskimos were left with a stronger dependence on imports and a depleted resource base. After 1906, however, the fox pelt market became more lucrative while the whaling trade dropped off. The Canadian posts were easily accessible, and offered lower prices on goods than the interior posts due to water transport which was now possible (previously the posts were stocked by overland routes). The Mackenzie delta, as noted earlier, was also a population void and at the same time an area incredibly rich in fox and other resources. A movement into Canada began. Judging by current population figures for the Mackenzie delta and average birth rates, it is possible that over 200 Kobuk and Noatak Eskimos relocated to Canada during this period. This number represents in excess of 15% of the NANA region population at that time, and probably represents one-third of the Kobuk and Noatak populations during the same periods. Stefansson (1913:71) noted that the majority of the Eskimos at Cape Smythe during this time were from the upper Colville, Noatak and Kobuk Rivers. Gubser (1965) described a similar migration for many of the interior Nunamiat of the Brooks range and inland valleys. The point to be made from these movements is that, although disaster and hardship were powerful factors in changing the lives of Inupiat here, the picture one is left with is one of mobility, pragmatic thinking, and flexible economic adaptation on the part of these...
people. It would be too pessimistic to look at history as a story of people always fleeing from calamities they have no control over. The history seems to be a chronicle of widespread, conscious adjustment and accommodation to rapid change. These people very quickly made fundamental changes in their lifestyles in order to maximize the things they wanted out of life. Conditions were dreadful, but they were not helplessly at the mercy of forces they could not understand. Judging by the course of history in an objective sense, it seems they understood these forces quite well.

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 7 shows Kobuk village. Figure 8 illustrates population change at Ambler. The rapid change between 1960 and 1970 is due largely to immigration
FIGURE NUMBER 4

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS
FIGURE NUMBER 3

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

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

Figure 12 charts the growth of Noorvik. The initial move from Deering, along with some nearby Kobuk people, built the first population (1). Many migrants quickly returned to their old homes, however (2). Kiana population growth is shown in Figure 13. Kiana has grown consistently since its official founding about 1912, although Inupiat are documented at the site as early as 1880. Figure 14 presents the population of Kivalina. The population shows little growth during the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's; reindeer herding activities
FIGURE NUMBER 10

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS

CANDLE

1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960
FIGURE NUMBER 11

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS
FIGURE NUMBER 14

KIVALINA

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

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

FIGURE 15
SOURCE: SCANLON 1981

NANA SHAREHOLDERS NOT IN REGION 1980
(Females only)

III-E-54
B. Centralization and Institutionalization

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

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

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

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

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

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

Today it is not enough that articulate local Inupiat be available to speak their minds and participate politically. Chartered or incorporated Boards and Committees must form to take the message to leaders outside the region. The fishermen must organize Cooperatives or other official entities, and now deal directly with international marketing representatives from Japan and Scandinavia. At one time it seemed sufficient to have local liaisons or spokespersons to deal with authorities in the village; but then that was in-
adequate, and representatives were needed in Kotzebue. Now representatives from the region serve in the State legislature, and although they seem always on the verge of heading off another fiscal calamity in the region, the layers of institutionalization increase. A local representative is now needed in Washington D.C. in order to lobby for Alaska Federation of Natives needs as well as more localized demands closer to home.

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

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

C. Values, Dissonance, and Acculturation

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

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

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

In traditional times, young men and women were schooled informally by
family members. For the young women, these adults were chiefly the mother
and aunts on either side. For men, the father and uncles on either side
supervised in this training, a very subtle training that exercised the
youths preceptual capacity and a full range of observational skills. Village
peers had little part in the process, if any at all, except in the capacity
of peer groups anywhere. Cousins and nephew and nieces may be involved,
either as passive sideline observers or active participants. But it was
chiefly a family affair. Today the role of the adolescent peer group has
been enhanced considerably. Youth away at school had nobody else to look
to. Cousins, nephews and nieces if in another age bracket would be in-
accessible much of the school year. Uncles and aunts, not to say parents,
were totally inaccessible. The group of age mates with the youngster in
school comprised the only substantial familiar group. Through the years
the role of this group has assumed the roles traditionally held by others;
today youngsters look to please their friends at the expense, often, of
their relatives. In modern Northwest Alaska, even now with the local schools
housed in home villages, the effects are apparent. Once a young man has reached
his teens, it is very rare to see him hunting or fishing with an older male
relative; seldom will a young man go out trapping, hunting or travel-
ling with his uncle as in the old days. The effects of this isolation are
less apparent with the young women; they continue to fish, do chores, gather
berries and the like with mothers, aunts and nieces. This is a legacy of past
educational practices that is felt today, and it is unclear what the end re-
sult will be. Although the women seem now as always, extremely resilient,
the position of the men is uncertain. Reports of mental health and counseling
personnel in the NANA region have pinpointed this peer-attachment syndrome,
and some of the ramifications are ominous. Youth now appear to view them
selves in a polarized system in which their parents are worthy of respect
but in which their parents don't know their own children; the warmth, respect,
companionship, sharing and the like that once was at the center of the family
is now focused on peers. It is as if an accordion effect has taken place,
collapsing all negative and positive, pejorative and nurturant elements of the normal social order into one horizontal layer that represents the peer network. Judging by recent research, youth attitudes toward the generations above and below them are curiously devoid of sentiment except stereotyped obligations (respect for the elders, etc.); but at the peer level, we find hate and friendship, respect and degradation, and in general extreme ambivalence. Youth want everything from their peers, but because nobody can deliver this order of sentiment and commitment, these selfsame peers are objects of derision. Youths commonly report that their friends are the only ones that understand them, but later will report that their friends represent the one main group they don't trust. These ambiguities abound, and assaults and other violence within this group is pronounced today (McNabb, 1979, McNabb 1980).

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

Because people in the region have adopted Western technology and some habits so readily, there is a sense in many quarters that acculturation is a speedy process here. The young people, and old alike, listen to Pablo Cruse and Van Halen, follow the Superbowl and watch B.J. and the Bear on television.
Yet these same kids are thoroughly steeped in today's Eskimo culture, and
often are unaware of it; certainly most White residents are unaware of this
fact. The traditional attitudes and mores are strong. A young boy is con-
gratulated by his teacher for excellent attendance in school; he then skips
the next week for fear of “putting his head above others”. The local
basketball team reaches the regional finals, and then goes on a drinking
spree and can't compete. A promising young Inupiaq executive administrator
reaches the top and is given an important job, and then quits. A bright
young woman is a city administrator, and is offered a scholarship to complete
her dream a college degree. Soon she is pregnant and quits both job and
scholarship opportunity. These are pitiful, dismal tales, but they are not
uncommon. There is an almost audible “clash” of cultures at times evident
in individual stories, but these stories are representative of something
beyond the individual. There is a deep seated confusion and ambivalence
among many young people about their expectations and goals. These young
people are not at the mercy of two powerful and indomitable cultures that are
carrying them along; they are making conscious decisions that stem from real
needs and desires. But there are too many ways of assessing these goals

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

A. Self-Determination and Control

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

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

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

As the Regional Strategy report points out, these goals in many ways would be appropriate everywhere, except for the emphasis on subsistence. But their relevance to the NANA region is especially pronounced. These goals emphasize flexibility and avoidance of long term commitment; the role of subsistence and
cultural values, the especially high costs in terms of social disruption and personal suffering that come with change; the need for broader understandings of the full costs and benefits of new ways and innovations and the dependencies they create and escalate, and so on.

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

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

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

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

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

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

III-E-64
### Table 2

**NANA Statewide Operations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divisional</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
<th>Profit (Loss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NANA Construction</td>
<td>$12,454,520</td>
<td>11,749,636</td>
<td>704,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NANA Environmental Systems</td>
<td>5,837,937</td>
<td>5,711,029</td>
<td>126,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NANA Oilfield Services</td>
<td>4,207,453</td>
<td>3,716,808</td>
<td>490,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purcell Services</td>
<td>3,188,429</td>
<td>2,666,861</td>
<td>521,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arctic Utilities</td>
<td>834,815</td>
<td>422,377</td>
<td>412,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDC/Commercial Catering</td>
<td>551,496</td>
<td>537,187</td>
<td>14,309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Northern Express</td>
<td>80,684</td>
<td>73,487</td>
<td>7,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NANA Jade Marketing</td>
<td>6,209</td>
<td>15,250</td>
<td>(9,041)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NANA Joint Ventures</td>
<td>185,634</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>185,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$27,347,177</td>
<td>24,892,635</td>
<td>$2,454,542</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 4

**NANA Regional Operations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divisional</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
<th>Profit (Loss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fuel Projects</td>
<td>$298,815</td>
<td>300,326</td>
<td>(1,511)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building and Maintenance</td>
<td>20,092</td>
<td>75,807</td>
<td>(55,709)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drift Inn Apartments</td>
<td>80,480</td>
<td>126,800</td>
<td>(46,320)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jade Mountain Products</td>
<td>56,421</td>
<td>52,786</td>
<td>3,635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiana Hotel</td>
<td>2,218</td>
<td>20,169</td>
<td>(17,951)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kivalina Housing</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>10,308</td>
<td>(7,608)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nul-Luk-Vik Hotel</td>
<td>1,256,239</td>
<td>1,622,310</td>
<td>(366,071)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tupik Building Supply</td>
<td>730,703</td>
<td>848,431</td>
<td>(117,728)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of the Arctic</td>
<td>148,914</td>
<td>214,703</td>
<td>(65,789)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qungniq</td>
<td>10,451</td>
<td>249,839</td>
<td>(239,388)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$2,607,033</td>
<td>3,521,473</td>
<td>(914,440)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Inupiaq's suspicion of outsiders has been documented numerous times, and in part fueled Burch's (1980) characterization of Northwest Alaska Inupiat as haughty, aggressive, belligerent toughs who defended their territories by force of arms. Folklore bears him and his assertions out. But although it is clear that suspicions and the stereotypes they create are real and persist, behavior is another issue altogether. The Inupiat have long shown a distrust of Indians; even today children are warned to be on the look out for Itqillit (Indians) while out of the village; stories recounted today illustrate this profound suspicion. Yet our best data show that relations with interior Athabascans were normally calm and even genial. To this day descendants of Kobuk Eskimos live in Huslia, Atalna and other Athabascan villages to the
south of the Kobuk River in harmony with their neighbors. Kobuk Eskimos are invited to feasts there (hosted by Indians), and attend funerals of friends, grieving with the deceased's relatives. These patterns may be the product of massive change in the last century, but it seems more likely that they represent the persistence of patterns that were at least evident in the past.

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

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

Inupiat frequently focus on the esoteric planning and technical habits of Angles, their abrupt and untactful style of interacting, their failure to recall past courtesies, their complicated language habits, their exploitative nature, and their generally bad manners. Angles on the other hand often represent the Inupiat as disrespectful, normally lazy and unmotivated, flighty, undignified, unsanitary, reckless wards of the State.
The ironic counterpoint to all of this is that both Angles and Inupiat do have good intentions and in fact for the most part do not fulfill these stereotypic prophecies. Most Angles do not set out to display bad manners, lack of tact, or forgetfulness regarding courtesies done them by Inupiat. Inupiat, too, are far from lazy, and normally try to manage an impression of dignity, wisdom, respect and concern in interactions with Angles. But each group is faced with the difficulty of knowing what “counts” for tact, courtesy, dignity and the like for the other ethnic groups. Inter-ethnic interactions therefore terminate with a sense of uncertainty, misapprehension and mystery for the participants. Hence both are left with more evidence of the unpredictability of the other group’s behavior. This account, it should be added, covers the essential facts in the majority of cases, but should not be construed as an indictment of all inter-ethnic relations in the region. Harmony and understanding do exist in some quarters, but not in all and seldom is the understanding complete (cf. McNab 1979).

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

The Inupiat on the other hand sometimes create a picture of Angles as technical genises who assuredly have all the answers. They can help, they can turn modern problems around and bring stability again. If we could just find the right Anglo (or more often, Anglo approach or idea), so the stereotype goes, we can get the funding we need, make our programs sovent again, cure alcoholism and do away with poverty. There is on occasion a sense of a "cargo" vision; the future is bright, the Angles have the money
and knowhow and the generosity of these mysterious strangers will set things
to right. It should be added here that this stereotype is rare among young
Inupiat, and probably even nonexistent anymore. Older Inupiat voice this ex-
pectation at times, however.

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

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


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NANA AND ALEUTIAN-PRIIBILOF REGIONS


II. THE ALEUTAINS-PRIBILOFS-ALASKA PENINSULA REGION

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

1. Traditional Culture, Then and Now

A. Subsistence and the Local Economy

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

Sea mammals (primarily seals), fish, fowl, reef foods (crustaceans and small fish found in intertidal pools) and caribou (chiefly on the Alaska Peninsula) represent the key subsistence species for the Aleuts. Vegetable products such as berries and select greens (wild celery, for instance) are important additions to the larder, but in most cases in the modern era these products are much overshadowed by the protein resources. Other than the vegetable products, certain species of fowl and fish, and sea lions, most subsistence resources are available in variable quantities year round. They are fairly accessible as well, a situation that is in stark contrast to their Yupik and Suk Eskimo neighbors' situations. The caribou, a marginal resource not accessible to most communities, are also restricted in availability due to both herd movements and regulation of hunting.
Pink salmon are available in most communities (save the Pribilofs), appearing in July and August. Silver salmon are accessible in some communities in August and September. Red and chum salmon are variably distributed in the region, and king salmon appear early in the summer only along the Alaska Peninsula; they are accessible to the coastal communities northeast of False Pass. The Pribilofs have access to no salmon. Cod, halibut, flounder and other lesser varieties of fish are available year-round; other varieties, such as char (salmon trout) and herring, are available only during their runs (early and late spring respectively).

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

Fish weirs and dams were used well into the 20th century, and normally represented a community resource extraction technology that all shared freely (Jochelson 1933/1966:52). Both species and volume changes are apparent in the last century. For Nikolski, a fairly remote community and one that would feel the effects of the commercial fishing industry less than its neighbors to the east, recent OCS research shows a preponderance of pink, and secondarily silver...
salmon harvested in mid- to late-summer. Families with substantial needs might put up 200 to 300 salmon for the year (Reed 1981). But in 1910 Jochelson noted that Nikolski families would procure 50 to 100 salmon per day at the community fish weir, and that the salmon were primarily reds. It is unclear how many days of intensive utilization were involved (although the estimate was developed on the basis of July usage specifically) in this example, and certainly the weir offers a superior form of extraction compared even to modern nets; these shifts over the past 70 years are suggestive of impacts of commercial fisheries on red salmon accessibility, but too few data are available to assess this hypothesis.

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

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

Spring (April and May) is typically the season of sea lion hunting, a practice that has diminished in the last centuries. These animals were traditionally hunted through a cautious combination of stealth and skill in sheltered bays during their migration, but would be hunted in open water as well. Harpoons, and darts propelled by throwing boards were used in sea mammal hunting. Seals were available for most of the year, although judging by today's dietary preferences sea lion flesh is preferred to seal (Reed 1981).
Sea lion meat is preserved with salt today; presumably both sea lion and seal meat were normally dried in the past. Seal oil is still an important condiment used on nearly any occasion with foods, as in traditional times.

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

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

There are very few data in the literature that would permit any accurate descriptions of current subsistence harvest volumes, or changes in underlying economic strategies tied to local resource extraction. Recent OCS work (Reed 1981) indicates that one half of the local protein intake comes from subsistence products at King Cove; other sources (AEIDC 1978) indicate that subsistence is of minimal importance in King Cove. Similar difficulties emerge with most of the relevant literature.
The most pronounced shifts in the local economies and use of marine resources occurred with the coming of the Russians soon after Bering sighted the Aleutians in 1741, and have continued to this day. Soon after the Russians invaded the islands the tremendous open-water navigation and hunting skills of the Aleuts were put to work in the exploitation of marine fur resources. First sea otter and then seal pelts were the goals of the new enslaved-barter system imposed by the Russians, and the lives and society of the Aleuts were changed forever. With their families held as hostages, Aleut hunters were sent out to procure the pelts the European markets desired; in return the Aleuts were given trade goods to replace those they no longer had the time to produce credit at company stores, taxes, and debts if their returns in pelts did not balance with their family's expenses (cf. Lantis 1970; Jones 1976).

This vicious period of history has been dealt with at length in other documents, including the recent OCS reports, and so coverage of the Russian era will be brief and limited largely to a discussion of demographic changes (subsection 2a). The point here is that regardless of the calamities and misfortune that followed on the heels of the Russian entry into Alaska, a continuity or persistence in history is noteworthy: the nearly exclusive marine orientation. First it is food for local consumption, then sea otter and seal; still later it will become salmon, halibut, crab and shrimp. The magnitude of the enforced hunting effort under Russian rule that propelled nearly all Aleuts into a cash-credit Western economy within two or three generations at the most, is staggering. Even as early as the 1780's, about forty years after Russian contact, fleets of hundreds of two-man bidarkas were cruising the islands and inter-island waterways in search of furbearers. Upwards of 600 bidarkas might be dispatched under orders at one time. Aleut hunters, with proven skill in open-water navigation superior to that of most of their neighbors, were the chosen personnel for hunting operations far from the Aleutians. Aleuts were transported on hunting expeditions as far as Kamchatka on the west, to Southeast Alaska and even to Fort Ross, California, on the east. Two shipments of pelts during a single year en route back to Russia in 1810 yielded: over 39,000 fur seal furs, over 5000 sea otters, over 2500 red fox, 2500 blue fox, over 900 cross fox, 700 silver fox, and more (Lantis 1970:279).
Until the end of the 19th century most of the Aleuts' cash income still came from the sea otter trade; but once the sea otter became scare their economic base became extremely fragile. It is at this point, the end of the 19th century, that a new economic phase begins and a new stage of village differentiation emerges. At this time the cod fisheries began to develop in the (eastern) Aleutians, and soon after the salmon industry took hold. By World War I canneries and other local operations were viable concerns (Jones 1976:23-24). But only some villages could participate in these new developments. Most of the western villages were too remote, had too little fresh water for cannery operation, did not have deep enough water for port facilities, or simply did not enjoy good access to the fish. These factors and capricious changes in the markets prevented any stable planning or policies, much less family level stability. Unalaska, for instance, did not enjoy any real benefits of the early cod and salmon fisheries; but suddenly in the 1920's and 1930's, the local herring, brought recognition and outside interests - to Unalaska. Suddenly this community had some Local opportunity. But by World War II, the herring industry was dead and never revived. The boom-and-bust cycle has always been very pronounced in the Aleutians.

The post-war years were grim economically, but slowly the king crab fishery began to grow. The salmon industry matched its growth, but largely in the east. In the late 1950's the industries began to expand, and commercial survival appeared to depend on diversification at plant sites, combining salmon processing and canning with crab operations. This is one more chapter in the centralization of resources and economic opportunities in the Aleutians; villages fortunate enough to be selected for the massive combined operations tend to be those with the strongest economic base today. By the mid-1960's the industries had expanded to the point that halibut, shrimp, crab and salmon operations were among the largest in the world, and they continue to grow. Between 1960 and 1971 the king crab catch rose from just under seven million pounds to 54 million pounds; halibut catches are fairly stable during these formative and growth years at about 4 million pounds per year. Tanner crab catches rise from three thousand pounds in 1967 to well over two million pounds in 1971. Salmon catches are very erratic, ranging from over two million fish one year (1962) to a mere 95,000 the next, and then up to nearly a million a few years later (Sekora 1973:318-321).
Wherever there is a fishery operation in the Aleutians, it is consistently the primary source of employment for the local people (cf. AEIDC 1978). It is even difficult to say if the fisheries industries, or subsistence, is ultimately more important to the day to day livelihood of the people. These industries in many cases (but not all) provide jobs for whoever wishes to work; although the wages are low, the work unskilled in most cases, and the activity backbreaking all too often, these jobs are a crucial adjunct, even a central element, of the Aleutian adaptation. A strong maritime tradition persists, even if the changes that have created the picture we see today were far from voluntary.
B. Polity and Social Organization

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

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

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

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

1( they)...did not know the value of their lives ...Grief...often led to suicide" (in Lantis 1970:226).
These discontinuities appear in many connections, and so any generalizations or assertions we develop should be restricted in scope and responsive to variations within the region.

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

The next level of organization was the regional domain which normally consisted of the island. Each island had numerous villages and perhaps dozens of recognized encampments that belonged to individual villages (cf. Lantis 1970:176-178). The encampments were used seasonally, and formed a network of satellite villages clustered around the home community; these would often be coves, hillsides or watersheds that were used regularly by members of the extended village families for food gathering. Although all villages on an island would be connected by bonds of kinship, trespass on territories belonging to another village (including satellite camps, even if they were unoccupied) was an offense that might even be construed as invasion. Visitors from other island communities, lost travelers and others were expected to approach the main village openly and directly and reside there for the duration of their stay. The hosts at the central village were normally generous with their guests and supplied them with anything they needed. The accounts
in the literature abound with stories of these feasts and gatherings, and give the impression that no boundaries existed; all were welcome on friendly terms, so to speak. But this situation obtained it seems only when guests entered the home village directly and conspicuously. One is left with the impression that guests were invited into people’s homes and feted so that the outsiders could remain under scrutiny and so that their motives could be assessed and whereabouts always known. No stranger, regardless of their hunger or exhaustion, is allowed to hunt or fish within the recognized boundaries of another village; in cases of need or mere friendship, they are expected to go directly to the village (Lantis 1970:191).

Relations between domains, islands in most cases, were much more constrained. Kinship bonds were much diminished or even non-existent, and in most cases residents of other domains were considered outright enemies until other motives were displayed. Extreme suspicion was typical, and warfare and feuds common. Although some domains were well known for their hostile temperament and warfare within the local domain, in most cases warfare occurred between islands, or between Aleuts and Yupik and Koniag Eskimos to the east. Genial contacts between domains are not unknown, but the literature is vague concerning the mechanisms for carrying it out. Neighboring domains, or villages in different domains would gather at one or the other locales for feasts and ceremonies. The event was highly formalized, with rank accentuated by certain ritualized roles in greetings and food distribution, but it is unclear what the function of the event was. Records show that games were played, so possibly the events were forms of rivalry couched as sport and entertainment (cf. Lantis 1970:193). Although inter-village trade was common, and was also formalized with go-betweens and agents, there are no descriptions of actual trading interactions between domains; there are, however, accounts of Aleuts going to Kodiak and the Kenai Peninsula on trading expeditions (Lantis 1970:272-275). Because Aleuts took captives in war and retained them as slaves and concubines, and because the children of the concubines were free citizens, it is possible that a number of vicarious kinship links could have existed between many different domains; these marginal kinship connections may have permitted the creation of trade links to other domains and mediated the contact between them, but, this is conjecture and unprovable by available data.
Inter-village ties within the domain were further strengthened by the avunculate and matrilineal kinship orientation. Cross-cousin marriage was preferred. The mother's brothers, and after them the father's brothers, were the tutors of their nephews and nieces and exercised primary authority over them. The children of a man by different women were considered unrelated, while those of one woman and different men were considered brothers and sisters and hence could not intermarry. A young man, even before puberty, would commonly be promised in marriage to a girl, the arrangement being settled by parents but primarily the maternal uncles. The betrothed girl's father might in fact be the young man's maternal uncle. Soon after puberty the young man would travel to the girl's village and begin some years (often three) of bride-service to the girl's family. After the official betrothal that concluded the period of bride-service, the young man would reside with the girl's family until after the birth of the first child, at which time, the man, his wife and child would return to live in the village of the man's family. Residence, then, could be called matri-patrilocal (cf. Lantis 1970:205-208, 227-232).

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

The available documents indicate that three classes were recognized in Aleut society: honorable, common people, and slaves. Although common sense might suggest that the honorable were a small and highly restricted group, it seems more likely that this group comprised all those within a community who were closely related to the core extended families. In fact the honorable class was the largest single class in a community, suggesting that the "common people" were the marginal citizens or free slaves that did not have a history of continuity and kin affiliation in that particular community. Rank and class did depend in part on wealth, however, and it is possible that members of the honorable stratum might disgrace themselves as "black sheep", or per-
haps perform poorly in war or material acquisition, and therefore precipitate their removal to a lower class (cf. Lantis 1970:243). Class and position, though, were most strongly associated with kinship and wealth, which in turn hinged on kinship because of the recruitment, mutual support and acquisition mechanisms that came with kinship, and so it is unlikely that class was really a product of individual merit.

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

There is very little documentation concerning the Peninsular Eskimos who inhabited the Alaska Peninsula northeast of Aleut territory and bordering on the Aglegmiut and Toggiagmiut territories in central Bristol Bay and the Nush-
agak drainage. Even their original dialect affiliations are 'unknown. Their population density was extremely low at the time of Russian contact, less than about one twentieth that of the Aleut, suggesting that they were in midst of some major readjustment at the time (cf. Oswalt 1967:253). Judging by the cultural practices of their neighbors in the area, it is possible that they had matrilocal residence and bilateral descent, but this is a generalized presupposition. The Nushagak area Bristol Bay Eskimos practiced intensive salmon fishing during the summer, extensive ice 'fishing at other times of the year, and caribou hunting inland and as far as the Mulchatna and other rivers during fall and winter, but it is unclear how close a tie can be developed between them and the Peninsular Eskimos. It is possible that the salmon fishery was important, exploited perhaps by trap (a Bristol Bay custom) or weir, dam and dip net (Aleutian custom); but if the major readjustment we see at contact was related to local hostilities and expansion of many of the nearby groups, salmon fishing may have been avoided as a seasonal commitment, except on a small scale, owing to the defensive needs of communities that precluded seasonal residence at unprotected tributary mouths. For the Aleuts, for instance, residence was usually established on spits with numerous access points from the sea, or other protected points usually distant from prime salmon fishing locations. It is also impossible to collect ethnographic data from the present day concerning these people, for reasons that will be discussed in subsection 2a (demography). If the continuous distribution hypothesis derived from archaeological evidence holds water, we might surmise that the Peninsular Eskimos had hierarchical social forms similar to the Aleut and Koniag, some of the important ceremonials (such as the Bladder Feast and Feast of the Dead) shared by their neighbors to the northeast, technology consistent with their neighbors and perhaps including fish traps, less emphasis on salmon fisheries and more on sea mammal hunting, and small residential units (consistent with the Peninsular Koniag to the south on the coast, but different from the Aleuts, and probably somewhat smaller and more nomadic than the Aglegmiut and others to the northeast). These are little more than informed hunches, however, and should be reviewed in that context.
Today some of the organizational forms persist among the Aleuts, but in large part they eroded or began to erode during the Russian period. Although the Russians did not meddle in all aspects of Aleut social life and left relative autonomy in some spheres, they quickly tried to subvert the office of the village and regional chiefs by supplanting them with a three-tiered chiefship designed to mediate the Russians' demands for regulation and control. Orthodox Church representatives proselytized the Aleuts, offering Russianization and three year's relief from tax tribute for conversion to the faith, and attacking the Aleut social order in areas of supernatural belief, healing hygiene and the domestic family. The pelt trade commercialized Aleut life and disintegrated the networks of intra- and inter-village ties, breaking up families and aggregating village populations at centralized locations for ease of administration. By the close of the Russian period the die had been cast, and although the actors changed after the American purchase of Alaska most of these trends persisted.

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

C. Worldview

The Aleuts highly valued the personal qualities of generosity, cooperation, endurance, bravery, self-sufficiency, self-effacement and humility, and excellence of performance. Other qualities could be added, but the major thrust of the Aleut personal and community ethos is conveyed by these concepts. This litany of idealized, valued qualities is remarkably similar to that of other nearby societies, a not unlikely situation.
Many of these traits were of course reserved for expression within the family or community group, and an entirely different face might be shown to outsiders and particularly enemies. As is usually the case, etiquette and propriety norms apply in certain settings but are irrelevant in situations involving foreigners to whom they need not apply. Aleut interaction with other peoples might well involve a display of bravery and skill, as is fitting to their way of thinking, but the humility, cooperation and mutual support. one owes friends and family have no necessary place here. Aleuts had seemingly well-defined in-group and out-group boundaries, and codes of conduct and belief coterminous with each.

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

Aleut self-esteem and personal attitudes seemed to have centered on one's social image and shame. One's word, so to speak, was one's bond, and until the coming of the Russians an Aleut's oath, with witnesses, was a solemn statement of truth. To utter a lie was a great disgrace, upon which one's relatives would disown and speak badly of in the future; given the strength of kin bonds here, this is an extreme punishment (cf. Lantis 1970:260). A reprimand, even slight, was considered a grievous injury. Veniminov and others (cf. Lantis 1970; Jones 1976) noted that an act such as a slap to the face was a terminal injury for the recipient, who might take his life in shame, or prefer death to such a public display in the first place.
An elaborate set of rules concerning bodily and ceremonial purity and pollution were central elements of the traditional Aleut worldview. Depending on one's class and office, numerous death and burial practices and rules attended the entombment. Well known for their mummification practices, the Aleuts attached different dangers and pollutant qualities to different parts of the body, and the bodies of different classes of people. Pollution, ritual dangers, and sacred meanings inhere in many Aleut customs and in practices surrounding all life crises: birth, puberty, pregnancy, death and so on.

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

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

2. Cultural Change and Persistence

A. Demographic Shifts and Mobility

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

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

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

III-E-94
Unalaska Complex:  Unalaska  
  Biorka  
  Kashega  
  Chernovsky  

Unimak Complex:  False Pass  
  Ikatan  
  Company Harbor  
  Pauloff Harbor  

South Peninsula Complex:  Morzhovoi  
  Thin Point  
  Cold Bay  
  King Cove  
  Belkovski  

North Peninsula Complex:  Nelson Lagoon  
  Port Moller  
  Herendeen Bay  

Shumagin Complex:  Korovin  
  Sand Point  
  Coal Harbor  
  Private Cove  
  Unga  
  Squaw Harbor  
  Semenovsky  

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

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

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

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

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

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

III-E-97
Figure 7. St. George Population

Source: U.S. Census

(Census Years)
FIGURE 18

Unalaska Population
SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS
FIGURE 19
King Cove Population

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS
Figure 20

Nikolski Population

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

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

Permanent or temporary outmigration is typical in the area, and although the former may be slacking off the latter is not. People still speak of going outside to work for some years and then returning to the village in middle age (or earlier) to “retire” (cf. Reed 1981). Recent analyses comparing Aleutian population structure at the turn of the century with 1970 clearly shows that not only are more children being born, but young adults in the vigorous child-rearing years are absent, probably temporarily in many cases. Although the author submits that outmigration of a permanent variety combined with lower infant mortality rates explains the pattern we see now, it is entirely possible that the adults absent are in transit for extended periods and may return; the local perceptions in the villages tend to support this suggestion. Figure 25 compares four villages at two points in time and illustrates the effects of outmigration in the 20-40 year age range,
FIGURE 21

Egegik Population

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS
FIGURE 22

Ugashik Population

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS
FIGURE 23

Ugangashik Population

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS

(POPULATION)

(1880  89°  90°  91°  92°  93°  94°)

(CENSUS YEAR)
FIGURE 24
Meshik Population
SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS
FIGURE 25
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE IN FOUR ALEUT VILLAGES, 1897 AND 1970

SOURCE: JONES 1973
8. Centralization and Institutionalization

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

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

After the close of the Russian period the Aleut dependence on outside economies seems to have increased. The American trading posts stocked far more goods than did the Russian ones, and the Aleuts latched onto these new material goods rapidly. The debt and dependency that ensued locked them still tighter into the pelt trade, a dependency that would soon prove fruitless and exasperating. By the turn of the 19th century the pelt trade was in ruins, but the Aleuts managed to quickly adapt to a different marine pursuit: commercial fishing. Sources and sites of opportunity shifted rapidly, some villages gaining a strategic edge over others while some were isolated out of the mainstream; nonetheless all villages transferred their dependency to this new market, and the key question seemed to be, was the industry local (and thus accessible without relocation) or was it remote (necessitating at least seasonal moves from the home community)?
These trends are strong even in 1981, and the concentration of resources at communities such as Cold Bay, Dutch Harbor/Unalaska, King Cove, St. Paul and others provides some sense of security for the Aleuts, but one that has never been consistent in the past. A recent survey in the area asked "Who controls your village?"; an extremely common answer was "The companies" (cf. McNabb, M. 1981). There is no real hub community in the Aleutians. Corporate headquarters are in Anchorage, and although this fact may seem only natural on the surface due to conditions and distances in the Aleutians, it remains a commentary on the centers of power and authority in the Aleutians; the center is outside. The newest layers of institutionalization have come during the American period. The regulated fur seal harvest in the Pribilofs, the commercialization and militarization of the Islands, new layers of government (the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, city council forms of government), the recent-categorical and block grant funding schemes, and most recently the Alaska Native Lands Claims Settlement Act and the Native Corporations; all have served to maintain and create an enormous variety of organizations, agencies, and institutions that serve the region but that are essentially foreign to it. In this respect the Aleutian case is similar to most other rural examples in Alaska.

C Values, Dissonance, and Acculturation

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

Berreman (1964) some years ago discussed what he saw as an alienation from one’s own peer and role model groups in the Aleutians. He discovered what amounted to an ambivalence among Aleut youngsters regarding their own communities, their friends, their relatives, and their status as Aleuts. This accounted to his way of thinking, for hostility against others in the village, an uncertainty about the future and life goals, and a sense of constant dilemma among Aleut youth. In some cases Aleut villages and their inhabitants seem to have meshed successfully with modern demands and needs. In Jones' (1976) comparative study of two villages, fictionally termed "Iliaka" and "New Harbor", she finds
that the newer village of New Harbor had adopted and adjusted the values of their first Anglo neighbors, hardy Scandinavian fishing families, and integrated them in an accommodating blend fitted to the Aleut outlook. Because certain Aleut values like:

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

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

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

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

*cf. Smith 1980
what the Church role will be in the future. Complaints surface now and again among Orthodox Church goers that the Church is discouraging Native languages. The Orthodox Church has never been known for such a practice in the past, but the presence of such a perception among the congregation may show that ambivalence toward traditional elements of heritage exists; on the other hand the allegations may be perfectly true. The acculturative processes in the Aleutians are cloudy at best, and most of what we can say now is speculation.


A. Self-determination and Control

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

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

and,

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

There are other examples as well. The sense one gains reading over these plans and ideas is that an accurate, objective appraisal of these outside dependencies have been made. The government and the companies are unpredictable and have seldom shown themselves responsive to human needs. There is also a fear
of imminent abandonment that can be interpreted from the plans, a fear that is undoubtedly real in some quarters. It is a fear well founded in history.

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

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

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B. Inter-ethnic Relations and Native Identity

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

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

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

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

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

"Sometimes white people think our things dirty' Clara said quietly." (Banks 1971: 48)
Passages like this, and many others, show that the Aleut experiences with Whites has been consistent with most other Alaska Natives'. The sense of profound shame at reproaches and injuries to their esteem are a strong carry-over from the past, and the prejudice and misunderstanding of the new dominant society is in keeping with what we should be able to predict.

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